









Calendar of the manuscripts  
of the Marquis of Bath,  
preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire.

v. 1-3













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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE Papers from which the present volume is compiled are a fragment of the Portland collection which was transferred to Longleat in consequence of the marriage in 1759 of Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth (created in 1789 Marquis of Bath) with Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland, by Lady Margaret Cavendish, only daughter of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. Partly inherited, partly acquired by correspondence and otherwise, by the second Duchess of Portland, they are of miscellaneous character and very unequal value. The more important are described with more particularity than is here necessary in the Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix, pp. 193-194. They are now arranged as follows:—

- Vol. i-ii. Select Autograph Letters, etc., 1516 to the middle of the 18th century.
- „ iii. Autograph Letters of Queen Anne, 1704-13.
- „ iv-viii. Correspondence on affairs of State subsequent to the Restoration, and chiefly of the reign of Queen Anne.
- „ ix. Miscellaneous Papers relating to Trade, Revenue, the Colonies, etc., 1628-1729.
- „ x. Miscellaneous Letters and Papers of the 18th century.
- „ xi. Political Pieces in Prose and Verse, 1589-1769.
- „ xii. Letters of Alexander Pope to Edward, second Earl of Oxford, 1721-39 (already in print).
- „ xiii. *Jeux d'esprit* between the Scriblerus Club and Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. Transcripts of Letters of Swift, Wycherly and Atterbury (for the most part already in print).
- „ xiv. Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1712-84.
- „ xv. Letters of Edward Young, author of *Night Thoughts*, to the second Duchess of Portland, 1740-65.



- Vol. xvi. Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu to the same, 1740-85, mostly contained in the printed collections: also Letters of Mrs. Pendarves, afterwards Delany, and others to Harbin, 1738-44.
- „ xvii-xxi. Scrap-books.
- „ xxii. Catalogue of Pictures, Gems, MSS., etc. belonging to the second Duchess of Portland in 1784.
- „ xxiii. Papers relating to the sieges of Brampton Bryan and Hopton Castles.
- „ xxiv. *Parentela et Parentalia Hollesiorum*. Auctore Gervasio Hollesio, 1658; printed in Arthur Collins' *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Holles, Vere, Harley and Ogle*, etc., 1752, fol.

The collection also comprises divers common-place books and note-books of which sufficient use was made by the second Earl of Hardwicke in his *Walpoliana*, 1783.

The Brampton Bryan Papers serve to supplement the *Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley*, edited for the Camden Society by T. T. Lewis in 1854, and afford a clear and connected account of her gallant defence of Brampton Castle from its investment, 26 July, 1643, until its relief by Essex, her death ~~early in the following September~~, and the second siege of the Castle during the winter and spring, the surprise by a party from Brampton (Feb., 1644) of Hopton Castle, the reduction of the latter place and the cold-blooded massacre of its garrison (March), and the subsequent reduction of Brampton Castle. These transactions were certainly of no great importance, the forces engaged being on both sides inconsiderable, and the losses, apart from the massacre, insignificant—indeed, the Brampton garrison would seem to have been almost as much distressed by the “rotten language” of the Cavaliers as by their “poisoned bullets,” and from first to last lost only four men, notwithstanding that they had defended a breach for some days, before, despairing of relief, they surrendered (17 Ap., 1644). The Cavaliers are said to have lost five hundred and fifty men in the three sieges, but this figure cannot be accepted without reserve, the details of the three narratives being such as hardly accord with sober history. The defenders throughout

appear as mighty men of valour, who, when they come to close quarters with the enemy, do deadly execution upon them or strike them with "panic fear," while the besiegers have little stomach save for plundering. The correspondence, however, shows pretty plainly that the slackness with which the first siege was prosecuted arose mainly from reluctance to press "the honourable and valiant lady" hard. These papers, however, will doubtless prove a welcome addition to the particular history of a struggle, the interest in which is apparently inexhaustible. The papers relating to the latter half of the seventeenth century are disappointing, even the letters of Burnet shedding very little light upon public affairs.

On the other hand the papers of Queen Anne's reign are of capital importance in regard of the inner political history of the time. They enable us to trace the course of Harley's estrangement from the Whigs from its very beginning to the final rupture. For rather more than a year after his appointment to the Secretary's office all goes smoothly enough, but from the tone of his draft letter to Godolphin of 21 July, 1705, it is evident that he had already incurred the Treasurer's suspicion, and was hard put to it to find language equal to allaying it. The numerous alterations in the draft show the extreme care with which it was studied. But the artist forgot *celare artem*, the humility is abject, the adulation laid on with a trowel; and such expressions as "I cannot allow a thought disagreeable to you," "have no other views, no other passions, than to be subservient to your Lordship," "know my own heart, and I can die a martyr for what I have written," must have been apt rather to excite than to allay suspicion in a statesman of Godolphin's shrewdness and experience. In a letter of 4 Sept. following we find the first hint of the expediency of broadening the basis of the administration. "I take it for granted that no party in the House can carry it for themselves without the Queen's servants join with them; that the foundation is, persons or parties are to come in to the Queen, and not the Queen to them . . . . If the gentlemen of England are made sensible that the Queen is the Head, and not a party, everything will be easy, and the Queen will be courted and not a party: but if otherwise" ———.

Nor did the appointment of Cowper, one of the staunchest of Whigs, to the Lord Keeper's place deter Harley from pressing his



project of a broad bottom administration upon Godolphin with more urgency and at greater length in the following year. On 15 Oct., 1706, he writes that "many of the most staunch Whigs (not whimsical) have, and do frequently lament the fury of their leaders, and have rejoiced when their presumption was humbled, and, to use an expression of one of them, that, if they were gratified in all they desire, they would immediately be undone. I am very far from making them jealous. I did not mean that places should be given to others, and I was humbly of opinion that whoever would come in as a volunteer to the service should be accepted as far as he would go, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion because those who call themselves Whigs, if united, are the inferior number, and that they will not follow those who make themselves their leaders, but yet may be united in the Queen's service by her ministers . . . . I have with grief observed that the leaders (or zealots rather) of both parties are frequent even now in their reflections on the Queen's ministers, I mean your Lordship and my Lord Marlborough. I cannot but apprehend danger from both sides in the extreme, and therefore I am humbly of opinion to increase the number of those who would devote themselves to the Queen's and your service would be best."

The appointment (3 Dec.) of Sunderland as secretary in succession to Sir Charles Hedges further strengthened the Whig interest; and thenceforth Harley's letters, though written in much the same sense, are more circumspect in tone, and betray a certain uneasiness as of a man conscious that he was regarded with suspicion. "I am very sensible," he writes on 2 Sept., 1707, "of the difficulties which for one reason and for another are like to attend public affairs next winter; it would be very impertinent in me to trouble your Lordship with my poor thought of the true occasions of them; I am sanguine enough to think I see beyond them, but that is not my business;" and eight days later he assumes an apologetic tone, protesting that he has "no attachment to any other person in the world but" Godolphin and Marlborough; and hinting that he has been misrepresented by "a sort of people who wound those they do not like in the dark." At the same time he dreads "the thoughts of running from the extreme of one faction to another, which is the natural consequence of party tyranny, and renders the government like a door which turns both ways upon its hinges to let in

each party as it grows triumphant," adding, "and in truth this is the real parent and nurse of our factions here." In two subsequent letters, 17 Sept. to Godolphin, 16 Oct. to Marlborough, he returns to the alleged misrepresentations. Then followed the discovery of the treasonable correspondence that had passed through his office, and though the examination of his clerk, William Greg, failed to establish Harley's complicity, Godolphin evidently deemed it morally certain, for at the close of the examination he sent Harley word by Attorney-General Harcourt that he was disgraced, a step which in such circumstances admits of no other interpretation, and to Harley's letter protesting his innocence (30 Jan., 1707-8) he returned only the curt answer:—"I have received your letter, and am very sorry for what has happened to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you, but I cannot help seeing and hearing, nor believing my senses. I am very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you."

On what passed between this date and Harley's resignation (9 Feb.) the papers shed no light; nor do they add much to our knowledge of the means by which the subsequent victory was organised, while they are entirely silent as to the events which led to his second fall. Swift's attempt to vindicate him from the imputation of cunning (p. 227 *infra*) is only interesting by its perversity.

In regard to matters external the most voluminous correspondence is that which relates to the expedition, to the command of which, by Marlborough's advice, Lord Rivers was appointed. At first (21 July, 1706) designed against France, it was eventually despatched to Spain for the reduction of Seville and Cadiz, and sailed in the autumn under convoy of Sir Clowdisley Shovell. Rivers had been assured that he was not to serve under Peterborough, and had taken this to mean that he was to have an independent command. When therefore, soon after his arrival at Lisbon, he received instructions which subordinated him to Lord Galway, and entirely changed the objective of the expedition, he took umbrage and devoted his main energies to the composition of despatches in disparagement of Galway, accusing him of complicity with John Methuen in treasonable intrigues, and insinuating that he was now associated with Paul Methuen in similar practices (pp. 125, 146-150, 155 *infra*). These imputations were discredited by the Ministry, by whom he



was nevertheless treated with the utmost consideration (pp. 160-1 *infra*). The objective being Valencia, the expedition proceeded in the winter to Alicante, whence Rivers wrote to Halifax severely censuring Galway's recent strategy and asking to be relieved of his command. Rivers afterwards met Galway and Stanhope at Valencia, but no understanding was arrived at, and in March Rivers threw up his command and sailed for England. The tidings of the disastrous defeat in the plain of Almanza followed hard on his return. (See the letter of his friend General Thomas Erle, pp. 169-170 *infra*.)

Among minor matters may be mentioned the letter of Captain John Ogilvie (p. 187 *infra*) to Harley relative to the intrigues of the Jacobites in Scotland in 1707; that of St. John to Harley, dated 11 Oct., 1708, in which he expresses himself as "fully convinced" that "there is no hope but in the Church of England party, nor in that neither on the foot it now stands and without more confidence than is yet re-established between them and us," and suggests the expediency of "gaining Bromley" (the future Speaker) "entirely;" and those of the Duke of Shrewsbury to Harley, Sept.-Dec., 1709, 1709-10 and July-Nov., 1710. The replacement of the Marquis of Kent by Shrewsbury as Lord Chamberlain (14 April, 1710) was the first sign which the Queen gave of her intention to change her advisers. It was followed by the appointment of Dartmouth as secretary for the Southern department in place of the Earl of Sunderland, and the transfer of the seals of the Northern department from Boyle to St. John (21 Sept.). In the meantime Shrewsbury, as appears from the letter of 22 July, 1710, had been offered the place of first Commissioner of the Treasury, but had pleaded incompetence: upon which it was given to Earl Poulett, with whom Harley was associated as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The letter of 20 October, 1710, is peculiarly interesting for the evidence it affords that the Queen did not believe in Divine right. From that of 25 April, 1711, it appears that there was then some suspicion of a plot to assassinate the Queen; but this was probably a mere *canard* occasioned by the recent attempt on Harley's life. The paper referred to in the endorsement and subsequent letters was apparently Torcy's project of peace. (*Cf.* the letter of Petkum to Marlborough, dated 17 Jan., 1711, in Hist. MSS. Comm. Fourteenth Report, Appendix, pt. ix. 355.)

The Countess of Marlborough, whose piteous letter is printed on p. 204 *infra*, was the widow of William Ley, the fourth and last earl. The family had suffered during the civil war. The very interesting correspondence between Oxford and Marlborough during the summer and autumn of 1711 shows that the completion of Blenheim was the price of the apparent withdrawal of the Duke's opposition to the peace (pp. 203-209 *infra*). Nevertheless it is clear from a letter of the Queen to Oxford, which is probably of later date, that she was by that time convinced that Marlborough was playing a double game (pp. 212-13 *infra*), though it was not until the close of the year that he was dismissed. The course of the peace negotiations is illustrated, though none too fully, by other letters, chiefly from the Queen and Shrewsbury to Oxford. The Queen's letters abundantly evince the ascendancy which Oxford had over her, and the almost tender solicitude which she felt for his health (pp. 213-15 *infra*). From her letter of 19 Nov., 1711, it would seem that it was from her that the main objection to the proposed appointment of Prior as plenipotentiary came, and that it was grounded on nothing more than his "mean extraction." There is no evidence that Strafford felt any such prejudice (*Cf.* Wentworth Papers, ed. Cartwright, p. 28), and though the Queen's objection prevailed, Prior acted as Strafford's confidential adviser at Utrecht, and was afterwards associated in the same capacity with Shrewsbury at Paris, where it is evident that the poet proved a more competent negotiator than the peer, whose naïve confession of total defeat by Torcy on the Newfoundland Fishery question will be found on pp. 228-9 *infra*. With this should be compared his handsome tribute to Prior at the close of the letter to Oxford of 8 March, 1713 (p. 230 *infra*). The question of "*bona immobilia*" referred to in this letter concerned the claim of French subjects emigrating from the ceded countries within a year of the Peace to be allowed to sell their immoveable property. This claim, notwithstanding Shrewsbury's advocacy and Bolingbroke's apparent inclination to give way, the British government eventually refused to concede. (See the Treaty in *Corp. Dipl.* viii. p. i. 341, §. xiv. and *cf. ib.* vii. p. i. 41, §. xi.) The principle for which the French contended has, however, since come to be universally admitted. (See Rivier, *Principes du Droit des Gens*, i. 207.)



Shrewsbury's letters from Dublin, Oct., 1713–March, 1714, are diverting by the lively picture which they afford of the strife of factions in the city. The Duchess of Newcastle, whose two letters are printed on p. 248 *infra*, was Margaret, third daughter and co-heir of Henry Cavendish, the second duke. She was widow of John Holles, Earl of Clare, created in 1694 Duke of Newcastle. The “wicked marriage” mentioned in the first letter was that of her only daughter, Lady Henrietta, to Edward Lord Harley, afterwards second Earl of Oxford. (See Arbuthnot's letter of congratulation, p. 239 *infra*.) The Lady Margaret Harley, to whom the first Earl of Oxford wrote the pretty letter of 21 Oct., 1723 (p. 250 *infra*) was Prior's “noble lovely little Peggy,” the future (second) Duchess of Portland.

The letters of Arbuthnot on the publication of *Gulliver* and of Voltaire referring to the *Henriade* and the connection of the Harley family with France are of considerable interest. But the diligence of biographers has left so few remains of the wits of this period unprinted that they are here but meagrely represented, and abrupt indeed is the transition from the last letter of the author of *Gulliver* to the first of the author of *Night Thoughts*. It will be observed that Young's letters begin at a critical epoch in his life. He had married in 1731 Lady Elizabeth Lee, daughter of Sir Edward Henry Lee, created in 1674 Earl of Lichfield. In 1731 Lady Elizabeth was a widow, having been married to a certain Colonel Lee, by whom she had one son (pp. 281, 304) and two daughters, Elizabeth, who married on 18 June, 1735, Henry Temple, son of the first Viscount Palmerston, and Caroline, who is frequently mentioned in the letters and eventually married William, afterwards General, Haviland (p. 311 *infra*). By his wife Young seems to have had but one child, a son, Frederick, who matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, on 12 Nov., 1751, studied divinity, and presumably took holy orders; but of whom little else is known save that in 1766 he placed a monument to the memory of his father and mother in Welwyn Church. He has been absurdly identified with the Lorenzo of the *Night Thoughts*, notwithstanding that he was but a child when the poem was published.

It will further be observed that in a letter of 20 Dec., 1740, Young refers to “the great number of touching admonitions Providence lately has been pleased to give me of my own

mortality" (p. 256 *infra*). The latitude with which "lately" is used in ordinary parlance is so considerable that we cannot exclude from the list of these admonitions the death of Mrs. Temple, though it took place so far back as October, 1736. Of the other admonitions one was the death on 18 August, 1740, of Mr. Temple, which was speedily followed by that of Lady Elizabeth Young.

In the Preface to the *Night Thoughts* Young tells us that "the occasion of this poem was real, not fictitious," and three bereavements occurring in swift succession are plainly indicated as the occasion in the apostrophe to Death in the *First Night*:—

Insatiate archer ! could not one suffice ?

Thy shaft flew thrice, and thrice my peace was slain ;

And thrice ere thrice yon moon had filled her horn.

The last line would seem to import a period of three months; but Young is not known to have suffered any great bereavements but the three above mentioned, and an immense draft on poetic licence is necessary in order to identify the Narcissa and Philander of the poem with Mrs. Temple and her husband. The poem therefore still remains a crux for the critics. Moreover Narcissa is represented as dying not before but after Philander,\* as dying in her bridal hour, whereas Mrs. Temple died considerably more than a year after her marriage, and as denied a grave by Catholic bigotry and buried by stealth, whereas Mrs. Temple was buried in the Protestant cemetery at Lyons, and there is neither evidence nor likelihood that it was ever proposed to bury her in ground consecrated by the Catholic Church.† It is therefore evident that the attempt to identify Philander and Narcissa with Mr. and Mrs. Temple labours, to say the least, under extreme difficulties, and the tradition of Montpellier that Narcissa died there about the year 1741, and was buried clandestinely in the King's Garden, would seem to deserve more consideration than it has received.

Between Mrs. Temple and Mrs. Haviland there seems to be ample room for another daughter of Lady Elizabeth Lee, who, if

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\* 'Twas night ; on her fond hopes perpetual night ;

A night which struck a damp, a deadlier damp

Than that which smote me from Philander's tomb.

Narcissa follows ere his tomb is closed.—*Third Night*, 59-62.

† Cf. the article on Young by Sir Leslie Stephen in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.



she died early and in a foreign land and was buried in a nameless grave, may well have escaped the research of the genealogists; but the letters unfortunately shed no light on this matter. As to Philander we gather from the poem that he was a man of the loftiest character and a sage, and that he died suddenly and in the full maturity of his powers. Of Mr. Temple we know nothing that suggests such a character, and the mere fact that he died in middle life is a very precarious basis of identification. In this connexion it is to be observed that an earlier draft of the lines descriptive of Philander's death, which close the *Second Night*, serves Young in the letter of 3 May, 1742 (p. 271 *infra*), to pay a tribute to his friend Dr. Alured Clarke, then on his deathbed. Both chaplains to the King, Young and Clarke had been well acquainted, and though, while Young languished in his Hertfordshire living, Clarke got preferment, a prebendal stall at Westminster and the deanery of Exeter, no jealousy had impaired Young's cordial regard for his more fortunate friend, whose benevolence was so proverbial that, had he but died a little earlier, he might well have been regarded as the original of Philander. Philander is already dead in the *First Night*, and therefore some other original than Clarke must still be sought: nevertheless it is by no means impossible that some traits of Clarke's character were introduced into the portrait during revision.

The death of Mr. Lee, Lady Elizabeth Young's only son by Colonel Lee, occurred in 1743 (*cf.* p. 281 *infra*, and *Notes and Queries* 1st ser. v. 252), nor, had it been possible to antedate it, is anything at present known of his history or character.

The letters on the whole evince a degree of optimism which is striking in a man of Young's melancholy cast of genius, and who deemed himself, nor altogether without cause, to have not come by his deserts. It is interesting to find such a man ranking the pleasures of benevolence highest in the scale as being alone neither 'short' nor 'precarious' nor 'mixed' (p. 266 *infra*), and finding no objection to marriage but that "which the wise world amongst its ten thousand objections never makes"—"that the husband and wife seldom die in one day, and then the survivor must necessarily be miserable" (p. 268 *infra*): There is sly humour in his remark *à propos* of his chances of preferment:—"I really believe the Archbishop is my friend, but your Grace knows 'tis dangerous trusting the clergy" (p. 277 *infra*),

and in his description of the Duke of Newcastle as "our Pope," "as fixed as St. Paul's by his own weight in spite of all the revolutions of the little court buildings around him" (p. 280 *infra*). The Mr. M—— mentioned so scornfully in the letter of 29 May, 1744, is perhaps Edward Wortley Montagu. The book referred to in that of 23 July, 1744 (p. 283 *infra*) as, though not written "to your Grace," yet "written for your Grace," is of course the Second Part of the *Night Thoughts*, the preface to which is dated 4 July, 1744. The *Third Night* had been dedicated and introduced with a most courtly apostrophe to the Duchess. As to public events, little is to be gathered from these letters, even the Jacobite insurrection of 1745 passing almost unnoticed. Much the same is to be said of the letters of Mrs. Montagu; their interest is mainly in the light they shed on the social life of the period. In this connection attention may be drawn to the inventory of the Duchess of Portland's trousseau printed in the Appendix.

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The correspondence as far as the last letter of Swift, pp. 253-4, was seen through the press by the late Mr. J. J. Cartwright; the remainder of the work by Mr. J. M. Rigg, who is also responsible for the Introduction.

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# THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE MOST HONOURABLE

## THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

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Vol. I.

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THE HARLEY PAPERS.

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BRAMPTON BRYAN.

1643, July 26.—A true relation of the siege of Brampton Castle in the county of Hereford begun on Wednesday July 26th 1643, being the public fast day.

Upon Wednesday the 26th of July about two of the clock there appeared two or three troops of horse which divided themselves after they had faced our castle about an hour, from a little hill on the south side thereof called Pinners, and presently stopped all our passengers. Not long after there appeared about two or three hundred foot upon the east part of our castle which likewise dispersed themselves. The number of the enemy, as we understand since, were about seven hundred of horse and foot.

This evening a trumpeter was sent to summon our castle from Henry Lingen, esquire, High Sheriff of the county of Hereford, Sir Walter Pye, knight, and William Smallman, esquire, which was answered by the honourable and valiant the Lady Harley.\* The evening upon their first approach and before their summons [they] murdered one John Powntney a man born blind, because upon demand he said he was for the King and Parliament.

Thursday the 27th many of the foot possessed the town and church, and we played all that day and night with small shot upon each other. Some of the enemy were slain, but none of us. This day they plundered many of our sheep and cattle.

Friday the 28th we continued with small shot till about the evening, when another trumpet and letter was sent from

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\* Copies of the summons and answer, and of other letters referred to in this narrative are printed on pp. 8-22 *post*.



Sir William Vavasour, knight, Colonel and Governor of Hereford, which was likewise answered by the Lady Harley. This day the parley being ended they plundered our horses which we endeavoured to suspend, they being housed, but could not, and in the night the Cavaliers plundered all our fat cattle and cows.

Saturday the 29th of July a troop or two of Horse appeared and dispersed themselves about us, and about evening a drum was sent with another letter, so we ceased from shooting that evening and night.

Sunday the 30th of July we expected their ordnance and were compelled to pluck up our portcullis, and about the evening the honourable Lady sent a letter to the Governor, so we ceased till a warning piece should be on their side given.

Monday the 31st was spent in letters and answers, here annexed, with a cessation of arms.

Tuesday August 1st 1643 the enemy approached into our quarters and began to raise breastworks, but being commanded out by a gentleman, one Captain Scudamore, refused. Immediately the Cavaliers fired a house in town whereupon we gave fire roundly upon them [for] about an hour, but then we espied all our out-houses, containing very many bays of building, on a light fire. This evening a trumpet was sent from the governor aforesaid with a letter, which was answered, etc.

Also another letter from the Lady with a promise of answer at twelve of the clock the next day, yet unperformed.

Wednesday August the 2nd an answer was expected to the aforementioned, but instead thereof we had peals of ordnance.

Thursday August the 3rd very early in the morning the Cavaliers fired our mills, and about ten of the clock the fire began in the town which within a very few hours consumed the greatest part thereof, then about three that afternoon the enemy planted a saker against our castle in the stable window. This evening they made ten shots against us with bullets of betwixt six or seven pound weight which only pierced our battlements but slew none of us, wherein the great power of God may be observed, that in these nine days not a hair fell from our heads by any of these enemies; as for our loss by fire and plunder which hath already been very great to the value of three thousand pounds and upwards, yet it was observed that all of us took joyfully the spoiling of our goods. The malignants of the country stood upon hills about us, and when the ordnance played, gave great shouts, which no whit daunted us. This night they cast up a work at the parsonage on the east side of our castle which we could not prevent in the dark, and the enemy fired a bomb on the west side, which did no whit annoy us, although they had the wind.

Friday August 4th the parsonage house and barns were burnt down, which was an advantage to us for there the enemy quartered their men and began to raise batterings and breastworks. All this day they played with their great gun; they made twenty six shots against us which only struck down one chimney and a battlement of our castle, shattering the tilestones, and

although most of the bullets came in the house there was not one of us hurt, whereby we may see an Almighty power and Providence in our protection and preservation.

Saturday August 5th the enemy made twenty one shots more against our castle, and at last down came the top of another chimney, at which the Cavaliers gave a great shout—and cause they had so to do—that with five great shots at eighty yards distance they prevailed against one stack of chimneys and a battlement. This was the execution done this week, God being still pleased to preserve all our lives and support our spirits. We omitted nothing that might strengthen our walls, laboured day and night in a cheerful expectation of a happy deliverance. This afternoon the enemy beat up their drums and a part of them marched out of town; many country people came into their room and made that night many fires and a great noise, the cause of this alarm is not yet known to us. This night they made a great shot at us which did no execution as we were taking down tile and timber.

Sunday August 6th the enemy saluted us very early with their loud music eight times before morning sermon and then left off, perhaps ashamed of some barbarism on this day, or rather because God did blow upon some of their instruments of cruelty which broke. About one of the clock we heard many muskets go off and at last discerned them shooting as if some part had been in skirmish with them a mile off; the particular of this we are yet ignorant of. Let me add this one thing remarkable, that of men women and children never used to such hardships, about one hundred all immured up in a close house and the dog-days, there was not one sick or feeble person among us.

Monday the 7th of August, we had secret intelligence that the enemy had no great hopes of taking the castle, that some of them were hurt, some slain, that their scouts had taken a little girl of ours and murdered it, that the Parliament forces were on their march, etc. This day they made ten shots with a demiculverin which did no execution; in the afternoon they planted a very great gun on the west side [of] the castle and made three shots against us, the third bullet came in at the window and shattered the wall by the clock, broke the bell and hurt in the lobby at the parlour door the Lady Colebourn, struck out one of her eyes. Mrs. Wright, Dr. Wright's wife, was also hurt, but thanks be to God, neither of them mortally. This was the saddest day that we have yet had since the beginning of the siege.

Tuesday August the 8th the enemy planted two great guns against the west side of our castle; this day they made twenty nine shots against us, some of their bullets weighed nine pounds ten ounces, all which did no execution, neither on the walls nor persons, such was the mercy of God to us. This evening came in two colonels of the enemy's foot, which vapoured at their first approach and gave a shout, called us Roundheads; these made neither our walls shake or our hearts fail.

Wednesday August 9th the enemy planted five great guns



against our castle as if they had meant this day to have beaten it to dust, two on the east part, two on the west part and one on the south. They made forty three great shots against us, which through God's great mercy did us little hurt. This night we had secret intelligence that Sir William Bruerton had given the Lord Capell a great overthrow, that Gloucester was not besieged four days since, that Sir William Vavasour was shortly expected westward, that this county was summoned into Ross upon pain of death.

Thursday August 10th the enemy was so quiet till evening that we could scarce discern they were here, they gave us three shots out of the steeple which broke some Venice glasses in a high tower which formerly entertained some of those capon-faced cowards who have unmanned themselves in offering violence to so noble a lady, an action which will render them odious to man, as their 'perjurious' act at Hereford perfidious to God. This night we had secret intelligence that their greatest gun was yesterday broken, that the cannoneer was killed and that twenty five of their men were slain by us.

Friday August 11th the enemy began very early with their great guns which in the night they had planted near us. They made this day thirty six shots against us, which through God's mercy hurt none of us, nor our walls but very little, besides continually shooting with muskets and hammer-guns ever since the siege began and yet not a man of ours slain or wounded, which is a wonderful thing. This night they made two shots with their great gun, which likewise did no execution, thanks be to God.

Saturday August 12th, the enemy continued shooting with their great guns, sometimes battering at chimneys, sometimes at the walls below, anon at the windows and tiles, now three or four shots in the west, then to the south and east, then cursing the Roundheads, calling us Essex bastards, Waller's bastards, Harley's bastards, besides rogues and thieves. This was their language and these were their actions to reduce us to obedience to the King. This day they made twenty shots against our castle and so concluded three weeks work, all which through the wonderful mercy of our good God, did us very little hurt, yet not a man slain or wounded although so many thousand shots have been shot against us. I dare say there hath been no such preservation in these three kingdoms since the beginning of these unnatural wars. The praise we ascribe only to the God of our preservation.

Sunday August 13th we were necessitated to work in the morning, for we found that our wall in the west was sore battered almost to a breach and that very near the ground; it was a round tower that contained a staircase, which might be fortified with more ease than any part of the castle, there we bestowed much pains in lining the walls. This day we had secret intelligence that two more of their guns were broken, that another cannoneer was sore hurt, that Prince Rupert had sent the enemy word to leave our castle, and to run away, that an army was upon their

march from London for our relief. This day they played not with their cannons at all, but lay still, as if they had enough.

Monday August 14th the enemy was very quiet till the afternoon, then they began out of the steeple to batter. They made five shots against us this day, which did us no hurt. This night we had secret intelligence that the enemy was preparing fire balls to destroy us.

Tuesday August 15th the enemy continued battering with their great gun out of the steeple our worst friend. They made this day nine shots more at our south battlements which did no execution there; and from day to day hath the Lord hitherto preserved us and made their own guns their executioners.

Wednesday August 16th the enemy lay still almost the whole day; at evening they made two shots against us from the stable, which did no execution. This day we had secret intelligence that the Parliament forces were at Wolverhampton, that Gloucester was besieged, that the King lay before it, that Bristol was delivered up upon composition, that Sir William Waller was coming to raise the siege of Gloucester, that Brampton Castle was given to Sheriff Lingen if he could get it.

Thursday August 17th the weather being very foul the enemy lay still about us and we had a pretty intermission from them; but the Lord was pleased this day to sadden us with the breaking of an iron gun, which was our greatest, whereby an honest and active gentleman of our garrison was sore hurt and it was God's great mercy we (*sic*) had not been slain, which we acknowledge with much thankfulness. The enemy played not with their great gun this day.

Friday August 18th being the [twenty-fourth] we were besieged, our honest cook received a shot through his left arm, which was the first bullet [with which] the enemy touched any of us. This night we had secret intelligence that the Scots were come into England, that the whole kingdom resolved to rise as one man, that Sir William Waller was made General of a great army in London and was coming westward, that the cause in the [ ] was successful through the kingdom, but for us in particular, without hopes of any relief as yet.

Saturday August 19th the enemy lay very quiet all the day, there was nothing remarkable save only the conclusion of another week and not one of us slain, but one hurt; on the contrary we were informed that of the enemy there were three-score hurt and slain.

Sunday August the 20th we spent in fasting and prayer that we might be delivered out of the hands of these bloody enemies, who were, by the power of God, this day restrained from disturbing of us.

Monday August 21 the enemy made four shots with their great gun which did no harm. This day a small party of our men sallied out upon the enemy and slew some of them, fired a house where they kept their wild fire, very much to our advantage, some that lay prisoners have since confessed that these ten men of ours that sallied out made four hundred of theirs ready



to fly ; there was not one of our men touched in this service. The praise of our preservation we ascribe only to God.

Tuesday August 22nd the enemy made eight shots more which did no execution. This day they cast up breastworks in our gardens and walks ; and lay so near us that their rotten language infected the air ; they were so completely inhuman that out of their own mouths, and the mouths of their guns, came nothing else but poisoned words and poisoned bullets.

Wednesday the 23rd of August a drum was sent with a parley whereby we understood that Sir John Scudamore, knight, had a gracious letter from his Majesty to the Lady Harley ; she presently prepared an humble petition to his Majesty then lying before Gloucester. This night we had secret intelligence from London of an insurrection there by the malignant rabble, of great division between both Houses and other very sad news.

Thursday the 24th of August the parley continued. Sir John Scudamore came up into the castle by a ladder and a rope, had conference with the noble lady, demanded her castle, etc. This day our cook died, being shot into the arm formerly with a poisoned bullet.

Friday the 25th of August, the treaty continued with a cessation of arms. This night we had secret intelligence that things were not so bad in the public as formerly we heard, that Sir William Bruerton waited for an opportunity for our relief, that London was quieted, that Gloucester resolved to fight it out, that such cruelty was exercised at Bristol, notwithstanding fair promises, that it will be a precedent to all the kingdom never to believe the Cavaliers.

Saturday the 26th of August, the treaty continued.

Sunday the 27th of August, the treaty continued. This day Mr. Lake, vicar of Aymestrey, preached to the Cavaliers.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the treaty continued with a cessation of arms.

Friday, the 1st of September 1643, Sir John Scudamore returned again, sent a letter to the noble Lady, and gave her to understand that her petition to his Majesty had received a gracious answer, etc. This night we had secret intelligence from Sir William [Waller] that we should speedily be relieved, that Gloucester stood out valiantly, many of the Cavaliers were slain before it, that the Earl of Newcastle had received a great overthrow, that the Lord Capell's powder house at Salop was blown up.

Saturday the 2nd of September we expected his Majesty's answer afore mentioned, which proved only a letter from Sir William Vavasour wherein he offered a pass and convoy for the Lady and her servants to march away. In the evening there came a very sharp letter from Sir John Scudamore requiring our castle and arms, to admit a garrison, or a positive answer which was to this effect, etc.

Sunday the 3rd of September there was a cessation of arms.

Monday the 4th of September, we expected the 'Hoggs' out of Lingams Park, wherewith they meant to undermine us. This

night we had secret intelligence that Eccleston Castle was taken, that Sir William [Waller] was bound for Salop county, that this week he would send a party to raise the siege here, that Gloucester stood out valiantly, that the Scots were in England.

Tuesday the 5th of September, Sir John Scudamore came again, sent a close letter to the noble Lady, desired admittance to speak with her, which was not granted, for experience had taught us, their former words and actions wanted nothing but truth. This evening Sir John Scudamore sent in the King's answer as he pretended subsigned by secretary Fauckland here annexed, etc. This night we had secret intelligence that the Parliament forces were at Wem, within seven miles of Salop.

Wednesday the 6th of September the noble lady sent early a letter to Sir John Scudamore here annexed. This morning the enemy began to remove their carriages, which is contrary to the law of arms in time of treaty, whereupon we gave them a warning piece and presently after they began with their great guns afresh; they made two shots and no more which did no execution.

Thursday the 7th of September the Cavaliers made two great shots more with their great guns which did no execution. We were of opinion that they had enough, and were taking their leave, at last removing their great guns. This night we had secret intelligence that Sir William [Waller] was ready to come to raise the siege here, that the Lord General and Sir William Waller were upon their march for Gloucester to raise the siege there, that now Bristol began to revolt from the Cavaliers' heavy yoke.

Friday the 8th of September 1643, the Cavaliers stole away our bells and as they were carrying them out of town, we sent some of his Majesty's good subjects to old Nick for their sacrilege; some of their great guns, we heard they were now gone.

Saturday the 9th of September we continued with small shot most of the day and through God's mercy concluded another week and none of us slain or wounded. This evening the enemy fired a 'baracado' upon the west part of our castle, which made us confident they were taking their leave of us. This night we had secret intelligence that the Lord General was with a very great army near Gloucester, that the Cavaliers had raised their siege to give him battle, and that all the King's forces were called together for that purpose from Exeter, from Shrewsbury, &c.; that Sir William Waller came out of London upon Monday last and that the Cavaliers about us would be gone. This, indeed, was the day of our deliverance, a day to be remembered and never to be forgotten throughout our generations.

The Lord was this day pleased to take away these bloody villains, and to return them with shame, which had vexed us almost these seven weeks, for which we desire to be humbly thankful to our good God, that delivered our poor family out of the hands of fifteen malignant counties set against us even to our extirpation and ruin.

These are the several passages of our siege truly related from our shutting up even to the day of our deliverance. *Copy.*



HENRY LINGEN, SIR W. PYE and WILLIAM SMALLMAN to  
[BRILLIANA] LADY HARLEY.

1643, July 26.—Our relations to your Ladyship make us careful to prevent if we can any further inconvenience to you, and therefore to that end we think fit to acquaint you that [as] Sir William Vavasour by his Majesty's command hath drawn his forces before your castle, with resolution to reduce it before he stirs from thence, your ladyship may do well to take into your consideration the posture you are in. Bristol is taken by Prince Rupert and [he] is now before Gloucester. His Majesty's forces are successful everywhere, so that your ladyship cannot hope for any relief, and upon these terms if your ladyship should be obstinate we cannot promise and expect those conditions for you that are fit for your quality, especially my Lady Aubigny having been so ill-treated by the Parliament, neither any quarter for those that are with you, who further must look for all extremity upon their families and substance forthwith. Madam we wish you would take this seriously into your thoughts, and we expect a speedy answer.  
*Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to HENRY LINGEN, High Sheriff, SIR WALTER PYE and MR. SMALLMAN.

1643, July 26.—Your relations to me which you are pleased to make mention of might have invited you to another piece of service than this that you are now come upon, in which if you should have your desire it would never crown you with honour before men, nor blessings from God. For Sir William Vavasour's drawing his forces before my house by the King's command, I dare not, I cannot, I must not, believe it, since it has pleased our most gracious King to make many solemn promises that he would maintain the laws and liberties of this kingdom. I cannot then think he would give a command to take away anything from his loyal subjects, and much less to take away my house. If Sir William Vavasour will do so I must endeavour to keep what is mine as well as I can, in which I have the law of nature, of reason, and of the land on my side, and you none to take it from me. For Bristol and Gloucester it is no precedent to me if they are taken, that I should give away what is mine. I believe I shall have more comfort in keeping my own to the utmost, than ever you will have in the least endeavour to take it away.

SIR WILLIAM VAVASOUR to [BRILLIANA] LADY HARLEY.

[1643.] July 28. Wigmore Grange.—I took notice of your ladyship's letter and denial upon Wednesday night with much regret, for I thought the demands made to you by those gentlemen who subscribed the letter were so reasonable that they could not have found contradiction from anybody, much less from a person of your wisdom and virtue. How your ladyship can term yourself one of the King's loyal subjects, when either by your command

or connivance at least, your rebels in your house have committed so many thefts, murders, and taken so many prisoners for no other cause than for being good subjects. Truly, madam, I don't understand those declarations you are pleased to mention of our gracious King are conditional, and comprehend only those who acknowledge his power and obey his commands, which if it please your ladyship to do, by delivering up those rebels in your house, which you now endeavour to protect—and truly madam I must deal plainly with you—much in vain, for we will never suffer the King's power to be affronted by so small a part of the county, the dispute will end, for if you please not to withstand the right which God and the laws of the land have put into the King's hands. I shall deal fairly with you, madam. I am your servant, and to one so noble and virtuous-am desirous to keep off all insolences that the liberty of the soldiers, provoked to it by your obstinacies, may throw you upon; yet if you remain still wilful, what you may suffer is brought upon you by yourself, I having by this timely notice discharged those respects due to your sex and honour. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR WILLIAM VAVASOUR.

1643, July 28.—I have considered of your letter you were pleased to send this morning. For my denial to those reasonable demands you wrote of, I am ignorant of any demands they mean to offer to me, for sure I am they made none in their letter. Those gentlemen you write of seemed in their letter so far to befriend me as to let me know you had sent soldiers before my house to reduce it. I know nothing I can be reduced to but to poverty, and it is endeavoured as much as can be, for all my cattle and sheep are taken by your soldiers. I wrote the gentlemen word I would endeavour to keep what was mine as long as I could and I know that does not make me an ill subject, nor give anyone warrant to take it from me. Sir, I have heard such a fair report of you that it possessed me with a belief that so noble a soldier as yourself would rather have put forth your power to have rescued me from injuries, than to have poured them upon me, and I think it exceedingly strange that so ingenious a mind should take up such false reports, as it seems you have of me. Sir, my words shall always be so ruled by the line of truth, that without further protestations you may believe this truth, that none in my house tolerated by me did ever commit murder or theft, things which I abhor as much as any can. Since you have taken up what is fallen, I believe there is so much virtue in you that you will be glad to know the truth, though it may seem too long a story. I guess they ground the report of theft and murder on this accident. Some Welshmen in my house desired leave to go home Whitsuntide last, which they did. When they were in their own country they went to the sheriff's house in Radnorshire and thence or from his son they took two buff coats, some halberts, and a horse, when they returned to my house. Before they came in I heard what they



had done, with which I was so much displeased, that I discharged them presently, paying them what was due and not suffering them to come into my house. The sheriff's son two days after wrote me a letter to let me know what they had done, and they said they had killed a man. I caused the man to go into the town to search for what he had lost, of which they only found some halberts which were delivered into the constable's hands till Mr. Lloyd sent for them, which Mr. Lloyd did the other day and they were delivered to him. I wish all could say as I can that I never took anything from anybody that I had not good right to, and they as willing to give it as I to receive, neither did I ever favour anyone in my house that would do the least injury. For taking of prisoners I never did take any, but as I was enforced thereby as I thought to rescue myself, but upon the score of being the King's servants I never did. I am so far from that if any unworthy man bear that name I should respect him for that though he had nothing else to challenge it. But when my servants and friends were taken, I took some to regain mine again. For having any rebels in my house, I know none but such as appear to be his Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects. Surely, Sir, you have discovered that which I cannot perceive in any, and you and all the world are deceived if you think there is any drop of disloyal blood in my heart, and none can less cherish our gracious King's enemies than myself. Therefore let me obtain the common right that you will believe myself and family to be the King's most faithful subjects. I know you have taken up those reports at random, or else I should be in a labyrinth of thoughts who you should suspect in my house for a rebel. Why you are pleased to term me obstinate I know not, my endeavour is to have my will stoop to reason, and not to do anything because I will do it. Sir, I need not tell you your soldiers have taken my beasts and all else they can and shot at my house these two days and nights, but for what cause am ignorant and I hope the Lord will never leave me so far to myself that I should give just cause why I should be so used, and therefore I believe you will by these lines see your mistake in me and those that are with me, and so be sorry for what injuries you have done me, and recall your soldiers that I may not be further wronged by them. *Copy.*

SIR W. VAVASOUR to [BRILLIANA] LADY HARLEY.

1643, July 29.—I received your ladyship's answer to my letter, wherein you were pleased to justify yourself and those in your house, and to tax me and my soldiers. I shall not trouble your ladyship with much or often writing to you, only this time your ladyship hath professed yourself so faithful a subject, I am confident you will justify it by obeying his Majesty's command, and indeed madam I shall not exceed the commission given me by his sacred Majesty, to which I am sworn to be obedient. For your cattle truly I gave a strict command they should be safely preserved, to the end, if your ladyship shall

approve yourself loyal, they may be restored and shall, or satisfaction if they shall not be forfeited to the King. I make no pretence myself to them, I have ever abhorred the thing plundering. For my soldiers shooting these two days, it was directly against my order, for indeed I was not in a present condition, my cannon being not then come and I do not love to spend my shot in vain, nor do I believe they had given fire against your house had they not been provoked to it, by your first and often shooting from thence, who have killed a little boy, which truly, madam, if not timely prevented by a treaty must be revenged. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR W. VAVASOUR.

1643, July 29.—The letter you were pleased to send me this day I have received. For my justifying myself in avowing my loyalty to our gracious King is that which I must always do, and Sir, for taxing you had not Mr. Lingen and Sir Walter Pye sent me word that you had sent soldiers against me, I should not have believed it, that you of so much wisdom would have concluded one who you did not know to be worthy to be destroyed. Sir, the letter that Sir Walter Pye, Mr. Lingen, and Mr. Smallman wrote to me, assured me that your soldiers came before my house in a hostile manner, and as they said to reduce me; to what that may be extended to I know not, so that I looked upon [them as] a professed enemy, who as soon as they came into the town killed a man, and that night killed my sheep and lambs, and the rest they drove away. I waited patiently resolving to bear as much as with my safety I could. On Thursday morning the soldiers approached nearer my house, and reviled those they saw in my house, both in words and actions; they were desired to keep off, which they would not, and then my men shot; but I cannot say it was to revenge the killing of the man when they came first into the town, or the taking of my sheep, for I will do nothing in way of revenge, but what shot was made was to keep off those that were my enemies from too near an approach; which action, if you did not account me—your servant—as an enemy, you would commend, that I endeavoured to preserve my family. Sir, did you know my heart, you would see I were more ready to show you respect, than give me occasion of revenge. Sir, you are pleased to make mention of a treaty, but in what manner I know not, because you are not pleased to express it, but sure I am, I am ready rather in the way of peace to put an end to this difference, than still to have you as my enemy, for yet I cannot say I am yours; for sure, had I like the power you have and as fair an opportunity to do it, I should not go to your house and do as much as you have done to me. *Copy.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1643, July 30.—My rents have been stopped by the gentlemen of this county for almost these twelve months, and now my cattle and horses taken by your soldiers. When I heard you



were come into this county, I having heard the worth was in you, I promised myself you would be as slow to such an act as others had been, but I know not how the gentlemen of this county have overcome you, for yet I cannot tell how to think, that of yourself you would so injure one that had no way deserved it. I believe my condition cannot be paralleled, that one of my condition, who have my husband from me, and so wanting much comfort, I should be besieged, and so my life and the lives of my little children sought after, with that of my whole family without any cause given on my part or of anyone with me. Sir, you have been pleased to be their instrument to take away that upon which I and my children must live, which was the stock upon my ground and which being gone, and my rents not paid, I must bethink myself of another place to be in, and therefore I desire you will do me the favour to let me have liberty to send to Sir William Pelham, who is with the King, that by his means I may obtain a pass, by which I may go safely to some other place of more safety than my own house. *Copy.*

SIR W. VAVASOUR to [BRILLIANA] LADY HARLEY.

1643, July 31.—If your ladyship shall please to command your servants and all others within your house to lay down their arms, and suffer me to send in a guard, I will wait on your ladyship, and upon the word of a gentleman you shall receive nothing of violence to yourself or family, or anything within your house by the said guard, and I shall not exact from your ladyship beyond my punctual orders from his Majesty, but show your ladyship all warrantable respects. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR W. VAVASOUR.

1643, July 31.—For my servants laying down their arms I know of none they bear but for mine and their defence, a thing warranted by the laws of the land, and it is strange to me that my having a few arms in my house is more offensive than [in] Sir John Winter's house. Sir, for me to yield that you should place a garrison in my house, I cannot find out any reason for it, and under what notion you would do it, I know not; but this I conceive, I should become a prisoner in my own house, which I cannot yield to, for so I should speak myself guilty; and thus much more I must say, my dear husband hath entrusted me with his house and children, and therefore I cannot dispose of his house but according to his pleasure, and I do not know it is his pleasure that I should entertain soldiers in his house; and surely Sir, I never will voluntarily betray the trust my husband reposeth in me. I have hitherto believed very well of you, and that I may do so, I will not—if I can help it—try how your soldiers will deal with me; and I trust the Lord my God will deliver me and mine out of all my enemies' hands; but if it hath pleased the Lord to appoint that your cruelties and wrongs to me and mine, and some of the inhabitants of this town, must help to fill up the measure of all

the cruelties now used against those that desire to keep faith in a good conscience, I shall not be displeased; for when the measure of cruelties is full, the day of deliverance will soon appear to the Church of God which is now afflicted. And Sir, let me desire of you not to be displeased if I put you in mind with the rest of the gentlemen of this county, how you make yourselves guilty of innocent blood; for so you will, if you shed the least drop of any one with me. *Copy.*

SIR W. VAVASOUR to [BRILLIANA] LADY HARLEY.

1643, July 31.—This return of your ladyship's is so contrary to your letter the last day, when you were justly sensible of the great danger yourself and your children were in, as also desirous to send to Sir William Pelham, that by his means you might obtain means to pass from this your house; that I can guess your resolutions are to be disobedient to his Majesty's commands; if so, truly madam, I shall discharge my duty to his Majesty with more pity to your ladyship than envy, and could heartily wish your ladyship were where yesterday you did wish yourself; and for your evil counsellors that think themselves so free I shall not doubt but suddenly do such justice upon them—if they continue thus obstinate—as is due to such rebellious dispositions. As for Sir John Winter's fortifying his house, it was for his Majesty's service and with my consent; I could wish your ladyship had the same intentions or loyalty to his Majesty. For your being a prisoner in your own house, it was never my resolution. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR WILLIAM VAVASOUR.

1643, July 31.—I now perceive you received the letter I sent you yesterday. I am in the same mind I was then, that if you will give me liberty to send to Sir William Pelham that so I may procure a pass, I shall take it for a favour, but that I hope did not discover any intentions in me that I would admit of a guard being put upon me. Sir, far be it from me, I should ever believe our gracious King—to whom I am a most loyal subject—should take it for a disobedience in me if I should not admit of soldiers in my house. I am sorry you will not afford me a common charity, to believe me loyal to his Majesty, since you know not to the contrary. Sir, besides the right of a common subject, I am so happy that, my lord my father was in a particular manner his Majesty's servant, and therefore I should be sorry that any heart should outstrip mine in loyalty. Who you mean by evil counsellors I know not, neither is there any in my house guilty of any crime which may make them liable to justice. Truly Sir, you are better acquainted with my family than I am; and if you know any such you will do me a favour if I may know who they are. Sir, I know not whether it is your intentions I should be a prisoner in my house, but I should take myself so to be if I were under a guard. *Copy.*



## KING CHARLES I. to BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY.

1643, August 21. The Court at Matson.—Whereas we understand that Brampton Bryan Castle in our county of Hereford hath been and is made a receptacle and place of retreat to the rebels now in arms against us, and a great terror to the country thereabouts by killing of divers of our good subjects, firing of houses and many other outrages, and hath been in a rebellious manner maintained and defended against our forces; yet being very desirous to believe that what hath been done in and from your said Castle hath rather proceeded from your being seduced by evil counsel than out of your ill-affection to us and our service, and being willing to avoid effusion of blood, and unwilling that our forces—in respect of your sex and condition—should take such course for forcing or firing of the same as they must otherwise be compelled to take; for these reasons we have sent our trusty and wellbeloved Sir John Scudamore, knight, in our name to demand the said castle to be immediately surrendered to us, and we do hereby advise and require you to admit of our forces into the same under the conduct of Sir William Vavasour, knight, or such as he shall appoint, for the safety and security of that country, assuring you in the word of a King of our grace and free pardon for the offences aforesaid in case the said Castle be immediately delivered according to these our commands; but if you shall refuse to obey this our command and advice in so particular and gracious a manner directed to you, you must thank yourself for that ruin and destruction which contrary to our desire will unavoidably involve you; and so expecting your ready compliance, as well in order to your interest, as to your loyalty, we bid you heartily farewell. *Copy.*

## SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY.

1643, August 23. Brampton.—The King's most excellent Majesty hath sent me hither with his gracious letters directed to your ladyship. I desire to know by this drummer how I may be admitted to deliver the same and what else is given in charge to me. *Copy.*

## BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—I shall with all readiness receive what your gracious King is pleased to send to me, and I am sorry that my condition is such, that there is not so fair a way for you to come into my house as I desire and I know not how to offer you the way by which others are enforced to pass; but if it please you to assure me of his safety I will send down a gentleman to receive his Majesty's letter, and if it please you either by writing or word of mouth, to deliver to the gentleman what further you will say to me, I know he will be a faithful messenger. *Copy.*

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY].

1643, August 23. Brampton.—I have received your Ladyship's, and have taken assurance from the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces here, that the gentleman, whom your ladyship shall send forth to meet me and receive his Majesty's letters, shall return in safety; and for my assurance, if that may add to his security, I do hereby promise that as far as may lie in my power, who have no command here, but was very glad to receive the honour of his Majesty's commands, so full of tender compassion to your ladyship, had your ladyship been willing I should have gladly expressed by word of mouth how much I desire your peace and happiness, to which, if my endeavours may promote anything, it shall be cheerfully undertaken and faithfully prosecuted by me.

*Postscript.*—I shall meet the gentleman in any convenient place of your ladyship's choice. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—I will believe the assurance you are pleased to say the chief commander of his Majesty's forces here doth promise for the security and safe return of the gentleman I shall send to wait upon you; and since you are pleased to engage your own promise for his safe return, I shall have a double confidence in the promise you give of his safe return. I should have taken it for an happiness to have had the favour to have seen you myself but since I cannot easily attain to it at this time, I must desire you would do me the favour to meet Mr. Phillips in the Bowling Green which is a little on this side the garden. Sir, if you please to let me know whether I have made a choice agreeable to your mind, and Mr. Phillips will be ready to receive the honour of waiting upon you. *Copy.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—I must earnestly desire the favour, that you will be pleased that I may have liberty to send a petition to his most sacred Majesty, by which our most gracious King may truly understand my condition, which I make no doubt but he will commiserate. I presume Sir William Vavasour will not deny me this favour, for once he promised to give me liberty to send to the Court.

*Postscript.*—If I may have liberty to send, I will God willing fail not to send one very early to-morrow morning if you will please to procure a pass for him. *Copy.*

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY.

1643, August 23. Brampton.—I have spoken with the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces now here concerning the pass your ladyship desires; his answer is, that he hath no commission to grant such pass, and Madam I take it for a particular misfortune to me that your ladyship should desire anything of me which is out of my power to perform. I have yet received



nothing in answer to his Majesty's letter, according to the contents whereof and my duty, I do hereby demand in the King's name that your ladyship do immediately deliver your castle of Brampton Bryan into the hands of Colonel Henry Lingen, High Sheriff of this county, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces under Sir William Vavasour; and I do expect your ladyship's positive answer hereunto and shall immediately repair therewith to the Court near Gloucester. I hope my fortune may be better hereafter in my endeavours to serve your ladyship.  
*Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—Since it cannot be that I may obtain the favour of a pass for a servant of mine to go to the Court, I will, God willing, send you my petition to our most gracious King tomorrow morning in the which will be my full answer, and I hope procure me more peace than yet I have had.  
*Copy.*

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY.

1643, August 24. Brampton.—I know of nothing that hath been denied your ladyship which is in the power of any here to grant, and for my own part I am heartily sorry that your ladyship is not pleased to make use of such service as I am able to do you, which I am confident might be of far greater advantage than the passing of a servant to the King. My Lords of Clare, Holland, Bedford and many others of the Houses of Lords and Commons are come from the Parliament to Wallingford, and other places in the King's obedience. My Lord of Clare hath sent an humble petition to the King, but on Tuesday when I came from Court he was not yet admitted to come forward to the King's presence. I have not heard that my Lord of Westmorland is yet released out of his imprisonment by the Parliament; and for my worthy good friend Sir William Pelham he is in Lincoln, which is lately reduced to his Majesty's obedience, &c. My Lords of Northumberland and Pembroke are in the case aforesaid; and give me leave to tell your ladyship, if you knew how the affairs stand at London I am confident I should have the honour of bringing back to his Majesty the notice of your ladyship's doing yourself right by submitting to his Majesty's just demands. I must be again a suitor to your ladyship for a positive answer.

*Postscript.*—Were your ladyship informed how absolute the King is both in the north and west, and how much his party increaseth in Kent, Surrey and other counties about London, the high differences between the Earl of Essex and Sir William W[aller], with the little appearance of recruiting either of those armies, you would perhaps judge the defending of London itself three months will be a very difficult business. The good intelligence the King hath with the Scots and his Majesty's strength at sea under Sir John Pennington, since the reduction of Bristol; these and many other particulars I should have

acquainted your ladyship with, had I been admitted to your presence. The suburbs against the city in arms; the women against the House of Commons in multitudes; the train bands of London against the women who cry out for their slain and imprisoned husbands; divers women killed by the soldiers in this tumult, yet unappeased; Mr. Pym beaten by the women and with much difficulty escaped their fury by water. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to the KING.

[1643, August.]—The humble petition of Dame Brilliana Harley. Humbly sheweth that your poor and distressed subject perceiveth by a gracious letter dated 21st of August from your sacred Majesty directed to your said subject and brought by Sir John Scudamore, knight, that many unjust informations have been given to your Majesty against your said subject. Be pleased therefore, gracious sovereign, to believe me, that my house is not nor never was, to my knowledge, a receptacle for any disloyal person, nor was my condition such, as to be a terror to any, much less did any by my command or privy either kill any of your Majesty's subjects, or fire any houses, or commit any outrages to bring or cause the forces under the command of Sir William Vavasour against me, but only kept such a number of servants with arms as in these woeful times might defend me against pillaging and plundering, a thing your Majesty hath in several proclamations expressed your dislike of. Yet so it is, most gracious sovereign, that I have had servants imprisoned, some killed, and now by Sir William Vavasour's forces, all my horses, cattle, corn and other things taken away; my house attempted with many soldiers, horse and foot, with five or six cannons battering the walls, and almost every day assaulted by small shot, whereas your poor subject did never offend your Majesty, or ever take up arms against your Majesty, or any man of mine, or any by mine appointment was in actual rebellion against your sacred Majesty; and therefore your poor subject hopeth and prayeth the premises being graciously weighed your Majesty will not require that from me which by the law of the land is mine, and which if I shall give up, I have no subsistence for myself and mine; but that your Majesty will be pleased to command Sir William Vavasour to withdraw his forces and restore to me my goods, but if your Majesty will—notwithstanding the premises—command me out of my house, my humble desire is that you will in your clemency allow unto me some maintenance for me and mine and fit time to remove myself and family by your protection to pass to some other place where we may find subsistence, that we perish not; so shall she who ever hath been and ever will be your loyal and faithful subject pray for your sacred Majesty. *Copy.*

LORD FALKLAND to [BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY].

1643, August 30. At the Court at Matson.—Although his Majesty be in no degree satisfied with the petitioner's excuses of so evident



facts, and yet less with the unjust aspersions cast upon his Majesty's officers and soldiers for what they have done according to their commission towards the necessary reduction of a place manned and fortified without his Majesty's consent and against his Majesty's forces, yet his Majesty is yet once more graciously pleased, so far to reflect with pity upon the sex and condition of the petitioner, and to afford the best interpretation to what hath passed, as hereby once more to offer unto the petitioner and also the persons with her, full pardon and free licence to depart out of the castle whither and with what arms and ammunition—ordnance only excepted—they shall please themselves, and to assure them of a convoy accordingly; and in case his Majesty's forces be immediately received into the castle, his Majesty is yet further contented that the petitioner and her family may if she please remain therein until she have provided herself of another habitation, which gracious offer of his Majesty if it find not a most ready and most grateful acceptance from the petitioner his Majesty must not only then most plainly discover the vanity of the pretences in this petitioner to loyalty and fidelity, but must be enforced to punish with utmost severity of justice so high a contempt of his grace and favour.

*Note.*—Sir John Scudamore added by word of mouth he had power to grant to her ladyship what other conditions she could in reason demand, which Mr. Moor told her ladyship from Sir John. *Copy.*

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.\*

1643, September 1. Brampton.—I have outgone my promise; your petition is delivered to the king and I have his Majesty's answer. Your ladyship is beholding to Sir William Vavasour for his encouragement to me therein, without which I durst not have delivered such a petition to his Majesty. Madam, I desire to be no longer treated with ceremony by admitting me to your presence by an unhandsome way, being ready to undergo far greater difficulties to approve myself, your humble servant. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 1. Brampton Castle.—I acknowledge your favour in that you were better than your promise and so you say you have delivered my petition to his Majesty. What Sir William Vavasour did in giving way to it, I shall be ready to acknowledge as a favour. I will now it is late hold you no longer with these lines, but wish you may have a good night. *Copy.*

\* Three letters, two dated August 24 and one August 25, which passed between Lady Harley and Sir J. Scudamore, are printed from other copies at Welbeck on pp. 114, 115 of the first volume of the report on the Harley papers belonging to the Duke of Portland. (Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part II.)

## BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 2.—Had I not taken cold which hindered my sleep this night these lines should have waited upon you in a more early hour. Sir, I do abundantly acknowledge your abundant favour that you are pleased to suspend so (*sic*) with so an unhandsome way that I may have the honour to see you, which I cannot promise myself, for the chamber where you did me favour to speak to me in being a cold place, I dare not obtain the favour of seeing you there without fear of increasing the cold I have now taken. Therefore give me leave to beg the favour of knowing your mind in the way of a letter, with which, to so excellent abilities as yours are, it is as easy as to speak. *Copy.*

## SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.

1643, September 2. Brampton.—I am very sorry for your Ladyship's indisposition, I was so far from appointing the room where I should wait upon your ladyship, that I should have been content with any room or place. But since your ladyship permits me not to do you the service I desired, and my instructions enable me unto, I can be heartily sorry for it, though I cannot force it upon you. If it please your ladyship to send one out to meet me I shall deliver a letter to him directed to your ladyship, and to return to Court, where I shall give this account that I could not be admitted to say that which was commanded me, and having no order to discourse that with my pen which was delivered me by word of mouth. *Copy.*

## BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 2.—Did not my indisposition of health confine me to my chamber I should now be as willing to wait upon you in my own house as I was when you last did me favour to come to me. I will send a gentleman to wait upon you, and I presume—if please you—I may by your pen know further instructions, which I should take as an obligation, and will ever be ready to take up all opportunities by which I may appear, Sir, your servant.

*Postscript.*—I desire to know when Mr. Phillips shall wait upon you. *Copy.*

## SIR WILLIAM VAVASOUR to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.

1643, August 31. Langford.—I have seen your Ladyship's petition to the King and have been forward to serve your ladyship with my best endeavours to his Majesty, who hath been graciously pleased to grant you a safe pass and conduct for yourself and servants, your arms being delivered up for his Majesty's use. If I may know wherein I may do your Ladyship further service, I shall be ready to receive notice of it from Sir John Scudamore who hath instructions from me. *Copy.*



## BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 2.—By your favour I have received Sir William Vavasour's letter. Mr. Phillips tells me that if I send an answer to him you will be pleased to take order that it may be sent to him. On Monday if it please God I will send him an answer to his letter. Sir, I must beg the favour to know to who I may direct my letter to Sir William Vavasour that it may have the honour to come to your hand. Mr. Phillips tells me you are ready for your journey to Ludlow, where I wish you a happy arrival. *Copy.*

## SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.

1643, September 2. Brampton.—I hope Mr. Phillips did not forget to speak to your ladyship for your answer concerning the laying down of your arms and delivering up of the castle; if he did, then your ladyship must give me leave to put you in mind of that hereby. Your ladyship in your petition did set forth all those grievances which you had, which being known to the king, your ladyship said that notwithstanding that if the king would command you out of your house, you humbly desired his Majesty's protection and pass to carry you and your family safe to some other place where you might find subsistence, etc. This his Majesty hath graciously granted you, and a convoy also for your more safety if you desire it, or if you desire to remain in the castle till you can be provided in some other place, his Majesty is contented that you and your family shall so remain there, so as you immediately receive in a garrison of his Majesty's soldiers, and to this I must expect your positive answer, that I may return to his Majesty, whether you will immediately deliver up the castle of Brampton Bryan in the hands of Colonel Henry Lingen, which I do now the second time hereby demand in his Majesty's name and your ladyship's positive answer. *Copy.*

## BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 2. Brampton Castle.—How to give a positive answer to what you require of me, I know not, for, by what Sir William Vavasour and you are pleased to write, I cannot see that his Majesty commands me out of my house, my petition being delivered by such as I presume intend my ruin. I know not how to believe whether his Majesty hath seen it or not, since he is pleased, as you write, to grant me no more than a mere pass for myself and family. Sir, this concerns the livelihood of me and mine and therefore before the delivering up of my house, I must desire my petition may be solicited by some friend of mine at Court who I may confide in. *Copy.*

## SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.

1643, September 5. Brampton.—Upon your Ladyship's letter on Saturday evening I sent away to Court, and have been

at Ludlow ever since expecting what I have not received, and now, Madam, I am further enabled to serve your ladyship than hitherto. If therefore your ladyship be pleased to permit me to wait upon you, it shall appear to your ladyship how effectually I solicited your petition, even to the obtaining of more than you prayed, and my actions shall testify than an angry or a little misunderstanding (*sic*) shall not discourage me from seeking means to declare myself, your, &c. *Copy.*

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.

Same date and place.—I am suitor to your ladyship to know how you will please to permit me to convey that to your notice which I have in charge to deliver to your ladyship in answer to your petition, and the rest of the trust committed to me. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 5. Brampton [Castle].—Since it is so that I cannot have the freedom to speak to you myself, if please you to let me know your mind by letter I shall be ready to receive it.

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.

1643, September 5. Brampton.—If your ladyship have a will to it, I know nothing that can hinder you the freedom of speech with me, who am here purposely to receive that honour from your ladyship; and truly Madam were the thoughts of my heart known to your ladyship, all these scruples and ceremonies would be removed, and I should have the same liberty I have formerly found to your presence: but Madam if you deny me that be pleased to send some one to the Bowling Green to receive what is now come to my hands for your ladyship in writing. *Copy.*

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 5.—Mr. Moor will do me the favour to wait upon you in the Bowling Green, that by him I may receive what you please to make known unto me, for whose safe return I desire the engagement of your promise.

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to [BRILLIANA,] LADY HARLEY.

1643, September 5.—Mr. Moor's safe return is promised by Colonel Lingen and myself who are repairing now to the Green to meet him presently.

BRILLIANA, LADY HARLEY to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1643, September 6.—Since my petition to his Majesty hath gained me no more than the answer you were pleased to send me last night by Mr. Moor I cannot be satisfied till I have



obtained that, by the hand of some of my own friends, my condition may be presented to his Majesty, who then I am persuaded would grant me liberty to enjoy what is my own. Sir, I will now beg your pardon that these lines waited not on you sooner. If you will excuse that fault and do me the right to believe I am most ready to serve your most noble lady and yourself, you will much oblige me. *Copy.*

#### BRAMPTON and HOPTON CASTLES.

1643-4.—An account of the sieges of Brampton Castle and the massacre of Hopton Castle, by Captain Priamus Davies, who was an eye witness.

Amongst the several acts of hostility either defensive or offensive since the beginning of these unnatural wars, more of God hath not been seen in so weak means of resistance in any part of the kingdom than in this castle now consumed to ashes together with the town, and that church [in which] was so long held forth the truth of God—by the late famous dispenser of God's truth Mr. Peirson, afterwards, by the no less famous Mr. Stanley Gower—I may truly say to an unworthy people. The manner I shall briefly relate. Know, reader, that the county of Hereford was the first that resolved and then published that cursed resolution against those high and honourable assemblies of Parliament. Those malignant sparks who called themselves the Nine Worthies have kindled such a flame in England that they may well fear the great Justice of Heaven will find them out. These began the quarrel against us, which caused that honourable and gallant Lady Harley to put herself into a posture of defence against their insolent and illegal proceedings. The castle being of considerable strength was manned with about fifty musketeers, some gentlemen commanders, with an answerable proportion of powder and match, and thus inoffensively did this noble lady live upon her own in an honourable, resolute and religious way till the malice of her enemies broke forth as followeth:—

Those gentlemen entered into an association with the adjoining counties of Wales to reduce as they called it this castle to the obedience of the king, whereupon a summons was sent from Mr. William Coningsby, one of the Nine Worthies, which contained many threats and vapours, but no storm followed, save only seizing upon her revenues very valiantly.

The next summons came from the Lord Marquess of Hartford, whose honour was presently remanded unto a more honourable service than to fight with a lady.

The third summons was by Henry Lingen, High Sheriff of the county of Hereford, Sir Walter Pye, knight, and William Smallman, esquire, three of the Nine. Upon Wednesday the 26th of July, 1643, these appeared and faced us with a body of horse and foot, stopped our passages and sat down before us, took some of the inhabitants, amongst whom there was one born

blind, who [when] they demanded who he was for, he replied for King and Parliament, him they presently murdered, the summons being sent as followeth, &c.\*

Upon the 27th the enemy possessed themselves of the town and church; we played upon each other all that day and night, slew some of the enemy. The 28th we continued shooting till the evening, when another trumpet was sent from Sir William Vavasour, Governor of Hereford, with a letter, the contents, &c.

The 29th their horse faced us again; by this time they had plundered us of all horses, fat beefs, sheep, &c. which was indeed their business and errand they came about, and then sent a drum with a letter, the contents, &c.

Upon Sunday the 30th we expected their ordnance, and were compelled to block up our double portcullis, for the loss of the church which stood directly before the castle gate, within sixty or seventy paces, did extremely annoy us. Another letter sent, the copies, &c.

The 1st of August, 1643. The enemy made their approaches into our quarters, began to raise breast works and batteries, whereupon we gave fire and beat them out. The Cavaliers presently fired a house in the town, and we for our own defence put fire to all our out-houses, which contained many bays of new building, which was much for our advantage. A trumpeter was again sent with a letter, the copies, &c.

Upon the 3rd of August the enemy burnt our mills. This day the greatest part of the town was consumed and burnt. In the afternoon they placed a great gun in the steeple and made five shots which only shattered the battlements but did no execution. It is observable, that in these nine days not one of us was hurt; that all of us took joyfully the spoiling of our goods, that none of us were daunted either by the enemy, or by the malignants of the country, who stood upon hills about us, giving great shouts whenever the ordnance played.

Upon the 4th day the parsonage house was burnt which was for our advantage, for then they began to raise more batteries. All this day they played with their great gun, twenty-six shots they made which did little execution but upon chimneys and battlements.

Upon the 5th the enemy made twenty-three shots more, at last came down a stack of chimneys, at which the Cavaliers gave a great shout and cause they had so to do, that with thirty-seven shots no more execution should be done. We pretermitted nothing that might strengthen our walls, but all of us laboured as they say for life with much cheerfulness.

Sunday the 6th they would not let us rest, they made eight shots against us before morning sermon, then left off that day as if they had been ashamed. It was this day observed, that although there were of men women and children above a hundred all immured up in a close house, and in the dog days, yet there was not one feeble or sick person amongst us.

\* See pp. 8 &c., *ante* for the letters referred to in this and succeeding paragraphs.



Upon the 7th we had secret intelligence, that the enemy had no great hopes of taking our castle, that many of them were slain, that a little girl we had sent out was murdered; they made five shots more against us this morning. In the afternoon they planted another great gun against the west part of our Castle. The third shot the bullet came in at a window, shattered the walls, which hurt the Lady Colburn, struck out one of her eyes. Lieutenant Colonel Wright's wife was hurt, but neither of them mortally.

Upon the 8th day they planted another great gun against the west part of the castle, this made twenty-nine shots, all which did no further execution. This evening two colonels of foot, the train bands of Ludlow came before, who at their first approach vapoured, called us Roundheads, rogues and traitors, and sat down.

Upon the 9th the enemy had planted five great guns, as if they meant this day to have beaten it to dust. They made forty-two shots, which through God's mercy did little hurt. The noble lady was this day more courageous than ever, bid us now play the men, for the enemy was in good earnest. Among the many policies of war it is not the least to hold intelligence with friends abroad, this her wisdom was great. This night we had secret intelligence through all their courts of guard to our no small advantage and encouragement.

Upon the 10th they made but three shots which did no execution, but some Venice glasses in a high tower. These had formerly entertained some of those gallants who had now unmanned themselves in offering violence to so noble a lady; an act which will render them as odious to man as their late perjurious act at Hereford before Sir William Waller, perfidious to God.

This night we had secret intelligence that their greatest gun was yesterday broken, which killed their cannoneer; that we had slain many of their men, amongst others our mason as he was pointing with his hand to shew the enemy the weakest part of the castle was shot through that hand into his belly and died.

Upon the 11th the enemy began very early with their great guns which in the night they had placed nearer to us; this day they made thirty-five shots which did no great execution.

Upon the 12th the enemy continued this battery, cursing the Roundheads, calling us Essex's bastards, Waller's bastards, Harley's bastards, rogues, thieves, traitors, and all to reduce us to the obedience of the king and the Protestant religion. They made this day twenty shots against our castle and so concluded their week's work. It is very remarkable that notwithstanding so many thousand great and small shot not a man was hurt.

Sunday 13th of August we were necessitated to work, for we found that our wall was battered almost to a breach, very near the ground. Here we made strong barricades and lined the walls with earth. This night we had intelligence that two more of their great iron guns were broken, the cannoneers sore hurt, that Prince Rupert had sent the enemy word to fire the castle and come away.

The 14th they made but five shots which did no execution. In the night we had private intelligence that the enemy were preparing grenades.

Upon the 15th they continued battering out of the steeple which did most annoy us. This day they made nine shots more, upon the 16th but two shots. This night we had secret intelligence that Gloucester was besieged, that the King lay before it, that Bristol was delivered up, that our castle was given to Sheriff Lingen if he could get it.

Upon the 18th our cook was shot into the arm with a poisoned bullet and died, this was the first bullet that touched any of us. This night we had secret intelligence from our friends abroad but no hopes of relief, that we had slain about sixty of the enemy. Sunday, the 20th, we spent in fasting and praying that we might be delivered out of the hands of these bloody enemies, who were by the power of God this day restrained from disturbing us.

Upon the 21st the noble lady called a council to advise how those quarters of the enemy should be fired where their grenades were preparing. It was resolved that ten men should sally out upon that quarter suddenly, who were to retreat by a word. These no sooner fell on but, with rockets from the castle, the house was fired, all their materials and grenades burnt, our men slew some of them and retreated back again without any loss, in all which time the enemy were struck with such a panic fear that they could neither fight nor run away. At last recollecting themselves they made four shots with their great gun which did no execution.

Upon the 22nd day the enemy made their approaches nearer to us, cast up breast works in our garden and walks, where their rotten and poisoned language annoyed us more than their poisoned bullets. This day they made eight shots against another tower of the castle, which did no execution.

Upon the 23rd a drum was sent with a parley; a knight was sent with a letter from his Majesty to the noble lady, she returns an humble petition to his Majesty, then lying before Gloucester, the copies, &c.

This night we had secret intelligence by letters from London of an insurrection of the malignants there, into what a low condition the Parliament party were throughout the kingdom this exceeding us insomuch that some advised then to deliver up the castle. But then the noble lady protested, that she would rather choose an honourable death, for she was confident that God would own His cause both in the public and private. We needed no better an encouragement.

Upon the 24th the parley continued with a cessation of arms.

Upon the 25th at night intelligence came to us from our friends abroad; that things in the general were not so bad. That Gloucester was resolved to fight it out to the last man. That such cruelty was exercised at Bristol notwithstanding fair promises, that it was a precedent to the whole kingdom never to believe the Cavaliers.



This parley continued seven days until an answer of the petition aforesaid should be returned. The seventh night we had secret intelligence through all their courts of guard again, that Gloucester still held out gallantly although the greatest of our enemies with divers oaths affirmed that it was delivered up.

Upon the 2nd of September a trumpet was sent by Sir William Vavasour with a letter, the copies and answer &c.

Upon the 4th we had intelligence that the enemy meant to undermine us, and that they had prepared 'hoggs' to that end. That Sir William Bruerton would send a party to our release. That Gloucester valiantly stood out.

Upon the 5th a knight came with the King's answer as they pretended subscribed by Faulkland, here annexed.

Upon the 6th the parley continued. This day the enemy began to remove their carriages whereupon we gave them a warning piece; they answered us with two great guns. Upon the 7th with two more. This night the enemy stole away their great guns. Upon the 8th they carried away our bells, which cost some of them their lives.

Upon the 9th of September the enemy fired their barricade and then we were confident they were taking their leave.

This night we had secret intelligence that my Lord General was with a great army very near Gloucester. That the King had raised the siege to give him battle, and that all his forces were called away. This night the Lord was pleased to take away these bloody enemies and to return them with shame which had now lain before us seven weeks almost, for which we returned humble thanks to God that delivered our poor family out of the hands of fifteen malignant counties set against it. During the siege our sufferings were great, the enemy sat down so suddenly before us. All our bread was ground with a hand mill, our provisions very scarce, the roof of the castle so battered that there was not one dry room in it; our substance without plundered and all our friends fled, yet this noble lady bore all with admirable patience, and thus have I truly related the several passages of our siege from our shutting up to the day of our deliverance.

The former siege being raised and we set at liberty, the noble lady instead of revenging herself upon the inhabitants of that country who were active against her to the utmost of their might and power, yea none more forward and false than her own tenants and servants, in a courteous and winning way gently entreated the part adjacent to come in and level those works which they pretended the enemy had compelled them to raise against her promising to protect them, and that none of her soldiers should plunder them, all which they barbarously refused, whereupon we took out a party and compelled them in, but by her special command that none should take a pennyworth from any of them, which was as truly observed, I dare appeal to their own consciences, until their malice broke forth again. Many that had not paid their rents of some years before refused; yea they would not let us have provisions nor any of the conveniences of life which they could hinder us from.

Our necessities and resolutions would no longer brook such barbarism; we then daily sent our parties only against those that had been most active against us; whereby our necessities were in a short time supplied. Also we sent and burnt those engines of war which the enemy had prepared to undermine us. The[y] termed them 'hoggs,' which are used in approaches in war. This exasperated the enemy that they removed their quarters nearer to us. Whereupon this noble lady who commanded in chief, I may truly say with such a masculine bravery, both for religion, resolution, wisdom and warlike policy, that her equal I never yet saw, commanded that a party of about forty should go and beat up their quarters in Knighton, a market town in Radnorshire, four miles off, where Colonel Lingen's troop, her late antagonist, was quartered. This was so performed that we brought some prisoners, arms and horses without the loss of one man; colours also we had, a hand reaching out of a cloud, holding a sword, with the instruction or motto, *Rex et Regina beati, sibi, suisque*. This struck such a panic fear upon the enemy, that for six weeks after they never appeared, in which time we put ourselves into a considerable posture again, and made good preparation for approaching winter, besides that noble Colonel Massey had sent us one barrel of powder, some men and arms, which was all the encouragement or rescue we had.

By this time the fame of this noble lady was spread over most of the kingdom with admiration and applause, even of her enemies, those that were Commanders in chief against her were extremely jeered in the king's army, but herself honourably spoken of.

Thus our prosperity, enlargement, and happiness daily increasing and growing up, suddenly and in a moment decayed and withered, wherein we may behold as in a glass the mutability and inconstancy of earthly honours and content and that nothing below heaven is permanent or lasting, but of a decaying nature, and subject to resolution and change.

This honourable lady, of whom the world was not worthy, as she was a setting forward the work of God, suddenly and unexpectedly fell sick of an apoplexy with a defluxion of the lungs. Three days she continued in great extremity with admirable patience. Never was a holy life consummated and concluded with a more heavenly and happy end. Myself and many others of quality being both ear and eye witnesses to our great admiration; the last period of her mortal abode in this vale of tears, drawing on apace, she with an undaunted faith and resolution looked death in the face without dread, and the Lord Jesus with joy and comfort, to whom she resigned her soul. From Whom she hath received an immortal an incorruptible inheritance and crown, which none of her enemies can reach to rob or despoil her of.

Her body, which she desired might be wrapped in lead, was carefully preserved and placed in a high tower of the castle to attend an honorable funeral which it [blank] but was



prevented by the malice of her implacable enemies, as shall appear in the conclusion of this sad scene.

I am not able to express the extremity of grief and sorrow that this sudden deprivation and discouragement produced. Had the enemy for many days appeared we had been able to make very little resistance, but volleys of sighs and tears; and no marvel, for her gallant resolution, her admirable wisdom in government, her earnest zeal in religion, her care of all our preservations, her encouragement in greatest difficulties had so drawn all our hearts to the admiration and honour of her perfections, that her commands carried us into the cannon's mouth; in short her word was a law to us.

The saddest garrison in the three kingdoms having lost their head and governess, began now to consider what this loss might be to our public employment in the defence of religion and laws, and, therefore, seeing the will of God revealed, resolved unanimously that the commanders should order the garrison, which continued for a month or two with good success, till about December, 1643. A commission was sent from both Houses of Parliament that the castle should be kept for the King and Parliament, it being of considerable strength, that the delinquents in the adjacent counties might be seized upon, that Lieutenant Wright, a very gallant gentleman, one whose religion, resolution, good service and great sufferings speak his fidelity to the kingdom, and to the cause of God, should command in chief in this castle, and raise a regiment for the reducing of this malignant county to the obedience of King and Parliament; an humble account whereof I shall now give, being released out of prison, with submission to better judgments how the first hath been discharged.

He raised a troop of horse, by which means in a very short time we had victualled the garrison for twelve months, out of the estates of the delinquents, also provision for our horses, all which was gained by the sword, besides several delinquents of quality were brought in prisoners. The fortifications both of castle and church will yet speak industry and care.

By this time the enemy understanding our authority blocked us up all the winter, daily assaulted us with great parties of horse and foot a few days, but we [ ] upon the [ ] so that the provision we had, we looked upon as our last, unless we could contrive some way to keep open our passages. We were informed that Hopton Castle within two miles of us was designed for a garrison of the enemy, and immediately one hundred men to be put into it, which was of so great concernment to us that by the advice of all our commanders *nem. con.* we should attempt the taking of it, which was done with a party of about twenty men, without the loss of a man. The manner observable. In the beginning of the night our men came to the gate, one knocked, a soldier within demanded who was there? one of ours replied 'here is one, what do not you know me?' 'who, John Lane' quoth he? 'yes, the very same'; whereupon he immediately opened the gate, and our men

possessed themselves of the castle. Here Captain Samuel Moore commanded in chief, with about thirty men, having authority from Mr. Wallop of Hampshire, the true owner thereof, to keep it for King and Parliament, the castle being before given to Sir Vincent Corbet for the disservice done to the Commonwealth. Captain Moore presently fortified and victualled it, but in a short time received a summons to deliver it, which he refused; whereup[on] a party of horse and foot of Prince Rupert's army under the command of Sir Michael Woodhouse sat down before it, made several storms against it, but were beaten off with great loss, considering the small number of the besieged. At last two great guns were sent against it, which played with great fury but still resistance was made. Several proposals offered, but all refused by the besieged. Sir Michael Woodhouse being enraged, vowed their ruin; as [ ] Major of the Prince's foot assured me. Our men did daily execution on the enemy, that themselves confessed, there were above two hundred slain, and many wounded. The enemy possessed themselves of a brick building very near the castle, from whence they mined in a secret vault under the castle. Our men perceiving this, desired a parley, and Captain Moore had permit to go and return safely; made his demands, that his men should have quarter for their lives, which was refused; but Sir Michael Woodhouse required that they should unblock their gate and lay their arms on a heap and turn out and submit to mercy. This message Captain Moore delivered to his men, who were contented to submit to mercy and give it under their hands that they would so submit. They unblocked their port, put their arms on a heap and came out expecting mercy.

Command was given that they should be bound two and three, then they were stripped naked as ever they were born, it being about the beginning of March very cold and many of them sore wounded in defending their own works, there they remained about an hour until the word was given that they should be left to the mercy of the common soldiers, who presently fell upon them, wounding them grievously, and drove them into a cellar unfinished, wherein was stinking water, the house being on fire over them, when they were every man of them presently massacred; amongst whom Major Phillips, a young gentleman of sweet and comely person and admirable parts, suffered. This inhuman and barbarous act, wherein the laws of God, of man, of nature, of nations and of arms are violated, cries to the great Justice of heaven to revenge; and we hope that the justice of England will in due time require an account of it.

But let me return to Brampton Castle again; where the next morning this bloody regiment came vapouring so near that some of them were slain, some unhorsed, so they wheeled about and marched away to Shrewsbury with their ordnance. During this tragedy at Hopton, some passages happened in this garrison which I may not omit. One John Cotar, an old servant of the house, our new Quartermaster, contracted with a prisoner Lieutenant Jones of the county of



Radnor, with whom he was trusted, and made an escape, by which means all our strength was discovered to the enemy. The night following two others that had pretended and protested very fair run away; after these, some fifteen soldiers of the garrison took pattern and made their escape; so that we were left not above fifty fighting men. These cowardly and base spirits gave such encouragement to the enemy together with a petition of some [ ] gentlemen to Prince Rupert, one of whom hath been murdered by the Cavaliers, in his own house, that they resolved with all their power that that destroyer of petty garrisons could make to come against us. This bloody butcher Woodhouse with a great army came and sat down before us; demanded our castle by summons, which our Governor, notwithstanding his great force, refused to read, or treat with such a tyrant, returns his summons back again, and fires upon his army with musket shot at random. Up he rises, and away for three or four days; then sends another summons, which was likewise refused. About the second week in Lent, 1643, he sat down before us with a close siege, brought his artillery within a mile of us, and entrenched his men, and makes his approaches. Our Governor gives command that the church and those houses in the town that were standing should presently be set on fire, by which means the enemy quartered his men a mile off, and left about three hundred in the trenches. Upon these about thirty of our men sallied out and slew about sixteen of the enemy; gained their arms and returned without hurt. Then the enemy strengthened their guards, built huts, raised batteries, brought their cannon baskets and 'hoggs' for their approaches. In all this time we lined our walls to our best advantage, then fell upon them with a second sally in the sunshine. We here did observe the great power of God, and the promise made good, that five of you shall chase an hundred; with a very small party we beat them quite out of their works, burnt all their huts, cannon baskets, batteries and 'hoggs'; took almost all the muskets in that regiment, besides a multitude of spades and shovels and other arms; slew about twenty-six in the place and returned without the loss of a man. This gave such encouragement, that we not only gained time, but daunted our enemies, that they were as we understood [ ] to rise up from before us. Colonel Woodhouse, enraged at this, posts away to Prince Rupert at Shrewsbury, tells him a great story; in whose absence we sallied out twice more; put the enemy to flight with the same party and still did execution and gained arms: so that with an hundred able soldiers more we might have kept it to this day. But God that had determined otherwise denied us that. The news of relief came to us about this time from Gloucester, through all their courts of guard. Woodhouse now returns with most of the Prince's army; the Red, Green and Blue regiments of his great ordnance, which he speedily planted, and a multitude of pioneers and colliers that began to mine. The multitude being so great, we thought it not safe to adventure out any more. Then they began

with their great ordnance to play upon us. The first day they made eighty-seven shots against us with a twenty and twenty-four pound ball ; these made our walls begin to reel, which we lined within with earth. The next day they continued shooting as fast as they could discharge, until with a musket bullet through the port hole we shot their cannoneer. Five days together they followed the breach, which was very great and fair to enter, but their hearts failed them. About this time went another messenger from Gloucester that brought us letters, the contents whereof were, that within three nights we should be relieved, and we all resolved to die in the breach rather than deliver it up.

This night the enemy fired the breach, there being much timber and combustible matter, so that it burnt furiously. They had in the day planted their ordnance upon the breach, and as we were quenching the fire, they played upon us with great and small shot in a most furious manner, yet not a man slain or so much as daunted, so wonderful God held up our spirits. We were fired eight or nine times, which we still quenched. All the alarm they gave us was by firings, which we could by no means prevent. Our expectations of relief, the third day being over, began to fail, we yet resolved to defend the breach to the very last man ; for their cruelty at Hopton Castle encouraged us to die like men rather than to rely on their mercies ; besides we knew not then, but they had given our men at Hopton quarter under hand and seal, for so we were well informed by very many that were there, which was the only reason why we would never admit any parley. Three days more we defended our breach, yet no relief came ; in all this time we had continual and dreadful alarms night and day, that we were all tired for want of sleep. Twice in one night their whole army, which was very great, cried 'Fall on !' 'Fall on !' so loud, as if hell itself were broke loose, discharging such volleys of shot that no rest could be had. When the alarm was ended, we laughed so heartily in the breach, 'hollowing' that barking dogs seldom bite, that we heard them damn themselves, but the devil was in us. The enemy now began to terrify us with their mines, which by this time came very near our walls, swearing most horribly that they would blow us up to the devil ; we replied that the devil was below, and bid them come like men and enter their breach or be silent, for fain we would have slept. Never did God keep up the hearts of a poor handful of men or raise them higher than were ours ; considering what a bloody potent enemy lay about us and how far all possibility of relief was from us. I speak this only to the praise of God who manifested His great power and our weakness, otherwise these truths would render me ridiculous. The Cavaliers seeing our resolutions to be above their alarms, were at a stand what to do : to enter the breach they had no stomach, they had enough of that at Hopton Castle, began to contrive another way ; they gave some intermission and sent to Captain Moore, then their prisoner at Ludlow Castle, that he should write a letter to Lieutenant Colonel



Wright, our Governor, to treat of conditions to avoid the effusion of blood, which letter was through God's mercy the saving of all our lives, for without it we had never surrendered the castle. A storm of their great shot being over, immediately they sent us a parley; demanded whether we would receive a letter from one of our old friends Captain Moore? we replied, that if all acts of hostility upon their honours and reputations might cease on both sides till the parley was ended, we would; which was agreed upon; presently after the receipt of this letter, our men appearing upon the walls, the enemy gave fire upon us; we taxed them for their perfidiousness and put them at defiance as men unworthy of the name of gentlemen or soldiers. Within an hour after they recollected themselves acknowledged their error and required an answer, which was to this purpose: that the reason why we refused to parley with them was their bloody act at Hopton Castle after quarter given under hand and seal, for so we were informed. They replied it was false, avowing the same that quarter was not there given. We being unsatisfied demanded wherein we might receive satisfaction by a letter from Captain Moore, whose hand we knew, which was granted, but without a cessations of arms. About midnight this letter came, which we refused to receive, the time being unseasonable to let down our ports, the enemy lying so near us; at this they stormed and gave us a fierce alarm.

The fatal day being come, which was the Wednesday before Easter 1644, we received this satisfying letter from Captain Moore, that quarter was not given at Hopton Castle under hand and seal. We then accepted a parley with Sir Michael Woodhouse, colonel, Sir William Vavasour, colonel, and Sir William Croft, knights, jointly made our demands; but such was our condition being miserably battered and without a possibility of relief, that they would yield to no other conditions than these, viz.: that the castle and arms should presently be delivered up otherwise to expect no quarter; that we should yield ourselves their prisoners; that the lives of all in the garrison should be preserved, and that no violence should be offered to any of us, and if this offer was now refused, to expect extremity. Our Governor and some of the commanders resolved to purchase better conditions, at how dear a rate soever; but then our divines and some others seeing a possibility of life, being extremely tired with extremities, began to persuade the contrary. The violence and outrages that threatened our women and children, whose lives we preferred before our own, and seeing ourselves without possibility or hopes of relief, or of further defence or longer subsistence, we accepted their conditions and delivered up the castle.

Within two hours after, as we since understood, an order came from Prince Rupert to put us all to the sword, especially Doctor Wright, our Lieutenant-Colonel. Whereupon a council of war was called, where it was determined that, notwithstanding the conditions subscribed, the Prince's order must be obeyed. But Sir William Vavasour, that had more of a gentleman and a

soldier in him, protested against it, by whose means, through God's mercy, we were preserved.

Next day they carried us all away prisoners to Ludlow Castle, from thence to Shrewsbury, some of us to Chester Castle. The inhabitants of Ludlow baited us like bears and demanded where our God was.

It is very remarkable that in both the sieges of Brampton Castle we lost but four men, yet five hundred and thirteen great bullets were shot against it, and most of them came in. The enemy confessed that they lost four hundred of their men there; and at Hopton Castle, that they had spent above twenty thousand pounds before they took it. Six thousand worth of powder in both places. After they had taken it, it was so battered that they could not keep it. At last a command came from Prince Rupert, that destroyer, that both these castles should be burnt and demolished, which was performed. And thus have I rendered some account of our service and sufferings. Let the praise be ascribed to the Lord of Hosts, that hath not given us our lives only for a prey.

The body of this noble lady we had interred within the castle, which, when we had delivered up, we besought the commanders that no dishonour might be offered to it, they promised there should not; but since we are informed that it was taken up under pretence to search for jewels, but the jewels being gone, the cabinet was raked up again in close cinders; from whence it will one day rise against these monsters and usurpers of the name Christian.

#### BRAMPTON CASTLE.

[1643.]—A list of those that were in the castle during the siege. Includes Dr. Nathaniel Wright, lieutenant-colonel, governor of Brampton Castle. John Hakluit, Henry Archibold and Priamus Davies, captains. Thomas Harley, Monsieur Peter Vachan, Dorothy and Margaret Harley, and nearly a hundred others.

#### HOPTON CASTLE.

[1644.]—A list of those that were in the castle. Includes Samuel Moore [More], captain and governor, Thomas Phillips, major, and twenty-two others.

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE to ELIZABETH BLETCHLEY, in Ludlow Castle.

[1644, May.]—I have received yours and Sir Michael Woodhouse's letters and am very glad yours and my sweet cousins' freedom is so near. I think it fit that you get Sir Michael Woodhouse to give a pass to a messenger to be presently sent away to Sir Robert Harley to procure the Earl of Essex's pass for all you, and for such a friend as you shall make choice of



and prevail with to bring you up. As also to send to Sir Robert to send a hackney coach for you. God willing, I shall not fail to wait upon you on Tuesday next. My service, I pray, to my sweet cousins. *Copy.*

THOMAS HARLEY to COLONEL [EDWARD] MASSEY.

1644, May 30. Ludlow Castle.—I and my two sisters, with those that are with us, since Brampton Castle was taken having been at Ludlow Castle, where we have been nobly used by Sir Michael Woodhouse, the governor, are now set at liberty by him to pass to London. Therefore I desire that if you cannot send a coach to Hereford for us, that you will give a safe pass for a coach and horses which shall bring us thither, and Sir John Scudamore, who is pleased to do us the favour for our safer conduct, to come with us, and for his servants and horses' safe return. *Copy.*

CAPT. SAMUEL MORE to THOMAS HARLEY, in Ludlow Castle.

[1644, May.]—I sent you a note from Stafford that my Lord Bruerton's son is freed from his imprisonment by my Lord Denbigh, whose enlargement I do conceive will beget yours and your sweet sisters. I hope also your servants, Samuel Shilton and William Bagley, shall have leave to wait on you to your father.

I was not free from my imprisonment till Saturday sevensnight, and I sent to you from Stafford, whither I was brought, but lest that should not come to you I send this to kiss your hand. *Copy.*

T. H[ARLEY] to his kinsman, SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE, in Hereford.

1644, June 7. Ludlow Castle.—Our not hearing from you since Monday is the reason why we send this messenger to you, by whom we desire to hear if yet you have heard anything from Gloucester in answer to our letters thither; and when you do we shall be very glad to see you here. *Copy.*

PE (*sic*), LADY SCUDAMORE to THOMAS HARLEY, at Ludlow.

1644, June 10. Hereford.—Sweet Cousin, I have received your letter directed unto my husband; upon Friday last he went towards Worcester, but is not yet returned; all that I can say concerning your business is this: our Governor here, Colonel Minn, went unto Monmouth about nine days past, with a purpose to send a trumpeter to Gloucester with all the letters, which he did, and since is returned hither to Hereford, but can hear nothing of the messenger ever since he went. Whereupon I told my husband that perhaps the trumpeter might be detained till the Governor of Gloucester return from "Mamsberry"; but he saith that the Governor came back upon Tuesday last. This is all I can say. It may be you see my husband before I shall, for I hoped he would have returned yesterday. I desire you to remember my service to your little sweet sisters and the gentlewoman with them. *Copy.*

SIR MICHAEL WOODHOUSE to SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1644, June 18. Ludlow Castle.—In pursuance of an order given unto me by his Highness the Prince Rupert to set at liberty the bodies of Thomas Harley, gentleman, Dorothy and Margaret his sisters—the children of Sir Robert Harley, knight of the Bath—who were amongst others taken prisoners in Brampton Bryan Castle, in the county of Hereford, by his Majesty's forces under my command, it is therefore by me ordered and I desire and require you, being their near kinsman, to take into your charge and custody the bodies of the aforementioned persons, and to take such course as you shall think fit for the conveyance of them to their said father in London, or elsewhere. *Copy.*

T. H[ARLEY] to COLONEL [EDWARD] MASSEY, Governor of Gloucester.

1644, June 20. Holm Lacy.—I received your letter and give you many thanks for your expression of love and kindness to us. We are come from Ludlow Castle, and intend, God willing, to go to London. Therefore I desire, Sir, you will do us the favour to send to my Lord of Essex—who I hear is not far from Gloucester—for one pass for my sisters, myself and our company to London, and another pass for Sir John Scudamore—who doth not only accommodate us for our journey, but himself doth us that favour to come with us—and his two servants to go up to London, and for the return of him, his servants, coach and horses. *Copy.*

COLONEL NICHOLAS MYNNE to all OFFICERS and SOLDIERS of the King's Army.

1644, June 20. Hereford.—Warrant for William Bagley to pass to Gloucester and back. *Copy.*

THOMAS HARLEY to his father, SIR ROBERT HARLEY.

1644, June 30. Northampton.—I must humbly beg pardon that I have not presented my humble duty to you and acquainted you how it was with us. I thank God my sisters and I are very well, and though God hath afflicted us—which I pray God to sanctify us—yet He hath been very merciful to us, so that among our enemies we have received favour; and it is no small mercy to us that God still continues health to you and you to us. Sir, after we had been at Ludlow Castle eight weeks and more, we were released to go to London, and Sir John Scudamore to take care to convey us thither—who hath showed us much kindness, and hath lent his coach and horses to bring us, and himself comes with us.

We came out of Ludlow on Tuesday, June 18th, and came to Holm Lacy, where we were used exceeding kindly by my Lady Scudamore, and tarried there till the Saturday following; and from thence went to Gloucester, where we tarried till Thursday after, and then went to Sheudly Castle, on Friday to Warwick,



and on Saturday we came safe to Northampton, where we are now ; and I hope God will bring us safe to you, to our great joy and comfort after so many afflictions. Sir, my brother Robert is very well and presents his humble duty to you. We met with him at Gloucester, where not being well he tarried there, and because he could not pass safe to the army he came with us as far as Warwick. *Copy.*

“RELATION of the Siege, Surrender and Butchery at HOPTON CASTLE, by COLONEL SAMUEL MOORE [MORE].”

[1644, February.]—As my memory serves me I went to Hopton Castle the 18th of February, which was Sabbath day at night. The Monday sevensnight the enemy came before us, who, facing us with a body of horse first, within an hour sent a body of foot, who approaching the out walls, we not able to hinder them because the work did not flank—being an old wall made round—and burnt the lodging where Richard Steward lay, they brought ladders to scale the walls, but upon our killing of three, of which one in the place, they retreated and went out of the town, but kept courts of guard near us with horse and foot. At this time we were but sixteen men in all, myself and Mr. Phillips being of the number. Mr. Phillips came the Tuesday after I came, who stayed to help to advise the making of some works, in which we were as industrious as men could be for that short time; so Major Phillips advised to send for more men to Brampton Castle and they lovingly sent us twelve, who meeting with the enemy six of them only at that time came to us, the others went back again; but afterwards we had about eight more, that we were in all thirty-one men. The enemy let us alone save for some alarms in the night, till the Friday sevensnight after the first assault, and then they marched, as we guessed, about five hundred horse and foot, and entered the town, and that night approached that part of the wall, about two hours before day, where they burnt Richard Steward's chamber, and at the back of a chimney they with pioneers made a breach which our sentinels discovering gave the alarm, and there we fought with the enemy at push of pike, throwing stones and shooting. They, as after some of theirs reported, being two hundred, got most of them through the breach, but not within our works, but as in a pincfold, in the circumference of the burnt lodging, where we killed many, among the rest one Captain Vaughan, who as since I heard was brother-in-law to Mr. Edwards of Stretton. There we repulsed them, took six muskets, ten pikes, eight clubs which they called Roundheads, boards many and six or eight ladders. After this repulse the next day save one they marched away in a full body, but it seems they went but to Clungunford, and kept scouts and courts of guard something more than musket shot of us, and so we were quiet almost a week save for some alarms. Then they came again in a full body and entered the town. The next day Mr. Francis Herbert and Mr. Charles

Baldwin desired to speak with me, which upon mutual assurance of safety I yielded unto, but took one faithful man with me named Richard Brecknock, who was within hearing and so were many of that side, among the rest one Captain Pindore; the effect of their discourse was to wish me to deliver up the castle with probable hopes I might live with my wife and enjoyment of my estate. I answered it was not fair nor like an honest man to betray a trust, but for my part myself would leave it to them who trusted me, and if I might live with a safe conscience at home I should be glad of it. So that was not hearkened to, and I parted with them, only Captain Pindore told me Secretary Nicholas wrote to him of the Scots defeat. I told him I knew Secretary Nicholas well, which as he after said was the saving of my life. This was as I remember on Saturday. Next day came in carriage of cannon basket and such things, and in the night three pieces of ordnance. By Monday eight of the clock there came a drum and summoned the delivery up of the castle, which if we did not yield before the shooting off one piece of ordnance we must not expect quarter. Our answer was, that we were trusted to keep it for the service of King and Parliament, by the consent of the owner Mr. Wallop, and would do it with loyalty and fidelity. As soon as ever the answer came they shot at us and continued with shooting with culvering and demi-culvering, that from 9 o'clock till five they shot ninety-six shots at our out-wall and made a breach; but we on the other side did work as fast as we could and placed boughs of trees and earth to hinder their entry. About five of the clock they approached the breach, which we defended, and for the space of two hours at least we fought at push of pike, muskets and clubs, so that we gave them a repulse with the loss of one man, who was killed with a cannon shot, and three or four hurt. But they lost, as they afterwards confessed, in all one hundred and fifty of theirs, some said two hundred. I could not imagine we killed so many, but as they said themselves, yet we saw many fall. Next day they desired to fetch their dead, which we yielded to. They were quiet all Tuesday till night and then they came to the brick tower and set it on fire—which we had made in the first week we came thither, a work to (*sic*), from the out-wall and so to the castle; and on the other side from the castle to the out-wall another, to keep the water to us—which when we saw and could not prevent we set Gregory's house on fire, which burning took hold on the newer brick house and burnt it; then we fell to make up the door of the castle, which the enemy perceiving shot their ordnance and killed one man and hurt two more; we made up the door, but they brought broom faggots to fire the porch; we threw water to quench it, but for all we could do the porch burnt and the door began to fire, which we did not perfectly know till we came out. Our men, weary with working all night, and not out of their clothes for a fortnight's time, and the enemy gotten under us through a house of office on the south side; it was moved we should desire a parley,



which being done, they bid us send our conditions which Mr. Phillips and I contrived shortly to this effect, that we would surrender the castle, so that we might march away with our arms and ammunition; they denied, we should have no conditions but to yield to the Colonel's mercy. We went to consult together and found that so much household stuff with provisions were in the room below.

The castle consisting but of one room below and another above, that we had no space to countermine, and our stairs were [ ] up, being close to the door where the barricade was, and removing Mr. Gregory's provision and stuff in, both Mr. Phillips myself and six more did plainly hear their working under us, and as the enemy told me when I was in prison they had blown us up within two hours. We agreed to propose to the enemy we would yield the castle upon quarter for our lives. Answer was brought that no other conditions would be yielded but to be referred to Colonel Woodhouse's mercy. We then consulted again and being brought into that condition it was thought better to yield upon those terms, than be blown up, but indeed we all thought we should only be made prisoners, and did not think of such a death as hereafter shall appear was upon so many honest souls. So we told them we would yield to their mercy, only we desired safe conduct from the violence of soldiers to the Commander in Chief. So we came out and stood in order, I was committed to Lieutenant Aldersey, and Major Phillips to Ensign Phillips, so whilst the soldiers and Henry Gregory and the rest had their arms tied, we all stayed, and then we were bidden march, so I went, and thought the rest had followed till I went over the water by Richard Steward's house towards Mr. Sutton's house and then I looked back and saw none follow. I marvelled, but my thoughts were, the rest were to be examined apart; but as it seems by the relation afterwards they were stayed behind, but I was brought before Sir Michael Woodhouse, who asked me the number of the men, which I told him, and what arms and ammunition? I told him about twenty-two muskets, carabines and fowling pieces and three pistols. He asked what I thought they fought for? I told him I thought he as many other men was misled, so he commanded me to the custody of Lieutenant Aldersey, to one Glasbrook's house in the upper end of the town, where, after I had been about an hour, an officer, whose name I never heard, asked me what money I knew of there hid. I told him none. He urged me and said Mr. Phillips had confessed some. I told him I did know of none nor knew that Mr. Phillips knew of any. So he went after some threatenings. Another came and asked me whether I desired to live? I answered it was natural to desire to live, yet I prized not my life before a good conscience. Then a little after, about three hours after the delivery of the castle, Lieutenant Aldersey asked me how many of the soldiers I thought were sent to Shrewsbury? I told him I knew not, I conceived all were in one condition; he told me none, which I wondering at apprehended they were delivered and was somewhat cheerful, but then he

answered with an oath they were all killed, whereat I was troubled in myself, though I did not much express my sorrow, only said I hoped then they were happy, or to that effect. So night growing on, I was called to eat with Lieutenant Aldersey, who indeed used me civilly. I could eat but little; then he let me lie upon his own bed, where I lay till day break, and then I rose, and so they fell to prepare for Ludlow, whither I was brought, and from that time till taking Brampton Castle I was close prisoner; my wife had liberty to come to me but not speak without an officer by. Two days before Brampton Castle was taken, Captain Dean, in Sir Michael Woodhouse's regiment, pretended to come to see me, and in discourse told me they had battered the castle, so as they were ready to enter and were ready to spring a mine, and if I desired to have them saved, I might do well to persuade them to yield. I told him I had no means to write; he said he would convey the letter. I told him then I would write what I heard. So I wrote to Dr. Wright that I heard Brampton Castle was not like to hold long out, and that conditions were granted, better sought timely than stay too long, but I left it to his more wise consideration. He answered me that he heard Sir Michael Woodhouse break his conditions with me, for he promised quarter as he heard, and therefore he would not treat with him. I replied we were referred to his mercy; so then they treated and agreed. I hope it saved blood, but I confess I had much reluctance with myself, knowing it was their own ends they sought, and therefore I wrote warily, expressing I was close prisoner. After Brampton Castle was taken I had my liberty to speak more freely and to come into the kitchen and speak with the people of the house, and so continued a while till my exchange; only Mr. Symmonds, a minister of Essex that was Sir Michael Woodhouse's chaplain, came to see me and got me so much liberty as to go to the chapel in the castle two sabbath days, otherwise I was not permitted to go out of the lodge. I moved Mr. Symmonds that since my estate was sequestered and my house plundered I might be allowed out of my estate to pay for my diet. This was also granted, after that time which was about a fortnight and three days before my release, but the rest of the time I paid.

October 23rd, 1644.—This was wrote in a little time after the whole relation in Mr. Samuel Moor's own hand and belongeth to the first time they faced us and assaulted us. After they had done they sent Mr. Sutton to me to tell me the Prince Rupert required the delivery of the Castle of Hopton. I sent word I understood no message that came without drum or trumpet; then he sent me word he had taken my son, and it's certain they thought they had taken him, but it was Robin Millard they took for him. Also I omitted another thing which was, that the Friday following their first attempt, they sent a summons by a drum subscribed by Sir Michael Woodhouse, who demanded the castle in the name of Prince Rupert, and if we would treat he would send hostages. My answer was I kept it by authority of Parliament by the consent of the owner Mr. Wallop, for the service of King and Parliament.



He as all the rest as I heard by themselves when I was in prison were unmercifully killed. Your brother as some of them told me offered 200*l.* to save his life; they took him and brought him into the castle to receive the money; he told them if they would suffer him to send to Brampton Castle they should have it. They swore at him and stabbed him presently; all the rest, being twenty-five, were killed with clubs or such things after they were stripped naked. Two maids they stripped to their smocks and cut them, but some helped them to escape. *Copy.*

*Note to above.* This was wrote in an odd little scrip of paper in Mr. Samuel Moore's hand, what it belongeth to I know not well, though I believe Mr. Samuel Moore wrote this to Mr. Phillips to let him know that his brother was and how killed. *Copy.*

#### WILLIAM BAGLEY to THOMAS HARLEY.

1646, June 15. Putney.—I have cast up my thoughts and according to my best understanding as far as I am able to judge, I think your father's losses in the ruin of the castle, the out-buildings, the burning of the town, the goods and furniture of the castle, the loss of all his cattle, his rents and other ruins that are made upon his estate may be about twelve or thirteen thousand pounds, besides what waste hath been made in his woods I know not; for the church I conceive thirteen or fourteen hundred pounds may build and repair seats in it again. And for the townsmen's losses I cannot well say what it may be until I have some further information from them; but yet I shall declare to my thoughts, which are thus; if all they who have term for life or years must again repair the buildings out of those ruins, and your father to repair the rest of the town, then I think the loss of the townsmen will amount to about two thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, or thereabouts.

The day of our enemies' close approach was July 26th, 1643. They brought seven great iron guns, one whereof they called *Roaring Megg*. Their great god in whom they trusted broke in pieces at the third shot and hurt many of their own company; and at three sallies out upon them, we had not one man killed, but many of theirs; and when our time was expired that we must hold the castle no longer we delivered it up April the 17th, 1644. For many acts of God's providence towards us in this time of our trial and trouble, I believe you have more particularly recorded then I am able to do. *Copy.*

#### BRAMPTON BRYAN.

1646[-7], March 12.—An account rendered to the Committee of Accounts at Hereford of the losses in goods and cattle of those that were in the castle and town of Brampton Bryan occasioned by the King's forces, amounting to 2,551*l.* 14*s.* This sum includes—Colonel Dr. Wright, 240*l.*; Stanley Gower, rector, 368*l.*; Francis Boughey, minister, 134*l.*

## BRAMPTON BRYAN.

Same date.—An account of the moneys required to rebuild the church and town, amounting to 3,216*l*. The church, 1,200*l*. ; the parsonage, 250*l*., and 19 houses the occupants of which are named, are included in the estimate.\*

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THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, Lord General, to COL. EDWARD HARLEY, Governor of Dunkirk.

1660, July 21. Cockpit.—The Lords of the Treasury having appointed that the officers and soldiers of the army give under their hands what Crown lands were bought by or do belong to them, he desires that Col. Harley's garrison will deliver to him the particulars of such lands or rents, viz. King's, Queen's or Prince's lands, as they have really purchased, the time when they purchased them, with the yearly value of them and whether in trust or for themselves.

Two copies of these particulars to be sent to Dr. Samuel Barrowe at Mr. William Clarke's house in the Pellmell, one of them for delivery to the Surveyor-General, the other to be kept by him.

*Signed.*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1661, May 8. Cockpit.—This bearer Sir Bernard De-Gum (de Gomme) is the gentleman whom his Majesty has appointed to go over for viewing the fortifications of Dunkirk garrison. I desire you to tell him when you go out of town that he may go along with you.

"YOUNG ROBIN" to SIR ROBERT HARLEY, at his Lodging at a strong water shop over against the "Blew Bore" in Tuttle (Tothill) Street, Westminster.

[16]62, August 8.—I now perceive it impossible to live within the cities of London and Westminster and not turn courtier. I wish your lodging had been at Wapping. But whether I write to a man of this world or to an angel is a dispute, yet I expect an answer and am indifferent from what place, but to let you see that a son of Robin Hood cannot be ill natured I will make this manly interpretation of your unkindness, that it is as difficult to find me as a stag in the forest of Sherwood, where men of that race could hardly be harboured, as many worthy balletical records can inform you, yet knowing you to be almost one of us (though of an Indian race) I dare tell you that I am sometimes at Swarkeston, sometimes at Warsop, and now at Bestwood, merry in all places and which is more, well pleased and drink your health

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\*The letters and papers printed so far in this Report are taken from modern copies bound up in Vol. XXIII. of the "Portland Papers" at Longleat. A few papers in this volume, besides those noted on p. 18 *ante*, have been omitted, as they are printed from the Harley papers at Welbeck in the Commissioners' report on that collection.



dead or alive, which your captain and cornet never will refuse, and thus I have given you a true and perfect account of the plots and affairs of this county as to mankind. But should I enter into or upon the other sex, and tell you a true account of my Lady Newcastle's horsematch, I must crave aid from Sir John Denham and his fellows who trade in nectar, yet to speak truth we have good squeezed malt that smells full out as well as saudwich (*sic*), and that well followed makes us appear like men; let others express our actions and hers, for we are not book-learned. And now Robin by name and not by nature I bid you farewell, and if thou darest meet me near Warsop upon the forest at the Lady Newcastle's horsematch the last of August, where in taffeta instead of armour bright 'tis six to four I may appear, you shall see such a fight as England affords not the fellow and possibly become one of the brotherhood, which will be no small honour, laying your ordinary knighthood aside, to you and a particular kindness from, &c.

*Postscript.*—I have a lady and some of my race remembers you. Direct your letters by the Nottingham post to Bestwood and they will find.

SIR RO[BERT] HARLEY to his brother [SIR EDWARD] HARLEY.

1662, November 1. Dover.—I think it fit to send you the enclosed papers. The two letters are from the Lord Mordant, the person mentioned in the King's is Mr. Rumbal. I had divers orders from the King for money, one is with Mr. Rumbal, he can give you an account how we were dealt with, the others I know not where they are, and are worth nothing further than testimonials.

SIR ROBERT MURRAY to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[16]67, June 21. Edinburgh.—Till I came hither I was tied up indispensably from making my business known, now I may tell you the King hath named me to be one of six commissioners for managing the Treasurer's place here, the other five are, Earls Rothes, Lauderdale and Tweeddale, Lords Bellenden and Cochrane, so that I cannot tell when I shall stir from hence, though my presence here may be dispensed withal six months in the year; but possibly about September I may go southwards, but be it when it will, I still intend to come your way.

After I have thanked God with you for preserving you from your intestine enemy the gout, I shall only take so far notice of the success God hath been pleased to give the public enemies as to tell you neither of us needs the other's reflections to fill his heart with new fits of melancholy; our hope is, the foundations stand sure.

There is here a rich East India Hollander outward bound brought in prize by two of the King's frigates under the command of Sir Jeremy Smith. There is in her, as I am told, six chests of

coined silver and one of ducats, and is fully loaded with other commodities, so that of twenty-six guns only six can be used. We hear also of another rich ship brought in last night. I have not now time to write to the honest Doctor [Burnet?]; you will acquaint him with my concerns, and I intend to write to him by the next.

SIR ROBERT MURRAY to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[16]67, August 7. Edinburgh.—Till this very evening I cannot say I had leisure to answer yours from London since I had it, and I presume now, that this will find you making an end of the business that your voyage to Westminster interrupted, where I hope there is no reigning distemper of bodies nor minds, but that now every one shall sit under his 'Gennetmoil' (?) and his 'umberleaf' in peace, and filled with all the blessings I wish may dwell at Brampton. This place affords nothing to entertain you with. I shall be glad to hear of your own and your brother's safe return to the country. I know nothing as yet of my stirring from hence till this year be over, but if I do I still retain the thoughts of making Brampton in my way to London, if I be master of my time. If you please the while to let me hear from you, were it only to tell me that all with you are well, returns will not be wanting, by which you may take some measure of my joy.

SIR ROBERT MURRAY to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, at the Unicorn at the lower end of King Street, Westminster.

[16]67, December 9. Edinburgh.—You outdo me still more and more, the account you give me of the great matter there is as full as it is remarkable. Now it may be hoped things will go on smoothly. I have no manner of imagination that the Earl [of Clarendon] shall ever return again. You and I are not in danger of needing a conference to reconcile us as to the verdict of Aratus. And I think it is easy for either of us to know what the other's judgment will be, if the case be proposed. The Earl of Tweeddale is to be found at the Earl of Lauderdale's lodgings in Whitehall or his house at the upper end of Suffolk Street. It will be worth your pains to talk with him. Your health and your brother's are very precious to me. It is not the first time Marsigni hath deceived his friends. I am indeed sorry for his miscarriage, but no less for his brother's detriment. If there were anything of moment here to entertain you with, I would add it.

SIR ROBERT MURRAY to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, at Brampton Bryan Castle, to be left with the Postmaster of Ludlow.

[16]73, June 24. [London.]—Mr. Clogie hath not as yet done me the favour to see me, so his missing of your letter makes my loss double. Your brother Robin I have seen in the physician's hands, but Thomas not as yet. I hear of his design, but Dr. Tong settles at Mr. Sadler's house, and I suspect disappoints



him. Stories of the engagements with the Dutch fleet were now too stale and cannot but be fully known to you, but I think the surrender of Maestricht will be new to you, which fell out on Friday last. The Gazette tells you of a most gallant action of the Duke of Monmouth that was the cause of it, for being possessed of that half moon they found a hornwork galled them, whereupon it was stormed and carried with the loss of some two hundred men, but immediately upon it the town treated and had ordinary honourable conditions and 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse they say marched out of it. It will be new to you also to tell you that Mr. de Schomberg arrived here yesterday, but what resolution will be taken now that the Duke goes is not yet told. The "*Tombeau de Contraiverses*" is printed in English, but not that translation, you know of another prevented it. I have not yet had the opportunity to get you an answer to your question about your mercurial medicine, but I have myself no kindness for it, but I think I may get you a more skilful judgment of it than mine. You will have heard of the change of the Lord Treasurer, and its consequences.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1682-3,] February 15.—The small civilities which I endeavoured to pay to your most deserving son are overpaid when they are remembered. His own merit gives him a just title to much more than I could ever express, and I confess I never saw him but with a secret joy in my heart when I observed so many fair and excellent beginnings in him, which makes me hope he is born to be a blessing to the rising generation, and that all the few remnants of virtue and piety that are yet left are not like to go off the stage so soon but that some young men grow up to fill the rooms of those that must go off ere long. I am very glad you are so favourable as to approve those short remarks I ventured to make on the letter of the French clergy. They had the luck to be so favourably received by those in Paris that understand English that those who were writing answers gave over, and pressed the hasting a translation of that little book into French which is now printed. You are certainly in the right when you observe that the cruelty of that church is neither to be appropriated to the order of the Jesuits nor to the Spanish nation, though the sourness of the latter and the forwardness of the other have made both more barefaced than the rest. Their cruel doctrines and practices began about 350 years before the Order of Jesuits was formed and as France was the first scene of them so it is no wonder they should now lick up that vomit while they retain the same spirit and principles. I am at present at a stand as to that design of which I spoke to your son, other things having intervened, but whenever I return to it I will be sure to make my application to you for such assistances as you can afford me, being very well assured of your zeal for helping forward all such undertakings. I pray God preserve you

long to be such a support and honour as you are to the reformed religion and make your son to inherit your qualities as well as he is to do your fortunes, and am with all due esteem and acknowledgment, &c.

*Postscript*.—My most humble and most affectionate service to your son.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, recommended to the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1683,] May 26.—I delayed answering yours till the end of the week hoping by that time to be able to give you some account of those who are on their journey hither from Scotland, but my last letters tell me that one of them will not be here till the end of the next week and the other not for a week or two after.

I shall take care that the person I recommend to Sir Thomas Wilbraham have the qualification my Lady desires, but I desire to know whether I shall soon after his coming hither send him down or if I may not keep him here a month to help him to wear off any roughness that may be in his accent. I beg you will give my most humble service to Mr. Newport, I take it for a very great honour that he is pleased to allow me to recommend a chaplain to him. I shall answer for it he shall be both a good and a learned man, and a true protestant and sincerely, though not furiously, of the church of England. The person that is coming up is of great discretion, as well as otherwise of excellent parts, and will, I hope, soon get over the accent of his country. I ought to say a great deal in acknowledgment to yourself for your generous charity towards my countrymen, who have certainly left all they had in this world upon the account of their conscience when they had no reason to look for so good a provision as many of them have found in England. There is good reason to hope they will adhere to the last who have showed their steadiness so early, and those who have felt the smart of rigour upon themselves are not likely to be carried with a tide of severity against their brethren that differ from them. My last letters from France are the saddest I have had from thence of a great while, many eminent persons have abjured their religion, three ministers have lately done it of whom Mr. de Mahrs, minister of Orleans, is the most remarkable; he was a man of great parts and hitherto of an exemplary life. One De Brues, an advocate at Montpellier that answered the Bishop of Condom's book, has also turned and refuted himself, and it is thought many thousands will follow their example.

This affects me more than all their severities, which do likewise every day increase, for I have received this day an edict of the 5th of May, that if any papist comes within any of their temples the minister shall be condemned to the *amende honorable* to perpetual banishment and confiscation of his goods. This is since by a private order thus explained that in every church there shall be one pew or bank for such catholics as shall be sent to hear and observe the sermon, but the edict is to take place



against all that come except those of this pew, so that any malicious papist by going to one of their churches has it in his power to bring all this misery on them. I wish we may all have that tender sense of their condition that may prepare us for the like when it shall come to our turn. I give my most faithful service to your worthy son, and am with a deep respect, &c.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

1683, June 5.—I must begin with my humble thanks for your kind present of cider which I had to-day. There was company with me when it was brought in, so I called for a bottle of it and we all agreed that it was incomparably good.

This morning the gentleman came to me whom I am to recommend to Sir Thomas Wilbraham. Upon a long conversation with him I find him to be a truly mortified and serious as well as an able man, and I hope within a month he will have so shaken off the rudeness of his dialect that his pronunciation shall not be at all offensive, but by that time I must desire your directions how I shall address him to that noble family where he is to serve as chaplain. There is one either on his journey or very near it that I intend to send to Mr. Newport; it is not he I expected that comes but indeed another sort of a man, one whom I have these twelve years since I first knew him reckoned among the worthiest of the clergy I have ever been acquainted with. He has always lived just upon the border of England, so that I know his accent will have very little of his country. He had a great living both for the extent of his parish and for the profits, but he minded the one so much and the other so little that he was a great and shining light in that country. He is above forty but has the gravity of threescore. I doubt not but that honourable person will be very well satisfied with him and will find it a blessing to have such a one in his family.

But besides these who are all unmarried there are two very eminent persons that are married who would be very glad if a door were opened for them to labour in the ministry, and though of those who are thus turned out the livings were at least 60*l.* a year and some above 120*l.*, yet they who have abandoned all rather than sin against their conscience do not look at high things in this world but will be easily satisfied with a moderate competency. You see how much I build on your goodness and your zeal for the public good as well as your compassion for all good men that fall under such difficulties. I add no more but the continuance of my faithfulest and tenderest services to your son, and beg you will ever look upon me as one that is in a very particular manner, etc.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1683,] July 19.—I hope you will forgive a very short letter now, for my attendance on my Lord Russell as it takes up the

greatest part of my time so it fills all my thoughts. I shall only say this of him, that in my whole life I never saw so much of the worthiness of a brave man and of the greatness of an excellent christian met together as are in him. He will die clearing himself of all those crimes for which he is condemned except only the concealment of some treasonable propositions which he opposed to that degree that they were laid aside. He has spoken to me of many of his friends whom he thought I knew and among others with great tenderness of his cousin Mr. Newport, and rejoices much at his recovery and that good temper of mind he is in. Two days ago the gentleman came hither whom I intend to recommend to him. I have not yet seen him but he left word he would be ready when I should desire him to go down, so a fortnight hence he shall come down, by the grace of God, as he I recommended to Sir Thomas Wilbraham shall go in the second coach that goes from hence next week and I shall follow your orders of writing first by the post to Sir Thomas. I have written all this not without great uneasiness, so I only add besides my faithfulest service to your son that I am, &c.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET TO SIR EDWARD HARLEY, to be left  
with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1683,] August 18.—I cannot write any long letter, being to go a short journey for a few weeks over into France, having obtained a pass for it, so that I have several little things upon my hand. I intend to come back, if it please God, by the beginning of the Michaelmas term, and then I shall give you a more particular account of the state of the protestants of France. In the meanwhile I beg you will give my most humble service to Mr. Newport, for whom I will leave a letter which his chaplain will bring to him within a few days. I hope you will forgive a short letter and believe that I am both your son's, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1683,] November 20.—I remember you told me you had a copy of Mr. Cloggy's [Clogie's] life of Bishop Beadle [*sic*, Bedell] and in the leisure that my retirement is like to procure me this winter I intend to look over that and see what I can make of it, so if you will do me the favour to let me have the sight of that book a few weeks I shall certainly return it to you again and shall send you with it the form in which I will cast it that it may be communicated to the author. I shall mix no other matter with this, being resolved for some time to withdraw myself from all the conversation and table of the world, so that I neither know nor will know what is doing abroad, but I will ever consider myself as particularly happy in the goodness you are pleased to have for me and will be much joyed to hear of the two chaplains that by your means I recommended have answered expectation or not. I give my most faithful service to your son and am, &c.



DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to [SIR EDWARD HARLEY].

1683, December 8.—I most humbly thank you for the kind invitation with which you honoured me in that letter which your son brought me, and if I were master of my own time I would very cheerfully have embraced the opportunity of enjoying so much satisfaction and reaping so much advantage, but though it has been thought fit to hinder my going on in a lecture at St. Clements, yet I continue at the Rolls as formerly. Last night I had another from you with one inclosed from Mr. Cloggy, which I will communicate with Mr. Fraser, and then will set about it very suddenly and as soon as I have put it in order I will transmit all to Mr. Cloggy before ever thinking of putting anything under the press. I shall in the next place beg leave to ask you whether Mr. Newport and Sir Thomas Wilbraham are well satisfied with the persons I presumed to recommend to them and if there is anything of which it may be fit to advertise them, for strangers are apt to commit errors out of ignorance. I know you expect nothing from me of public affairs and indeed though I had a mind to write concerning them I know so very little that I could not give any good account of them. This is still certain the more we look into the methods of divine providence we must say clouds and darkness are round about him, but when we shall see through these we shall be fully satisfied with this that righteousness and judgment are the habitation of, or rather the establishment and basis of, his throne. I rejoice very much to find myself so happy in the kind remembrances of two persons whom I value so highly as I do yourself and your son, and am with great fidelity, &c.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to SIR EDWARD HARLEY. Recommended to the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1684,] January 22.—I most humbly thank you for your kind present and I assure you the founder is not forgotten, though without any such remembrance I have such deep impressions of your worth on my mind and count myself so happy in the share you are pleased to allow me in your good opinion that I please myself not a little in so great an honour. I have now writ over Bishop Bedell's life, but have varied it so much from the dress Mr. Cloggy put it in that I am afraid he will think I have stripped it too much of the ornaments with which he clothed it. As soon as it is copied out I will send it to him, and I beg the favour of you that you will desire him to bring it to you when he gets it, for I believe I may need your assistance to make him pardon the alterations that I have made in it. I wish you and your worthy son and your whole family a very happy year, and am with much gratitude, &c.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to SIR EDWARD HARLEY.

[1684 ?] April 3.—I take the liberty to ask you whether two bundles of papers which I sent above six weeks ago directed for

Mr. Cloggy, but to be left at your house, came safe through or not, for though few things miscarry that are sent by the carriers, yet my not hearing from Mr. Cloggy gives me some apprehensions that they are not come to his hands. I have since that time got a great many of Bishop Bedell's letters to Archbishop Ussher which are indeed worthy of him, and of which if I print the life I will print a great many, for they relate to the chief matters in it, in particular two long ones of which the one is about pluralities and the other the spiritual courts. Whether Mr. Cloggy's delaying to answer may not flow from his dislike of the method I have put it in and the uneasiness he finds in telling me so much I cannot tell, but if this is the truth pray tell him that he may be very free with me for I will not take it amiss from him, nor will I stir one step but with his approbation. I humbly beg your pardon for giving you this trouble, to which I only add my most humble service to your son, and that I am with great duty, &c.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, to be left  
with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

1684-5, January 10.—I am much beholding to you for the friendly concern that you are pleased to express for me, and few things can rejoice me more than to find that I have been some way useful to any person in the best and most important of all other things. Now it has pleased God so to order it by his providence that the employment in which I was<sup>a</sup> is fallen by the good old man's death, so that if I had been let alone I must have been by this time in the same state in which I am. I hope I shall be a gainer by my silence, and I do not think that any other person can lose much by it. To be forced to retire into one's own mind and to examine all that one has said as well as the principles and motives from which it has proceeded, may prove both a blessing to one's self and in due time, that is in God's time, may be of some advantage to others. I am very glad that you are like to dispose of your son so much to your satisfaction. I am confident there is a blessing in store for him, he looks so little like the rest of the youth of the age, and I hope all these good seeds in him will grow up to a plentiful harvest. I pray God to prosper all he sets about, and in this more particularly upon which so much depends.

I am very sorry for good Mr. Garden's death, for the world can very ill spare such men. He is, I am sure, vastly a gainer by his change. As for one to succeed him, I shall endeavour to supply Mr. Popham very speedily with one for whom I can answer in all respects. There is one that has been for some time in my house of whose piety and discretion as well as his learning I can say a great deal. I am under half an engagement for him another way, but I have writ to know whether I may dispose of him this way or not, and within a week

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<sup>a</sup>The Preachership at the Rolls from which Burnet had recently been removed and his appointment to which would have lapsed by the death of the Master of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimston, a few days before the date of this letter,



will expect an answer ; if I cannot send him I will send another that was in office in Scotland and left his church upon the Test. I carried him with me to France last year, from whence he is lately returned ; he is also both a good, a wise and a learned young man, so you shall be sure of the one or the other of these persons. The former is not yet in orders, so either a title is to be sent hither for qualifying him to be ordained, or he must go as Mr. Garden did and be ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester. I desire to know how soon you would have the person sent down, and that you will write me the address to Mr. Popham's house. I am still more and more obliged to be with all humble respect, &c.

DR. G[ILBERT] BURNET to SIR EDWARD HARLEY.

[1685,] February 12.—When I writ to you three weeks ago I was not then determined as to the person whom I should recommend to you for supplying Mr. Garden's room, and the great change that has been here had driven almost all other thoughts out of my mind, but without entering into melancholy reflections upon so great a turn of divine providence, which are fitter exercises for a closet than for a letter, I shall now crave leave to tell you that I have disengaged the young man that is in my house from the employment to which I had half promised him, so he shall be ready upon a week's warning to go to Mr. Popham's. He is a learned and pious man as most of his age that I have known for many years, and he is a very prudent and discreet person, so that I can answer very confidently for him ; he is not yet in orders, but upon the procuring a title for him as was done for Mr. Garden I know the Bishop of Gloucester will ordain him. I beg that you will be pleased to let me know when his going down will be expected and that you will also let me know by what conveyance he is to go to Mr. Popham's. I think to go for some time beyond seas within a few weeks, which makes me desirous to see this affair at an end before I go. I give my most humble service to your worthy son and am, &c.

JOHN LOCKE to SIR EDWARD HARLEY, M.P., at Brampton,  
near Ludlow.

[16]94, September 25. London.—Though I cannot doubt but you are assured there is nobody more your servant than I, yet I cannot but think a letter from me, especially of the kind this will be, will somewhat surprise you, for it is no less than to desire you lay by all that country business which you had reserved to the little time is now between this and the Parliament, and to come up to town immediately. So bold a presumption as this without farther explaining myself will possibly appear very odd to you, and I myself think it so extravagant that I should not venture to send it you were I not satisfied I should be able to justify myself to you for having done it, when you come to town, and should condemn myself for having failed in that respect and

service which I owe you if I had done otherwise. It is but a little anticipating your journey up to the Parliament, and I conclude you will when you are here think it time not lost. I therefore earnestly press you again, and if you do not think me a vain man I beseech you to believe that I would not have writ to you this fashion had I not had some reason. I should be very glad to see you here without any answer, but if you think fit to honour me with a line or two, pray let it be to assure me of your being speedily here.

*Postscript.*—I lodge at Mr. Pawlings, over against the Plough Inn in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields.

SIR JOSIAH CHILD to JOHN MORLEY, junior, at Halsted in Essex.

1694, October 26. Wanstead.—Being returned to Wanstead I think it necessary to desire you to hasten in my tithes, that at this time of general scarcity for money that sum abating your collection may go in part of my new purchase of the farm you last sold me, and pray take of my cousin Sparrow what is just equally with other men ; in matters of right friendship and relation having no place, neither did I ever expect it from a brother in the like case, the old saying is allowed among all relations 'what I buy I buy, and what I give I give.'

If you have bought the other farm near my park I shall readily pay for it though much more money is got by the present funds then the best bargains of land.

Of Mr. Gray's house and the Butt yard upon further enquiry I have no opinion at all, not thinking it worth above 7*l.* per annum, except one should set up for building of cottages, which you know I never had a mind to.

GEORGE SAVILE, MARQUIS OF HALIFAX, to MR. [ROBERT ?]  
HARLEY.

Monday morning.—I would know, sir, whether after your morning sacrifice for the public, you can allow yourself an idle part of a day so as to call upon me at half an hour past one, and make a trip to Acton this fine day, where we will eat a bunch of grapes to whet us for a piece of mutton at eight of clock when we return. I would know whether you would have a third, to be sure I want nobody when I have Mr. Harley:

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY, Secretary of State, to [ROBERT]  
HARLEY.

1694, October 4.—The time for the meeting of the Parliament drawing near occasions my renewing a request I made before to you, that I might discourse with yourself and Mr. Foley. If you continue disposed to allow me that favour I will be at home and alone any hour upon Saturday and Sunday in the afternoon that shall be convenient to you.

*Postscript.*—I live now in St. James's Square.



THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY, Secretary of State, to [ROBERT]  
HARLEY.

1694, November 6. Whitehall.—If it may suit with yours and Mr. Foley's conveniency, my Lord Godolphin and I are desirous to discourse again with you upon the same subject we last met about. If to-morrow at six in the evening be a convenient time for Mr. Foley and you, my Lord Godolphin and I will be at that time at my house in the Square; but if you are otherwise engaged at that time, I desire the favour of a line from you to appoint any other hour, place, or day.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1694, November 20.—I am 'extream' sorry I was not at home when you did me the favour yesterday to call. I should be glad if it would suit with convenience to call here this evening about seven o'clock, because I would be glad to discourse with you, and have your opinion in relation to some matters that deserve an immediate consideration. If I name a time inconvenient to your affairs, I desire you will be so kind and so free as to name any other this evening or to-morrow morning.

[ROBERT HARLEY to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.]\*

1701, August 11.—When I first resolved to write to your Grace I put my name to the letter, and also inserted some particular passage which had passed between your Grace and myself formerly, but before I sent it away I altered that resolution, not out of any apprehension that I have done anything but my duty, and what becomes an honest man and a christian, but because I see your Grace is in the hands of some men who have neither religion nor common morality, and should you show them the letter or they get it into their hands, which is very common with them, it is plain they would make no scruple of prevailing with you to expose yourself and torment me, and though I shall readily own this if charged with it, yet I do not think I am obliged to court my own trouble. Therefore I have transcribed the letter over again, and altered my hand and left out my name and some few passages which would make your Grace easily know who I am. Thus far I will let you know that I am a lay gentleman, that my mind as well as my fortune render me independent any other way than as obliged by the laws of the land, and the duty of a good christian. I have long lamented the scandalous heats which have been of late amongst churchmen, and upon all occasions have taken your Grace's part in discourse relating to the affairs of the Convocation, in hope that some happy hours would fall out to make up this breach; and it has been owing to my influence that many sober clergymen

\*We print this document as it stands in the chronological arrangement of the papers, but there is no other paper throwing any light on the circumstances in which it was written, or showing that the original letter of which this is a draft or copy ever reached Archbishop Tenison's hands. The deprivation of Dr. Watson, Bishop of St. David's, and subsequent proceedings relating thereto, seem to be the subject of the letter.

here in my neighbourhood have not hitherto engaged themselves in this affair. But now, my Lord, I must speak plainly to you from the bitterness of my soul, that not only my hopes of healing are vanished, but I look upon a dismal prospect of ruin to christianity and even morality.

In the name of God what did you mean to send a fire-brand through all your province, and which I am very well assured you had no leave for doing, first to procure and indite such a letter which treats clergymen with such language as no gentleman gives to any one; were you afraid that people would have complied, I know that was the fear of some people, but to be plain you have brought this home to us laymen and we must find a remedy. I must tell you what you have nobody else faithful enough to do it; you are entirely under the influence of those who have not only discharged themselves from all obligations of religion, but also have for many years been promoting, first Socinianism then Arianism and now Deism in the state, they have propagated notions which destroy all government; in order to perfect that, they set up for notions which destroy all religion and so consequently dissolve the bonds of all society. These are the people who hire the writers, nay revise the books themselves, at whose charges these books are printed, and great numbers given away. These are the men who govern you, who recommend clergymen to you, who laugh at you—to my knowledge—for it after; I heard one myself expose you for saying to an atheistical peer, ‘Pray my Lord have a care of yourself, good men are scarce, my good Lord Macclesfield is gone.’ Could any one that had common regard to his own reputation pick out two such profligate creatures. And for your clergy counsellors two or three who would engross preferments into their own hands, together with that mad Bishop of Sarum who has been contemned by all parties and all times for his intemperate fury as well as his immoralities and his falsehood.

But my Lord give me leave to expostulate freely with you, and to lay before you the danger you are flying yourself and all in. I would use the words of our English Seneca to Archbishop Laud, and the case is pretty parallel. I do believe your Grace is a true Christian, and it is plain that Laud was no Papist, yet he did their business [as] effectually for them as if he were. This enraged them, and united people against him, and the torrent ran so strong I need not mention the direful consequences.

If you are not a Sadducee what do you in their tents? be either a bird or a beast, part either with your wings or your claws. If you will be amongst the Sadducees quit the clergy, but now under your protection and shadow all these execrable heresies grow up and are nourished whilst you are disputing whether a lower house of Convocation can adjourn themselves. Oh, ridiculous! and yet it now appears that they had even abstained from that, and yet you would not let them alone, so that it is very clear those who ‘act’ you mean something else, and your trumping up a Legatine power, when you sit only by virtue of the Queen’s writ, which last session you sufficiently broke through. It is time for



the laity to examine this pretended power, and not leave it to the arbitrary will of a Metropolitan to deprive his com-bishops without law or example, to save one equally guilty.

*Draft or Copy in Harley's handwriting.*

H[ENRY] ST. JOHN to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1701, December 26.—Dear Sir, To tell you that I long extremely to see you is doing a very unfashionable thing, for it is professing a great truth.

I came this morning to town, and as soon as I received your letter went to wait upon you, but unfortunately for me you was gone out. This evening I am necessarily obliged to return to Battersea, but to-morrow I will come to London for good and all if possible; however, Monday at farthest I will wait on you. Do me the justice to believe me, Dear Mr. Harlay (*sic*), your &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD —.

1703, June 10, N.S. Hannef.—I have had the honour of yours, and I do assure you I shall always be glad of any occasion that may convince you of the esteem and friendship I have for your Lordship. Ever since the Treaty of Portugal has been mentioned I have never heard otherways but that the Duke of Schomberg was to have that command, for besides his experience his name must be of great use in that country.

If he does not go I think her Majesty can't do better than to employ my Lord Rivers, who I am sure will be careful of her Majesty's and the Nation's honour.

The army here being obliged to govern themselves by what is doing in Brabant makes me very impatient of hearing they have begun to act.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1703, August 11, N.S. Rome.—I cannot express how agreeably I was surprised by your kind remembrance and obliging letter of the 3rd June, which together with the manuscript I did not receive till two days ago. At the same time Mr. Walsh also sent me so engaging a message from you that all together I am so confounded that I can only say that, as from my first acquaintance with Mr. Harley I had a most sincere esteem and friendship for him, so these additional obligations to the others I have formerly received make me so entirely his humble servant that there is nothing I desire more than an occasion of showing how much I am so, and I hope in a few months to have an opportunity to assure him the same by word of mouth.

Our letters had been stopped for above a month by the enemy's troops in the Tyrol, and coming this week four posts together I have had my time so taken up in answering my friends' letters that I have not had leisure to see the Library keeper of the Vatican, nor give him the MS. you favoured me

with. Upon the encouragement you give me, if he should desire anything more out of the Cotton Library upon the same subject, I will take the liberty to trouble you upon it.

They are very busy here about the Calendar, they see themselves in an error but want knowledge to get out of it; for I can assure you learning is very rare in this country, and will be rarer if the Cardinal Norris die, as they say he must of a dropsical distemper very soon, he being one of the only Prelates that makes a figure, who has a reputation for learning among them, and was at the head of those now employed in reforming the Calendar. It is probable they have better treatises upon this subject in the Vatican Library, where I believe there may be very valuable books, but they know little of them, looking but seldom into them. Here they get more preferment by ignorance and submission than in other countries they do by labour and learning; and it is very politic in them to encourage this laziness, for these are people who have naturally very good wits, and should they add a little knowledge and enquiry, the system of this Court and Church could not stand long.

If there were anything in this part of the world I could serve you in, as books, manuscripts, prints, pictures, medals, &c., I should take it for a great favour if with all freedom you would employ your most faithful and obedient servant.

#### H. ST. JOHN to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1703, September 25.—That quiet which you are gone to seek in the country and which you enjoy so little of in town had not been thus early disturbed by me if I had not met two days ago M. Vriebergen, the Dutch minister, who seeming very desirous you should know what he did not care to write, lest you should think he gave himself airs of familiarity (I use his own expression), I told him that, as those who have least to say affect correspondence most, so I did sometimes trouble you with my epistles; and that if he pleased to tell me what it was, I would write it to you as a thing I had heard and believed true. It is in short this—the States gave a plan to Mr. Hill wherein they proposed to have twelve of their ships of the line of battle and twenty of ours left this winter in Portugal, and next spring to augment these to forty-eight by six Dutch to ten English. In order to this they have sent orders to Allemonde in his return to leave six ships at Lisbon, they have directed their Admiralty to prepare stores of all kinds for refitting there, and their envoys have instructions to press the King of Portugal for magazines and other conveniences. He has talked of this scheme to the Prophet [ ], who does not think it proper that our seamen should spend their money out of England, which they must do if they lie any time to refit at Lisbon. I perceive by your countryman J. B[urchett?] this has been under consideration, and the result was that they could not afford so many for this winter's service in those parts.



There is a Dutch post just now come in, Limburgh is taken and the garrison are prisoners of war. The King of Spain set out from Vienna the 9th o.s., and Stirum has had a pretty sharp dispute with the French and Bavarians. He attacked the Marquis d' Usson, who came on one side, and beat him ; but the Marshal [Villars] and the Elector [of Bavaria] coming on the other he was forced to retreat, which he did with very little loss. The Duke of Vendôme is retired from Trent and marches back to Italy ; Stepney writes that his bombs have not done 10,000 florins worth of damage.

I give you frequent opportunities of showing your virtues, your patience I often exercise, your charity will appear in forgiving the length and impertinence of this letter, and your justice in believing me, Dear Mr. Harlay, your &c.

*Postscript.*—To-morrow the Westminster scholar dines with me.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1703, October 11, N.S. Alderbeeston.—I have received the favour of yours of the 2nd instant [September], and take it very kindly that you do me the justice to believe I endeavour to employ my time where it may be most useful to the public, and are pleased so readily to excuse my not troubling you with my letters, which I would not however omit, were I not satisfied that my Lord Treasurer communicates mine to you, and that you are informed from other hands of our motions here.

I am sensibly concerned at what you mention of the heats that continue between the two parties, and should esteem it the greatest happiness of my life if I could any way contribute towards the allaying them. Upon this occasion you will give me leave to be so free as to tell you that what you write confirms me very much in the desire I have for some time had of retiring from these uneasy and troublesome broils. However, I shall never be wanting in my duty to her Majesty and my country wherever my endeavours may be thought useful, and I must add without a compliment that my greatest ease and satisfaction is in the hopes I have from Lord Treasurer's and your abilities and prudent managements of these matters, wherein upon my return I shall be ready to give my assistance and to be solely governed by yours and his Lordship's good advice, nor do I fail upon all occasions that offer with our friends here, who have any relation to the Court of Hanover, to put all things in the truest light.

I am going in a fortnight to the Hague, and shall be obliged to stay four or five days before I embark for England, where I long to embrace you.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1703, December 15, N.S. Rome.—Having understood that several 'males' have been taken by the French near Augsbourg, as well going to, as coming from, Holland, lest one I writ about a month since should have miscarried, I desire your assistance to Mr. Vernon in case he should want it this winter, &c.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704, May 21. Sunday at two.—'Tis a pretty hard matter to please everybody, and especially those who will neither lead nor drive. I speak now of some of the chiefs of Westminster Hall, who if they are angry may thank themselves.

I must own to you, I have not the secret nor never can have, who won't tell it though they are pressed to do it, and yet will take it ill of one, if one does not find it out.

I doubt indeed the enemy may have been [more?] industrious than we, but I cannot reproach myself for not having done my part. I never was near so industrious before in my life, and shall be very glad never to have occasion of being so again.

If it be an objection that a Speaker should not be proposed by any in the Queen's service, I suppose that may be easily avoided by a meeting beforehand of those who will join heartily in carrying on the Queen's service, and the public business; but [if?] that meeting be once settled, I despair of any good to come. I was very glad to see Mr. Comptroller [Mansell] at the Chapel just now, but, by what you write and some other observations, I am afraid Mr. Solicitor [Harcourt] is not very right. I have scarce had the favour of one word from him since he was elected into the parliament, though it cost me more pains than to choose Mr. Poley.

Mr. Churchill tells me Col. Lee is in town, he has spoken to him, but you must speak to him too. I have spoken myself with Mr. Brewer this morning.

If you are not otherwise engaged, I should be glad to carry you this evening to Kensington between five and six.

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1704, June 9. Windsor.—Her Majesty seemed to be willing you should be here Sunday to take her orders upon the Scotch memorial about the plot. However, if you should find it any way inconvenient to come, I can easily make your excuse.

If the letters sent by Duke Hamilton to the post house at Berwick can be looked into without his coming to know it, it would be an omission scarcely excusable not to do it.

The Dean of Carlisle [Graham], who is here now attending the Queen, has notice that the Dean of Wells [Bathurst] has broken his thigh, who was before an old dying man, and this accident Mr. Dean *hopes* will make an end of him.

In that case would Dr. Atterbury care to be Dean of Carlisle? And would Sir Chr. Musgrave like him there, in case we like Sir Chr.?

#### THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1704, June 28, N.S. Rome.—We have this post received the news that her Majesty has been pleased to place the seals of



Secretary of State in your hands, at which I have so great satisfaction that I cannot forbear troubling you with a letter of congratulation. At the same time I am sensible the public has more reason to rejoice than you who will enter into an employment of great trouble, but the superiority of your genius will make that easy to you which others have found vexatious.

I shall not omit this occasion to give you my most humble thanks for your kindness and protection to Mr. Vernon.

I have been here so long that I believe people begin to think I intend no more to return. I had designed it this spring, when an unexpected relapse after many months' good health forced me to defer my journey. I will no more set a time, but assure you it shall be as soon as my health and the season will permit, and perhaps sooner than I am expected. However in all places, I assure you, I am a true Englishman and wish well to all who are so, and in a more particular manner am your &c.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1704, June 28. Windsor.—I have the favour of yours of the 27th, and have read to the Queen the Earl of Jersey's letter to you, and one of the same tenor to myself; as also Lucan's information, which latter she has commanded me to send to the Chancellor of Scotland with her Majesty's directions to cause the person mentioned in it to be searched for with all care and diligence, and to be forthwith seized and examined.

I have likewise received her commands to write as I have done to my Lord Seafield in favour of my Lord Leven, though the same reason still subsists which made her decline to grant the remission desired, viz., that she thought it was more for his service and her own that all matters of that nature should come free and unprejudiced to the consideration of the parliament. To this purpose I have also written the enclosed to Lord Leven which I must beg your favour to send him; and that you would send the enclosed to Lord Seafield to Sir Thomas Frankland to put under his cover to Norwich as usual.

Ought not Capt. Byron, the commander of the yacht, to be examined why he refused the four musketeers demanded by Lucan for the seizing Sir G. Maxwell and his companions? I find it seemed to him that he could not answer the doing it, but I confess it seems to me that it is harder to answer the not doing it.

The Queen tells me the Prince will be next Monday at Westminster Hall, and her Majesty designing to dine that day at Kensington, and to stay there three or four days will not give the Lords the trouble of coming hither next Sunday. Pray be pleased to acquaint Mr. Secretary Hedges with this for fear a summons should go from the Office by mistake.

*Postscript.*—I wish you much joy of my Lady Dorchester's acquaintance at the Office.

LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY, Secretary.

1704, June 29. Windsor.—I should not have troubled you again so soon but that the enclosed print, more scandalous in

my opinion than the 'Observer' himself [Tutchin], is fallen into my hands. I don't know what course can be taken with effect to find out the author; but I think no pains or expense could be, or be thought, too much to bring him to the punishment he deserves.

At the same time I can't but take notice from the common news-letters that Mr. Attorney [Northey] has no great success in his prosecutions of any kind, but this magnifying of France is a thing so odious in England, that I can't think any jury would acquit this man if discovered.

H. ST. JOHN to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1704, July 13.—I have received from Mr. Bracebridge, the justice of peace that committed Lieut. Lesley; and Sir Clement Fisher, two letters in answer to those which I writ in pursuance of her Majesty's directions signified to me by yours. You will find in them and the affidavits annexed a full and authentic account of that whole matter. I shall be in town in a few days to receive your further directions in this or any other thing.

*Enclosure 1.*

Sir C[lement] Fisher to [Secretary St. John].

1704, July 8.—About three o'clock in the afternoon of May 29, the constable of Meriden came in great haste to my house and desired to me to appear and assist him in keeping the peace betwixt some soldiers and his townsmen. Upon this Sir William Wheeler a gentleman of this country (that was with me on a visit) and I went with a design to prevent the mischief, but before we met the soldiers they and the countrymen had fought, and several were hurt and wounded on both sides. Lieut. Lesley told me they were on the Queen's service and had done nothing but what they had orders for. I desired him to show me those orders; he gave me a paper which only directed him to list such men as came to him voluntarily. I told him I heard he had forced several men along with them, and had very much exceeded those orders.

Whilst we had this dispute there was an outcry that one of the country people was dead, and that two of them were run through the body, and one in the thigh, and that the third borough who came to the constable's assistance was almost knocked on the head. This made the neighbouring people flock together to revenge their neighbours' quarrel upon the officers and soldiers, and they were coming with great eagerness to fall on them. I used all the argument I could to dissuade them from such an attempt and told them I would have the officer secured that they might have their remedy according to law. The lieutenant afterwards submitted to the constable and was taken before Mr. Bracebridge. The soldiers had four men in their



custody taken by force, viz., an Irishman, a French watch-maker, Mr. Ebborn's servant, and Richard Smith, a farmer.

*Enclosure 2.*

Copies of affidavits relating to the above disturbance, certified by Sam. Bracebridge.

LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY, Secretary.

1704, July 19. Windsor.—I have the favour of yours of last night with the enclosed, which I have laid before the Queen.

The letter intercepted to Poland seems to be matter of curiosity only, what relates to Scotland in it had I believe been in their thoughts, or something of that kind, before the discovery of Frazer's plot.

What Mr. Poley writes is unintelligible, the former part does not cohere with the latter; but it confirms he is not fit to continue there [at Hanover].

I believe your information is right of Duchess Hamilton's inclinations and her influence upon her son's, but as to the reconciliation and union of the two Dukes of H[amilton] and Qu[eensberry], it may be negotiated by Lord Stair, or some common friend, but it will scarce be owned by Qu.

I believe the news Mr. Vrybergh has told you, because if it were not so, we must have had an express. God send us good news from Augsburg!

I don't by Mr. Secretary Hedges' news paper perceive that in France it was expected M. Tallard could join before the 8th of August, our 28th of July. If that be true it leaves room for much to be done in the meantime.

The same French newspaper makes me very much of opinion there will be a battle at sea. I don't know but that it might be reasonable in that view, for the Prince's Council to consider of sending such stores as are like to be most necessary after an engagement, to Lisbon by this convoy. By speaking with Sir D. M[itchell] or Mr. [George] Churchill, you will judge whether this is proper to be done, or sufficiently done already.

[ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1704, July 21.—I send your Lordship enclosed two letters from the Duke of Marlborough of the 16th and 20th inst. [N.S.], with the original letters from the Emperor and the Elector Palatine to his Grace. I will bring to-morrow a translation of the Latin letter for her Majesty, and another for the Duchess of M.; and then I think after they have been read to the Lords the originals should be delivered to my Lady Duchess. I send Davenant's letter that you may see what news they had there [Frankfort?]; also Mr. Robinson's, which is very serious and deserves consideration; and the Lord Raby's, because that has a project of making the treaty there. Mr. Stepney's private letter is herewith enclosed, and Mr. Stanhope's long one with nothing in it.

I am sure your Lordship can in a much better manner lay the Duke of Marlborough's letters before her Majesty; I beg also you would with my most humble duty lay the rest before the Queen.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704, July 31, half-an-hour past 5. Windsor.—The messenger brought me yours at five. I am very glad to hear you are like to make so considerable a discovery.

I return you the blank warrant signed by the Queen for D[e Foe?]'s pardon. Her Majesty commands me to tell you she approves entirely of what you have promised him, and will make it good. She resolves to be to-morrow in the evening at Kensington.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1704, August 4.—The Queen is very sorry for the accident which has lately happened by the misbehaviour of a 'Swedish Captain' [*altered by Harley to 'the Captain of a Swedish man of war'*], and hopes the King of Sweden will give him the punishment due to his fault, to avoid future inconveniences of this nature, which cannot fail to happen whenever the due respect is denied to the right of her Majesty's flag.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1704, August 13. Windsor.—Her Majesty is very sensible of the great trouble you have in this affair, and very easy in your staying at London till it be ended.

She asked me whether the Archbishop had taken any care about a thanksgiving day for the victory [of Blenheim]. I told her I had not seen him since the news came, but that I hoped he would think this success considerable enough for a solemn day to be appointed for the observation of it all over England at once.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1704, September 1. Windsor.—I received the favour of yours by the post this morning, with the papers which you enclosed, and return them all in one long bundle by this messenger, as also the letters you sent to the Queen yesterday, with one from the Elector Palatine to her Majesty in a very high strain of compliment. I don't know how far it would be reasonable to print private letters, but I think it might do well, at least, to read that letter of the Elector Palatine to the Lords of the Committee.

I am not very easy at their being so far engaged in the siege of Landau at this time of year; it may draw into length, and delay the Duke of Marlborough's coming over, besides that it



may expose him to new hazards. All these, in my opinion, had been better prevented, and the Empire might have been contented with seeing the French gone back over the Rhine.

The fears of France, as well as the desires of Holland, were that he should have brought his army down the Rhine in boats; and I must own, that for my own part I should have liked that measure better, but I can believe in him (Marlborough) against my own senses.

I enclose to you my letter to him by this post, and I have sent you also in the long bundle a paper signed by the Queen which you sent to her, and which I forgot to mention at the beginning of this letter.

Our sea victory not proving true makes the discourse of that matter very disagreeable; but the news of M. Villadarias's going with a great body of men to retake Gibraltar may turn to the great advantage of our intended expedition in Portugal.

The Queen designing to be Monday at Kensington, I suppose nobody will give themselves the trouble of coming hither Sunday; but I hope I shall hear from you as there shall be occasion.

*Postscript.*—I wish they had offered more tempting conditions to the Electress of Bavaria.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704, September 12. Windsor.—I beg leave to trouble you with my letter to the Duke of Marlborough, and the enclosed address, which yesterday I forgot to desire you might be printed in the next 'Gazette.'

This goes by Mr. Churchill, who is in haste.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1704,]\* September 14. Windsor.—An express arrived here this morning from Sir George Rooke, with letters of the 27th of August, old style, off Cape St. Vincent, which say they had had on the 13th a long and a sharp engagement with the French fleet. The not sending away an express till the 27th is, I doubt, a sign we have not much to brag of; however, I don't find we have lost any ship, though several have been ill handled. He says the French are gone back to Toulon without pursuing their intention of passing through the Straits. Upon the whole it seems to have been a sort of a drawn battle where both sides had enough of it, though 'tis plain the fight was at great distance.

We are said to have 2,800 men killed and wounded, but it does not appear by any account I have seen what the enemy's loss has been.

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\*This letter bears the date "1705" written some years after apparently by the second Earl of Oxford, but it obviously belongs to the preceding year. Dates, in the same handwriting, are assigned to other undated letters of Lord Godolphin, which are not always correct.

Sir George Rooke may be probably at home in eight or ten days ; he has left Sir John Lake (Leake) at Lisbon with a squadron of eleven ships, and with instructions which the better to enable him to pursue, I think the Prince's Council should wait upon the Lords to-morrow morning to receive their direction what stores or provisions might be proper to be dispatched to Sir John Lake, because if Whetston be not yet sailed from Spithead the opportunity of sending them by him might not be lost ; Sir John Lake being ordered to take care of Gibraltar as well as of the coast of Portugal.

We are in hopes of Dutch letters to-morrow.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704, September 15. Windsor.—The Bishop of Carlisle's perverseness [*re* Atterbury as Dean ?] is very unaccountable, but a discreet clergyman is almost as rare as a black swan.

When you come to Windsor I shall desire your thoughts as to the persons for secretary and treasurer for the First Fruits and Tenths ; my own are at present that they ought not (*sic*) to have but very moderate salaries out of a fund designed for charity.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1704, September 27. Windsor.—The Duke of Marlborough says an active stirring minister in Switzerland would be capable of doing more service than anywhere else, both in supporting and encouraging the Protestant Cantons, and in furnishing the quickest intelligence from all parts. I think your cousin Tom Harley the fittest man in the world for that post. The other which we have sometimes talked of is of less consequence, and all that is necessary there is only to have one that won't do hurt ; but I would not have you think I will ever press anything that you or he do not like as well as myself.

The truth is, all the ministers sent abroad by my Lord Nottingham have hitherto done us more hurt than good, and the sooner they are all changed, not Mr. Hill excepted, the better.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell being sworn of the Prince's Council, I take it for granted that Sir G. Rooke has laid down, but I have not yet heard how that matter is talked of, or understood at London.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1704 [September?].—I am not fond of the proposal of two statues, one for the Queen and th'other for the Duke of Marlborough. What merit soever a subject may have I am doubtful that may set him upon too near an equality with one upon the throne.

My own opinion inclines most to an anniversary thanksgiving by Act of Parliament for so entire a victory, as the most public, the most decent, and the most permanent record of it to posterity, but if this be thought too much because it is upon a



fact happened without the kingdom—whereas our precedents of anniversaries run generally upon occasions at home—I must submit that to better judgments.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704, October 1. Newmarket.—I am sorry to hear of Mr. St. John's illness; I hope he will soon recover, for I know nobody more able or willing to serve the Queen.

I am mighty uneasy that we are so long without knowing the fate of Barcelona, and can't help fearing 'tis no good sign.

I don't know particularly what Dr. Drake has written, but I can easily imagine his great patron and his great zeal together may have encouraged him to meddle too much.

I am sorry the Queen has given any directions about the Great Seal before my Lord Keeper's coming to town, till when they cannot be executed, but it would have been too ridiculous to have continued it longer in his hands; and whenever the Queen disposes of the Seal, all people won't be pleased, but if her Majesty gives it to the man who is generally thought the most proper for it, she takes the method which is least liable to objection.

I wish with all my heart you may have a good account of the correspondence you labour so much to intercept; that would be very material, but there are so few who can be relied upon—are you sure of Brockett himself?

[LORD GODOLPHIN] to [ROBERT HARLEY], SPEAKER.

1704, November 8.—I was told yesterday that there had been a meeting Monday night at the Fountain Tavern, of one hundred and fifty members, where it was resolved that the money bill should lie upon the table till the bill of Occasional Conformity be passed.

One Gellibrand has been with me this morning, and I find he is able to give great lights into the smugglers' carrying over their correspondence, &c. I have appointed him to be at my house to-morrow night after Council; if you are then at leisure, we will speak to him together.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704, November 16.—The vote for the 5,000 men will, I hope, have a very good effect abroad for the public service, before the men can come to be made use of.

By the enclosed you sent me the D[uke] of N[ewcastle] seems to be in very good humour; if I was denied to Mr. Monckton, I am very sorry for it, and if he had sent in his name I should certainly have seen him.

I find plainly it was in the power of the Queen's servants to have kept out the Occasional bill. She has not much reason to thank them for it, not that I apprehend they can carry a tack or put a stop to the money, but when the bill is thrown out in the

House of Lords, they will make use of that handle to throw dirt and stones at whom they have a mind to bespatter. This is what I chiefly expect from the event of this bill, and which might have been prevented if these gentlemen had thought fit.

I doubt it will not be seasonable to press the House upon the matter of the subsidies due to the Allies in the last reign; but if you come to the Council this evening I will speak to you of it there; and if you do better, that is, stay at home and take care of yourself, I can, after the Council is up, come to your house, if it be not uneasy to you.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

[1704, December 16.]—I must confess by what was writ the former post, I could not help being under some apprehensions from the proceedings of the House of Commons with reference to the Occasional bill, so that the account you now send me was so much the more welcome; and when I reflect on the dangerous consequences the obstinacy of some people might have produced, I cannot but think this happy turn as great a victory with reference to England as any advantage we have had since I saw you, and I hope everybody will do you the justice to attribute the greatest share of it to your prudent management and zeal for the public. You will see what I write to Lord Treasurer, so shall give you no further trouble.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704-5, January 11.—I forgot yesterday to give you the enclosed note for Mr. Patterson.

In case the question proposed last night should be agreed to in the House, it not being usual to send a message to either House which is not first considered at Cabinet Council, why might not the Queen return immediately an answer to the purpose following, viz. :—

I am glad to find you have so just a sense of the Duke of Marlborough's merit and services. I should not have delayed to have made him a grant of some house and lands belonging to the Crown, as a proper mark of distinction to remain in his family for perpetuating the memory of his eminent services; but that I find very remote terms granted in the Crown lands, and myself otherways disabled from performing my just intentions in this particular, *without the assistance of the Parliament*.

If any of our company should think these last words, *with a stroke drawn under them*, not full enough, they may be easily made stronger.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to SECRETARY HARLEY.]

1704-5, February 12. From the D[uke of] Marl[borough's] lodgings, at ten.—I return you Ormiston's letter; he is in the right, in every tittle of it.



Pray make my humble excuses for not coming to your meeting to-night. My cough is very uneasy, and the heat of that room would kill me, both while I was in it, and when I should go out of it into the air.

I hope the judges will do well to-morrow, and that you will not agree to our amendments in the Prize Office bill.

*Enclosure.*

[Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk, to  
Robert Harley.]

1705, February 3. Edinburgh.—It is much more to be known from the tempers of men than from the weather at present that we are so far removed to the North and distant from the rest of the world; for some you know, and not long ago did see, continue peevishly unsatisfied, never attempting anything [which] looks like bringing themselves or others rationally to digest what is proper and fit to be done in the present state of affairs. 'Tis easy to find fault with our predecessors, but alas! never a thought how to recover that we cry so loudly 'Oh, 'tis lost.' Without a present remedy, indeed certain ruin seems to threaten, and how can it be otherwise, for a narrow enquiry to find faults (not out of design to mend them) and self-interest possess too many at this time. To be more plain, the new Ministry are at no pains to gain one man, nay all their designs are confined within the number of five or six persons; and we are wholly taken up to find Green and his crew pirates. This I can say little of, the presumptions are strong, but I cannot neglect what is of more weight to me, and that is, the curbing the insolence of the papists and Jacobites. You may guess what pass we are at when the Duke of Gordon takes the boldness to insult the Government; he has never been known to expose himself, but when he thought there was a sure game in the field. You may come to hear the Justice Clerk is too forward and will spoil all, but he says without some appear with vigour at present we are undone; therefore he has proposed the disarming presently all papists and taking their horses, and what Highland chieftains are papists that all their men be disarmed, and that lists of all papists and reputed papists be sent in to the Council. We must next enquire after our non-jurant clergy, who these two years have gone through corrupting our people. You cannot imagine how far people have laid aside their reason, yea, and their former desire to a union, and seem rather to hearken to proposals for the succession. All I can say farther at present is that the only hope one can have is that at present there does not appear a fixed determined resolution among men, so that there is ground to work if there were proper instruments.

*Postscript.*—I forgot to write to you about our friend Col. John Erskine. He is an honest man and met with hard measure two years ago when turned out of Dumbarton Castle. Justice says he should be ‘reponed,’ and the Revolution people will be all glad of it.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704-5 [February 24], Saturday.—The House of Lords has left out the first clause in the bill of Offices, upon the uncertainty and absurdity of it, and have passed the second relating to the Prize Office with some considerable amendments, one of which puts the judgment of offences against that Act into the courts of Westminster Hall.

I have not heard what the judges have resolved to do about the Aylesbury men, but I hope no writ of error will lie upon that occasion for bringing it to the House of Lords.

Major-General Harvey has brought Mr. Secretary Hedges some letters from Portugal of an old date, which show more plainly than ever the very ill condition of our affairs there, and what is worse they scarce seem capable of any remedy. We can’t send a better general than Lord Galway, and to send another ambassador would only give a handle to malicious people to lay the blame upon our changing the hand.

If you could intercept the message to France it might prove of very great use at this time.

I have a poor little grandchild of nine months old more like to die than live, of a fever, at this hour.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1704-5, March 24.—If you can be at leisure I think it would be necessary for you to come to my house about seven this evening, if it were only to take leave of the Duke of Marlborough; but I must own I have a by-end of my own in it, for I want to speak to you of several things. This matter of the Great Seal must not lie long as it does; I wish you would think what ought to be done in it, as soon as you can.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, April 1. Monday night.—I hear by Mr. Secretary Hedges the Duke of Newcastle has the Privy Seal given him this night; will he be so formal as to expect one should go to Clerkenwell to make him a compliment, or will he be reasonable enough to be satisfied if one wishes him joy in a letter. I beg the favour of you to tell me freely your thought of him in this point, for I would not willingly stumble in the threshold.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, April 8.—I think you have filled the blanks very well in the Commission for the Union, and agree it would have been



entirely right to have enlarged the number of Commissioners, but the Scots Commission being fixed to thirty-one and, as they say, unalterable, they would not suffer our number to exceed theirs, because in all former Commissions the number of Commissioners has been the same, and they were jealous in case ours should exceed theirs it would have an air of superiority which they could not well excuse to their Parliament.

For my own part I wish there were no such thing upon earth as a punctilio of any kind.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, April 12. Newmarket.—I return the letters you did me the favour to send me by the post, having first given the Queen an account of the substance of them. Her Majesty thinks it proper that all encouragement be given to Huguetan to expect her protection; and I confess I think his coming over at this time will give a very ill impression of the affairs of France, and by consequence please much here.

I have no great reflections to make upon Lord Raby's or Mr. Stepney's letters.

[LORD GODOLPHIN] to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, April 14. [Newmarket.]—I shall speak to Lord Halifax here to send for Mr. Montague to town, but I find he is not without some scruple upon the account of his friendship with Mr. Stepney, and wishes it might be so ordered as that Mr. Stepney might not have the least jealousy or uneasiness upon his nephew's going thither. If the instructions are ready by the Queen's coming to town I conclude they will be ready before he who is to carry them.

The Queen goes Monday to Cambridge.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, April 16. Newmarket.—The Queen leaves it to the Lords of the Committee to resolve what powers it may be proper for the Duke of Marlborough to have in case of any desertion of the Irish from the French service abroad.

I have spoken to Lord Halifax here about his nephew's going to Vienna, and not finding him so forward in that matter as I had reason to think he would have been, I must beg the favour of you not to mention it at home or abroad till I have the honour to see you.

The Queen is gone this morning to dine at Cambridge.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, April 19. Newmarket.—I return your foreign letters, and am sorry to find by Mr. Stepney's that Prince Eugene was not yet gone to Italy, where he seems to be much wanted,

I have written to the Duke of M[arlborough] by the last post to try if Mr. Stanhope would be willing to go to Vienna; if not, after the answer comes, I doubt we must be forced to part with Mr. Paget at last.

I keep Mr. Addison's deposition till I see you, which I hope will be Sunday night.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, May 2.—The noise which I easily foresaw would follow from making 'Tackers' Serjeants [at law] is come with great violence, and I must own I don't see what is to be said to it, and therefore I think if it be not too late the call ought to be stopped till next term. For to do this just before the election will, I doubt, bring a most unaccountable ridicule upon the Government. But next term the same thing might be done without reproach.

This thing joined with the delay made in my Lord Westmorland's request cannot be borne at once, and must needs be the greatest gratification imaginable to the 'Tackers' and their adherents.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, May 31.—I have received the favour of yours for which I give you many thanks, and have had a mind often to be writing to you, but I considered that the less I troubled your affairs in the country, the sooner I might hope to see you in town.

You begin to be much wanted now for the instructions to Vienna and Hungary, and some which will be as necessary at the Hague as either. These last are furnished chiefly by our Lisbon letters. I believe the Queen will resolve to send my Lord Sunderland; his rank is proper for the compliment, and he will be thought to wish well to the peace with the malcontents; and he must wait upon the Duke of Marlborough in his way, but he can't be dispatched till you come to give him his instructions, and the time presses in all respects.

Your Worcestershire news is no news here. We hear it not only from those sort of people but from all sides.

I believe Parker will be the Queen's serjeant, the Chief Justices are for B[aniste?]r.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, June 3, Sunday night.—My last was to desire you to come to town, and this night at the Cabinet Council there were two letters from Mr. Stepney which came this morning, that will make it still more necessary. The Accommodation with the malcontents seems impossible unless the Emperor and his ministers will agree to a guarantee, and in that case there's great hopes it may succeed.

The instructions for this affair being in your hands, and indeed much better there than in any other, the Queen has ordered Secretary Hedges to send this express to desire you would come



to town in hopes that you may be able to take her directions next Sunday night at Windsor for anything that will require to be added to those instructions.

I shall stay in town till Saturday morning the 9th, so that if you are here by Friday night I may have opportunity of talking to you before I go to Windsor.

Lord Marlborough writes me word all the troops designed for his army will not be together before the 20th N.S.; but he has more now than he has forage for, and has therefore been forced to march over the Saar into the plains, where the M. de Villars had an opportunity of fighting him, if he had thought fit, with a superior force, but they chose rather to stay in their camp, and to strengthen themselves there.

The Dutch have been frightened at Huy and Liège, but I believe that is all. I wish they would think it worth their time to throw away a month or six weeks upon those places.

All the accounts we have from Spain, or of it from any other place, seem to give a very hopeful prospect.

Lord Great Chamberlain [Lindsey] has carried his election in the county of Lincoln, and I hear Palmer and Pigot have carried it in Somersetshire.

#### QUEEN ANNE TO ROBERT HARLEY.

[1705,] June 14. Windsor.—I send you back all your letters but the news from Spain, which I have not yet read being in hast to send the messenger away, that my letters for the Queen of Denmark and the Elector Palatin may be time enough with you to goe by this night's post. I think it will be very proper that Mr. How should be ordered to make my compliments at the Court of Hanover upon the marriage, as my Lord Halifax proposed.

I am your very affectionett freind,

ANNE, R.

#### [LORD GODOLPHIN TO ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, June 21. Windsor.—Having seen the news of the Inter-nuncios being at the Hague in two several letters, I make no doubt of the truth of it, looking upon it as the most improbable thing in the world for anybody to invent.

Lord Marlborough being so near them in Holland will not only be a bridle upon their negotiations, but taking away their fears it will also take away their power of proceeding upon them.

I think you are much in the right not to take Edwards, if you have any way of taking his letters.

I shall order Mr. Taylour by this messenger to take your directions to whom he shall pay the 100*l.* to Ogilvy.

I have a letter from Col. Graham who seems very unwilling to believe the news of his son's marriage.

The Prince has notice that Sir George Bing sailed the 18th from Plymouth, which I am very glad to hear, the wind having been very (*sic*) fair as it could blow ever since.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, June 22. Windsor.—I have the favour of your letter with a very long one from M. de Guiscard, full of complaints; till I see his book which you speak of, I cannot judge how far it is fit to be printed, but by his letter to me that may possibly deserve to be considered.

Though I never heard before that there was such a person as Dorothy Ellis, I cannot but agree her vanishing just at this time is a very odd circumstance belonging to that affair. I hope the trial goes on that we may see what it will produce.

The Queen is pleased to allow that Mr. Stratford should have Dr. Rateliff's canonry of Christ Church.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, [June] 25. Windsor.—I have received the favour of your letter of 24th, and have acquainted the Queen with the particulars of it and the enclosed letters; that from Scotland diverted her, though we could but guess at "a" and "F."

The Duke of Queensberry has promised to go down and give his best assistance, but I am so prepared to expect that all will signify nothing, that if anything should go well there it would be a great surprise.

While Ogilvy is in so good a mood you will please to consider whether he is most like to be serviceable to the Queen there, or here, or at Rotterdam or at Hamburgh. If Hughetan can make good what he says we ought to make him very welcome, but I doubt this wind will not let him come; but it must bring us news from sea of one kind or other.

Mr. Secretary Hedges will tell you the Queen's pleasure, for what you are to lay before the Lords of the Committee to-morrow about my Lord Sunderland's being directed to speak to the Pensioner that Monsieur d'Almeto may be instructed to join with him in speaking a little more strongly, if there be occasion, at the Imperial Court; the whole to be guided by my Lord Marlborough, whom my Lord Sunderland will please to desire that he would give him a letter to Count Zinzendorf.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, June 27.—The letters yesterday from Lisbon show so much disorder and confusion there, as seems to make a necessity of some present remedy. The only one I can think of like to have any effect is to insist with Portugal that the General of the allies may have the chief command, at least of one body of their army, against autumn, and let the M[arquês] das Minas act with the other. If Holland will join heartily and speedily with us in this representation, I should hope to obtain the point from the Court of Portugal.



## LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, July 4. Windsor.—With the other letters you did me the favour to send me I return you also Hughetan's paper, which is very material and has an air of being sincere; besides that Mr. Secretary Hedges' French letters of this post give a great confirmation of the facts mentioned in his paper, and also of the consequences of them.

I wish therefore you would give him the encouragement of speaking kindly to him before I come to town, which will not be till Tuesday. Perhaps it may be necessary to consult Mr. Attorney [Northey], how far it is in the Queen's power to do what he desires in the paragraphs where I have drawn strokes under the lines of his paper. I am in doubt also whether they will be very willing in Holland to agree to what he proposes in the paragraph which I have marked in the margin.

Prince Eugene having passed the Oglio, I don't see how the French can without fighting hinder him from entering into the Milanese; and I find by Mr. Hill's letters the Duke of Savoy is much heartened from that expectation.

I received yesterday a letter from the Duke of Argyll, which though it takes no notice of the particular mentioned in Greg's letter, yet all he says there is I doubt but too great a confirmation of the Duke of Hamilton's superiority. I enclose the letter.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1705, July 14. Windsor.—Col. Durell, just arrived here from the Duke of Marlborough, brings the good news of his having forced the enemy's lines, beaten a good part of the French army, and taken prisoners two lieutenant-generals and several other officers of distinction, with their cannon, &c.

The Queen would have the guns fired if there has been no order given for it already. This success is a great blessing and an earnest of more, for it will not stop here.

## [ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1705, July 21. Saturday.—I am justly conscious to myself that the utmost service I can perform to her Majesty falls infinitely short of what the Queen deserves, nor can it bear any proportion to the reverence and affection I have for your Lordship and the Duke of Marlborough, by whose indulgence and too kind recommendation I have those marks I now enjoy of the Queen's favour; and as I cannot be without fear lest her service should suffer in my hand, so I shall always have a concern that I may not do anything unworthy of your favour. I hope therefore your Lordship will not think it impertinent if I take advantage of an expression which dropped yesterday at dinner to open my soul to you. The Queen I serve with my whole heart; and to the Duke of Marlborough I have those obligations only as has an English gentleman for the great things we enjoy by his valour and conduct that there will be no room left for me to do more

than remember his private favours to myself which I shall entail as the heirloom of my family. And as to yourself, my Lord, the seven years that I have enjoyed your protection and (will you permit me to say?) valued myself upon your friendship, have united my very soul to you that I cannot allow a thought disagreeable to you. I have no other views, no other passions, than to be subservient to your Lordship, if I go astray it shall be only for want of your direction. I confess I am too apt to tell my own opinion, but then with good reason I suspect myself so much that I double my diligence to bring about what is better designed by others. Not to trouble your Lordship with many words. I know my own heart, and I can die a martyr for what I have written, and that nothing can tear me from being &c.  
*Draft in Harley's hand with many alterations.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, July 30.—I have spoken to the Queen that you may have those rooms Sir John Stanley showed us in my Lord Chamberlain's lodgings till your own office can be made convenient for you.

I spoke to her also to make Mr. Fleming a baronet, and at the same time for one Mr. Miller of Sussex at the request of my Lord Scarbrough. If you have any occasion to see the Queen before I see you, upon your putting her in mind of these things, I believe she will give her order in them all. She will send you before twelve at night a letter to the King of Spain, which I suppose you must now enclose to my Lord Peterborough.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, September 2.—I did not trouble the Queen with the presentment of the Grand Jury [on the pamphlet "The Memorial of the Church of England,"] nor I hope the "Gazette" shall not be troubled with it. Whether it be proper to print it by itself or not, I submit to better judgments; for my own part I must own I have neither skill nor taste in anything of that kind, only I observe when the Government is remiss upon such occasions, it is called negligence, and when it is careful, the effect of that care is imputed to particular industry.

I doubt it is not a sign of any good news when we are so long without the packets, though the wind has been southerly enough to have brought them over, so I hope you will examine your messenger pretty strictly upon that point when he comes.

By my Lord Peterborough's letter he seems to have so much more mind to carry the fleet and forces to Italy, than to Catalonia, that I am apprehensive a very little discouragement will serve to make them quit that design.

The Queen intends to dine Tuesday at the Duke of Bolton's and to return to Windsor, Saturday.

Her Majesty's servants in Scotland desire an instruction to pass the two Acts for trade, with that for the Cess, in case the Treaty miscarry.



## [LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, September 3. Winchester.—I acquainted the Queen with what you have written to me about the burning of the “Memorial,” and now I think people will be satisfied there needs no more to be done in that matter.

I am sorry you meet with so many difficulties in the affair of Hannam, and especially from the directions left by Mr. Attorney General and Mr. Borrett’s strictness in observing them. I doubt there is something not very right in that matter, but you are certainly right in following it as close as you can.

I am very glad you design to speak fully and particularly to those Lords you mention; in the meantime till I hear how that has passed I wish you would let me know what the “unreasonable things” are which you expect will be insisted upon by them. I have had a great deal of opportunity of speaking with Mr. Smith here, and I find him very reasonable and very moderate.

Poor Sir Charles Shugborough died here last night of an apoplexy. I am afraid we have a great loss of him this winter; he was set to have done all the service he could, and I doubt we must count upon an ill man in his room.

I have left off expecting the foreign letters. Mr. Aglionby, who was here yesterday, told me he stayed at the Brill forty days for a wind.

## [ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1705, September 4.—I have been disabled from speaking with Lord Somers and Lord Halifax, though I have attempted it, partly by want of health and partly by the coming in of the letters and the dispatching other business.

I am heartily sorry for the death of Sir Ch. Shugburg, I am afraid the Queen’s service will have a loss in him, for such men as he have a turn of doing for the advantage of the Queen’s service more than twenty others. I hope each of these cross accidents will excite everybody to exert themselves to promote the Queen’s service. I can only say for myself that I will sacrifice health, strength, and all I have in this cause; and since your Lordship commands it I will expose my crude notions to your correction, as I shall always submit myself to your direction.

I take it for granted that no party in the House can carry it for themselves without the Queen’s servants join with them;

That the foundation is, persons or parties are to come in to the Queen, and not the Queen to them;

That the Queen hath chosen rightly which party she will take in.

The embodying of gentlemen (country gentlemen I mean) against the Queen’s service is what is to be avoided. Therefore things which another time may be reasonable in themselves may prove dangerous to be granted at this time, if they will shock more persons than they will gain.

If persons who serve without reproach be turned out for not being of a party it will increase the jealousy that a party who have once been narrow spirited will be so again, and they will need all the assistance imaginable to keep them from running into their old error.

If the gentlemen of England are made sensible that the Queen is the Head, and not a Party, everything will be easy, and the Queen will be courted and not a Party; but if otherwise ———.

As to the question of the Speaker the Queen loses the grace of it, if they who set him are not made sensible that the best service he can ever do the Queen is, by having his name used to carry that question, and his party ought not to think they have imposed him upon the Court, but take it as a grace that they have him from the Queen's influence.

If your Lordship can pardon this, I shall not trouble you with the like again.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, September 5. Winchester.—Upon reading the Duke of Marlborough's letters the Queen suspends all thoughts of Lord P[embroke]'s going to Holland till she comes to Windsor, and will expect to see him there.

I must at the same [time] trouble you in a matter for which the Duke of Marlborough, in one of his letters to me, shows more concern and trouble than I have known him do on almost any other occasion. It is upon something being omitted to be printed in the London "Gazette" of the account sent over by Mr. Cardonnel, of what had passed upon his march to attack the French in their camp.

He sent me the enclosed paper with the lines drawn under the writing as you will see them. I suppose those lines under which the strokes are drawn are what he complains are left out. I cannot charge my memory so as to remember particularly how this omission came to pass, but I beg you will recollect what you can of it, and endeavour to satisfy him in it, by Friday's post. As I remember his letter to the States was printed in French and English; but this is not the first, though much the sorest, occasion of complaint about the "Gazette."

*Enclosure.*

Basse Wavre. Aug. 19, 1705, N.S.—Yesterday the army camped at three in the morning from Fichermont, and having passed several defiles came through the Bois de Soignies into a spacious plain, with only the Ische between us and the enemy, whom we found according to expectation in their former camp between Neer Ische and Over Ische; [about noon our army was formed in order of battle, and my Lord Duke of Marlborough having with M. Dauverquerque visited the posts they had resolved to attack were accordingly giving orders to the troops to



advance, with a very fair prospect of success, but the Deputies of the States having consulted with their other generals would not give their consent so that it was given over]\* and the army encamped at Lane, from whence they marched this day to the camp of Basse Wavre.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1705, September] 19.—I forgot to ask you last night if you had any opportunity of examining Sir J[ohn] B[arclay]'s son, and what account he gives himself of his coming over into England. I think the more public that matter is, the better effect it will have.

I am not at ease about several things we have formerly talked of.

The matter of the prosecuting in which Mr. Attorney [Northey] is pleased to be so indifferent or worse will come to be a sore thing. If you don't like Mr. Borrett, who I think was recommended at first by my Lord Chief Justice Trevor, pray let us have another. I wish, as you have seemed to do, that the Attorney would be a judge, but that matter can't hang long, no more than the disposing of the Great Seal, in which too much time has been already lost, in hope something might happen to make that matter more easy; but the Parliament being now so near it would be trifling to let it continue as it is and, as far as I can judge where I am concerned, dangerous for me, but that is an argument which would not have much weight with me, if I thought it safe for the Queen.

I have heard since I came to town of several insolences of the clergy, which are really insufferable and next door to open rebellion, and I don't find the least notice taken of it, or the least thought or disposition to reprehend any of them about it. If the Parliament be of the same mind we must submit to it, but if not, I hope they will be punished; and whether the Parliament approve of all the noise that is fomented in the kingdom of the Church's danger is, in my humble opinion, the first thing that ought one way or other to be cleared upon their meeting.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, September 21, N.S. Augsburg.—The chief occasion of my writing to you at present is to inform you that yesterday morning I was married to a widow lady I was acquainted with at Rome who, though an Italian, I am thoroughly persuaded will be not only a good wife but a good Protestant, she having to my knowledge made her change to our religion upon arguments well grounded as to the next world, as she entirely satisfied the Protestant minister who examined her before he would join us in marriage yesterday.

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\* The portion in brackets is underlined in the document as having been omitted from the "Gazette." Further details of this matter will be found in Coxe's Life of Marlborough.

However as to the sincerity of this act, time and her behaviour will be the best proof, and I wish people would be contented not to judge till they might do it upon grounds that were reasonable.

I design in some days to remove towards Frankfort, and therefore desire you will direct your next for me thither in my own name, since probably I shall be there before your letters.  
*Copy.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN] to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1705, September 27. Newmarket.—This is to acknowledge the favour of yours and at the request of my Lord Halifax to recommend to your protection the case of Sir G. Heathcote and the Russia merchants. I cannot enter into the particulars because I am not informed of them so well as you, but I know you will do what is best for the trade.

I am sorry Mr. Attorney will be easy in nothing, perhaps he will be of another mind when he finds it is no more in his power; and I expect then he should say it was never offered him.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, September 30. Newmarket.—I must be excused if I say nothing as to the Electoral Prince's patent, for I have not the least insight into that matter; but if you are in doubt, I think it would be right to consult my Lord Halifax.

I have a letter from G. Granville about the government of Guernsey for his brother Sir B[evil]. Pray let him know that I know the Duke of Marlborough has been long engaged to his own brother, C. Churchill.

I send you a letter I have received Mr. Pulteney [at Copenhagen]. I should think it right to oblige him; if the Queen pleases and it be not too late, why should not G. Granville have a mind to go abroad to one of those Northern Kings? I think that it is the readiest way for him to be made easy at home.

I shall contribute to your staying in the country as long as you desire, but you can't but see we shall have another reply from Mr. B , and you can't but think you will be wanted to answer the Holland letters as often as they come.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, October 4. Newmarket.—I am extremely much concerned for the shame and the ill consequences of our disappointment in Catalonia. I must beg the favour of you to thank M. Vrybergh for the communication of his letter, having too much to write to-day to be able to thank him myself.

I reckon there must have been some unaccountable folly in that matter, and the orders mentioned could be none but the private instructions; however the orders sent from Windsor by the Duke of Savoy's courier will be said to have occasioned what has been done, though in truth they were subsequent to it,



By the Duke of Marlborough's letters, I believe he will yet judge it necessary to go to Vienna, which, though best for the service of the allies in general, will yet make our particular still greater here at home.

I hope the Duchess of Marlborough and the Duke of Newcastle between them will be able to convert Mr. Guydott.

I know nothing of Brockett particularly, but his looks and his employment together make me apt to think we can't much rely upon him.

I shall be Monday next at St. Albans.

I hope Mr. St. John is better.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1705, October 10?].—The news from Perpignan does not much alarm me, and if Prince Eugene can't stir till he has money I doubt he will be immovable a good while.

I have been at Kensington this evening. The Queen will have the Cabinet Council Friday morning at St. James's, and to-morrow in the evening at Kensington, before or after which, as will be most easy to you, I would be glad to read over the project, or plan as 'tis called, with you, that we may agree what answer to make upon it; though in my humble opinion it is so partial and at the same time so weak that one must have a good deal of temper to treat it seriously.

I find nobody that can resolve me whether the seals are to be given privately to the new Lord Keeper [Cowper], or with the purse at Council when he is sworn.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705, October 23.—I return your papers without reading for fear you might want them at the Cabinet Council which I understand is summoned to meet this morning, but I am obliged to attend my Lord Keeper to Westminster Hall; as soon as that is over, I shall come.

I doubt Mr. Bromley's partisans will not be so much discouraged by the guns they heard yesterday as they may justly be encouraged by the noise which the folly of our own friends makes every day in the week. I have heard a good deal of it this morning and I saw it before, but I was willing not to take any notice of it so long as it was possible to avoid it.

If I have no opportunity of speaking to you this morning I will come to your office in the evening. It is necessary I should speak to you with Huguetan and settle that matter, that we may write to the Duke of Marlborough accordingly. Though I make no doubt but a vessel has been dispatched with the particulars of what has passed at Barcelona, yet these winds may hinder us from hearing them that way for some time.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1705 [October 25].—Now the hurry and the anxiety of this day is a little over, I must beg leave to put you in mind that the

draught of the Speech must not be brought to-morrow to the Cabinet Council in my hand; and besides the amendment you may have made in it there are some which upon reflection I think myself are proper to be made.

I don't know whether it will be easy to you, to let me come to you anywhere to-night; but if not, I shall be at home to-morrow morning till the Cabinet Council, or that may be deferred till the evening, if there shall be occasion.

The majority of this day has not been so great but that it will concern the Court, not to be either negligent or imprudent; any false step will easily spoil this session.

I am sorry so many of our friends have played the fool, but unless we have a mind to do so too, it must not be resented.

#### H. ST. JOHN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1705, October 26. Whitehall.—You was in haste when I saw you this morning, otherwise I would have spoke to you about what I write to you now. You may remember, Dear Master, that some time ago I complained to you that whilst the care of the forces abroad was in other hands, and Mr. Clark, as secretary to his Royal Highness concerned himself with those at home, I could not think myself very well used. It was this consideration that made me write to my Lord Treasurer, as soon as I heard the “Brimmer” was out to desire that I might, if he thought it proper, succeed to his business, exclusive of what is to be done with the Council of the Lord High Admiral. If my Lord thinks it improper, or more for her Majesty's service to employ another, I am easy. I tell you what I have done and upon what grounds I did it, for you have been so kind in millions of instances to me that I really look on myself as accountable to you for all my actions. The only thing that made me hesitate was, that I should be vexed to be thought greedy after profit, which I despise with all my heart, and serve the Queen on a much better principle. All I can say on this head is, that I will promise to make less of both places than the two gentlemen that had them made of each; and that as I design to make no fortune so I will spend in the Queen's service whatever I get in it. There are some iniquities which do make a noise, that if I do not begin by destroying I will forfeit my character with you for ever very willingly.

If you approve what I have done I know your friendship for me and I depend on it; if I have been unreasonable I shall submit to your correction as becomes one who truly values and ever must be faithfully and entirely yours.

#### [LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705, December 8.—I should not trouble you so perpetually, but that the time is short and we have much to do. The Land Tax and the Scots' bill ought to pass before Christmas, and by



the printed votes which I read sometimes there seems to be foundation laid for otherways employing some of the few days betwixt this and that time.

I am alarmed also with being informed by some of the Scots, as if you were not for repealing but only suspending the Scots' Act; but I can't believe this, because I know how industrious people are to spread falsities, and because it is too plain that a bare suspension of that Act only makes it not possible for the Scots to treat, but leaves the failure at the door of England.

I want to speak with you also about some foreign affairs, and should be glad if you could call upon me to-morrow between five and six in the evening.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1705-6, February.—I thank you for yours last night and your kind enquiry after my health, which I thank God begins to mend. I have been abroad in my coach this noon to take the air.

I return you the enclosed; if the sickness mentioned in it has been a real one, might it not be of use to discover the person?

The report you take notice of from Holland of our being weary of Gibraltar has probably been occasioned by our asking them to bear their part of the expense of it, which is a demand that I think ought to be frequently repeated to them. As weary as the Dutch are of the Spanish war, I believe they would not be more easy at our taking off the prohibition of commerce with Spain, than our people are at their opening the trade with France, and therefore I cannot but wish that matter might be considered in the House of Commons, for the more I think and talk of it, the more I am confirmed that it may prove an expedient very useful at this time.

H. ST. JOHN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1706, April 29. Whitehall.—Upon enquiry into the matters alleged against MacMahone, the deputy Marshal of the Savoy, and Murphy his clerk, of their being Irish papists, I am informed that they were both born in Ireland, that their relations are Irish papists or reputed so, and that their conversation is chiefly with such; as also that MacMahone did serve as a trooper in Flanders, but being suspected to be a papist was dismissed the service. So that there is reason to believe that what is alleged against them in that respect is true. But as to the complaints of their ill usage of the prisoners in the Savoy, there being no mention made of any particular instance thereof, I have not been able to make any enquiry thereinto.

I will give directions for the discharge of these persons unless I hear to the contrary from you.

[*The last paragraph only in St. John's handwriting.*]

## [LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1706, May.]—By the discourse I had with you just now at Kensington, I am sorry to be forced to put you in mind that you never take any tolerable care of your own health.

I return the copy of M. de Villeroy's letter to you, because it is such a rarity that I think it ought to be kept in the Paper Office.\*

Should not the letters of those persons mentioned by Montargis be opened?

As to L'Apostre—there is one of that name who lives in the city, a *nouveau converti* he pretended to be. He came into England since the Queen's coming to the Crown, he has brought me projects relating to the West Indies, and appeared to me always very sufficient and very impudent. I never was without some suspicion of his being a spy.

## THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, May 6.—As all truths may not be proper to be in the "Gazette," I desire the favour of you that during this campaign when I send in your letter as I now do a paper of news, you will let it be inserted in the "Postman," and what is to be in the "Gazette" Mr. Cardonel will send it to the office as formerly.

*Postscript.*—I shall depend on your friendship and judgment to leave out what you may think improper.

## THE EARL OF ROCHESTER to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, June 2. New Park.—Recommending Major Keymis to his protection, who was in Ireland when the writer was Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, was in the first service in Portugal and there made prisoner with his whole regiment. He was of a very good family in Wales, and had raised a great many very good men for the Queen's and the public service.

## [LORD GODOLPHIN] to ROBERT HARLEY.

[1706,] June 8.—The last advices from France say the fleet was disarming at Toulon, and if that be true, as seems probable, why might not the squadron with Sir John Leak be divided, and 25 or 30 sail sent to the coast of Italy, which might have an

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\* Harley, however, appears to have kept the paper in his own hands, for annexed to this is copy of a letter from Villeroy to Marshal de Tallard (then a prisoner at Nottingham), dated 25 May, 1706, which runs:—"Votre fils a été pris, Monsieur, dans une action que nous avons eu avec les ennemis le 23 dont vous entendrez parler. Il est en bon santé, J'envoyai d'abord un trompette pour le reclaimer, J'espere que M. d'Auverquerque me le renverra aujourd'hui."

An extract from a letter of Montargis to the Chevalier de Croissy at Nottingham is also annexed, which will help to explain the succeeding paragraphs of Godolphin's letter. It runs:—"Si vous avez besoin de quelque correspondance à Londres, vous pourriez vous adresser au Sieur Salvador, ou à Madlle. Anne Maubert ou au Sieur L'Apostre, auxquels j'ordonnerai ce qu'il vous plaitoit. A Bruxelles M. Bombarde. Tresorier de M. l'Electeur. et à Amsterdam M. Daniel Flournois, ou M. André Petz en feront de même." The letter was written from Paris, 23 April, 1706.



effect to make Naples declare immediately, and be a great assistance to Prince Eugene; and the other part be still sufficient to assist and countenance any designs of King Charles the third upon the coast of Spain, and even upon Cadiz itself, in case there should be occasion of making an attempt upon that place and an opportunity of doing it; and if we should, in great wisdom and security, keep our whole fleet together all this summer in the Mediterranean, I don't see that it is capable of doing any service that may not be as well performed by half of it.

If there be anything in this thought worth your reflection, you will come the better prepared for it to-morrow to Windsor, where I imagine it will be proper to consider what instructions Sir J. Leak has at present.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, July 8 [June 27, o.s.]—I thank you for what you mention of the letters, and the care you are taking to find out the authors, I should be glad to know them, though as long as God blesses us with success their writing can have little weight. It may well be expected in so great a crowd to find some people who are never satisfied. I am impatient of having your thoughts upon the methods for the making the Queen's business go easy in the winter. I am very glad you are so well pleased with Lord Keeper, I am sure it is my hearty desire that the Queen should encourage every body that serves her well; what you desire for him can be no ways uneasy, but the engagement her Majesty may be under, but you and Lord Treasurer are the best judges as to the time.

I have given Prince Eugene notice of the fleets being ordered on the coast of Italy. I think Mr. Cresset a very honest man, but would not his going to the Court of Hanover give more jealousy than the thing is worth? You know I have no partiality for Prince Lewis of Baden, but what Monsieur Vriberg told you is impossible. I should trouble you oftener with my own hand, but I am sure what ever I write to Lord Treasurer is no secret to you.

If you send me the copies of the letters you have from the army, I should be glad to see them.

[Addressed "To Your self"; and endorsed by Harley as "received on July 3" [o.s.].]

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "for Your self" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, July [1-]12.—I am obliged to you for your friendly care, and I will have Major Cranston observed, and should be glad to have a copy of the letter concerning Ramillies, and if possible to be certain of the author. I know not well how to answer your demand of Prince Lewis, other than that I am afraid nothing will be done and yet I can see no remedy for it. I am told the Observator is angry with me,

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "to Your self" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, July [8-]19.—I must beg your friendship in letting me have the necessary powers for my security, as to the two points you will see in Lord Treasurer's letter. And pray let me have a copy of the letter that speaks of Ramillies, and the reason you have to believe it Major Cranston's, for he has obligations to me.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "to Your self" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, July 15-26.—What her Majesty has done to Mr. Cæsar is very right; if Sir George Rook has refused to sign the Kentish address, should he continue in the council? I am glad the Queen has ordered Earle to go with the descent, and if Shrimton be not designed to return immediately to Gibraltar, I should think it might be for the service to send him, for Lord Rivers can't have too many officers. I expect your thoughts upon the winter campaign.

[LORD GODOLPHIN] to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1706, July 20. Windsor.—I am sorry, as much as you seem also to be, that the Imperial Court will do nothing at our request in relation to Hungary and the Rhine, at the same time that we are doing so much for them in Italy, Spain and Flanders. I think this ought to be put home to them not only by Mr. Stepney, who I doubt is not very well heard at Vienna, but also to the Comte de Gallas here. If I may use such an expression the Emperor owes it the Allies to repair in some measure the unaccountable and scandalous conduct of Prince L[ewis] of Baden.

The expectation of the Queen's coming to town upon Monday will, I take for granted, hinder most of the Lords from being here to-morrow, though there seems to be as much business, and as little uneasiness in the journey, as there has been any Sunday in this year.

The news of this post is generally so good that I conclude all the Foreign ministers will be here; and though your Amsterdam letter may possibly give a right account of Biscay and Navarre, I am sanguine enough to believe both Seville and Cadiz have declared, which will determine all the rest.

The Admiralty are not so lively and vigilant as they ought to be; I see it every day upon twenty occasions, but yet I don't see how at present it is to be mended.

I find you don't think my poor Lady Huntingdon punished enough yet.

Since I had written thus far I have waited upon the Queen, who had been abroad early a hunting. I find her Majesty is desirous the Lords should be summoned to-morrow, several things requiring to be dispatched sooner than Tuesday, all indeed that relate to the expedition, the troops being all embarked at Ostend and the weather fair, though not the wind.



## THE QUEEN'S INSTRUCTIONS TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, July 21. Windsor.—Having been given command of the forces to be employed in the present expedition against the enemy, Lord Rivers is instructed to repair forthwith to Spithead and embark the troops, then to proceed with them to the coast of France and to land them at such place as he shall find best for the service. When landed, at a seasonable time he is to publish the declaration which has been printed in the French language, in order to facilitate his success; and he is required to take all possible care that the declaration be punctually observed, and the severest punishments inflicted on all persons who shall offend contrary to it. Lord Rivers is moreover empowered to issue such other declarations or manifestos from time to time as he shall judge may conduce to the furtherance of this service, taking care to give assurances to the people and to make it public that his design is not for conquest but to restore to all sorts of people their ancient rights and privileges; and that no peace will be hearkened to till the same are secured to them on a good and lasting foundation.

From time to time Lord Rivers is to consider and concert measures with Sir Cloudesley Shovell, or the commander in chief of the fleet attending this expedition, for the better co-operating with him in making any attempt on the enemy where the fleet can be of use for carrying it on.

He is also empowered to treat and agree with any of the French nation to come in and join with him, is to give them assurances that he is not come only to make a diversion but to fix himself with them till such time as they may be secured of their just rights and privileges, &c.

He is to give an account of all his proceedings in this expedition to one of the principal Secretaries of State, and to follow such other instructions as he shall receive from either of them. If he shall find insuperable difficulties in attempting to land on the coast of France, or in taking post there, he is to repair to Jersey or Guernsey, and expect further orders. *Sign Manual.*

SIR CHARLES HEDGES, Secretary of State, to EARL RIVERS.

1706, July 22. Whitehall.—Her Majesty, having received advice that the Dutch troops began to embark at Ostend on the 14th inst., and that they will be at Spithead so soon as the wind serves, commands him to forward the above “Instructions to Richard Earl Rivers, commander-in-chief of our Land forces employed in the present expedition,” dated at Windsor July 21, and signed by the Queen.

LORD GODOLPHIN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1706, July 26. Windsor.—I received the favour of yours last night with the ill news of poor Mr. Methuen's death, very unseasonable I doubt for the Queen's service in those parts.

Her Majesty approves the sending for his son to Portugal, and appointing Mr. Chetwynd in his room, but not of sending any credentials at present to my Lord Galway.

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, July 26. Windsor Castle.—A very odd accident has happened to me that makes it reasonable for me to see the letters that come from a servant of my Lord Marlborough's to one that lives with me, and hers to him. Their name is Forster, and I expect she will write one to him this post. I don't mean to give anybody the trouble to copy them, as it has been upon things of more consequence, I desire their original letters. It is no matter if their correspondence should fail for a post or two, and I shall make no ceremony after the provocation I have had to open their letters, and burn them without letting them know anything of the matter. I beg your pardon for this trouble.

THE EARL OF ROCHESTER to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, July 27. New Park.—Wishing his "Excellency" all happiness in his expedition, both upon the public account and his own, and that he may have success and honour in it.

H. ST. JOHN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1706, July 27. Portsmouth.—I have sent an express to Windsor, my Lord Rivers and Mr. Erle thinking I can be of more use here than I think myself anywhere ; and shall not see you till Tuesday at soonest in London. I have writ to my Lord Treasurer an account of what passed on board Sir Cloudesley's this day. He, my Lord Rivers, and Mr. Erle have no concern but the fear of not doing what may in some measure be of a piece with the other enterprises of her Majesty's reign, and therefore propose attempting the Groyne, if they cannot fix themselves in France nor hope to winter there.

I forgot to mention to my Lord Treasurer that I find Seymour and Withers to be elder Majors-General than Lord Essex, and believe others to be so too, though the register has been formerly so ill kept in my office that the ranks of the army are hard to be found. I have therefore told my Lord Rivers that it is impossible to declare my Lord a Lieutenant-General ; he is, I find, uneasy, though unreasonably, at it, and urges that if Erle and he should be killed or die Guiscard will command. You easily see how frivolous this is, but however, if the Queen shall please to be so indulgent, I send the draught of an order that signifies nothing and yet will make the new peers perfectly easy.

I have received all the manifestos from London and put them into Lord Rivers's hands.

I will not trouble you with particular accounts of our embarkation, in general we want nothing but the Dutch and an easterly wind.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to HENRY ST. JOHN.

1706, July 28. Windsor.—Having written to Sir Cl. Shovell upon the proposals you mention in yours of the 27th inst., in which Lord Rivers and General Erle agree if her Majesty



approves, I shall not trouble you on that subject but only to acquaint you her Majesty does not think fit to lead them from the main design by any alternative instruction.

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

[1706,] July 30. Windsor Castle.—I am satisfied there can never anything pass between this brother and sister that is worth giving you any further trouble. If you will pardon what I have done I shall be very thankful.

*Postscript.*—The great packet to Mr. Forster is the same hand as that I had before with the prints; without reading his letters one may see his impertinence, to have two packets of prints every week, when I suppose the same is to be had wherever he goes.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, August 1. Whitehall.—Mr. St. John having communicated a letter signed by your Excellency and Lieut.-General Erle wherein you say you were under some apprehension you were misunderstood, because an expression in my letter seemed to look as if you had thoughts of altering the first design, I am commanded to acquaint you her Majesty did not apprehend you had any thoughts of proceeding otherwise than was at first designed, but lest any other view should slacken the proceedings the Queen did not think fit to give any other orders.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH “to Your self” [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, August 5 [N.S.]—If you could let me have a sight of the original letter of Ramillies I could then be sure of knowing the author, having in my custody an original letter of the major's. Mr. Craggs will give you the names of the Deputy Lieutenants of Oxfordshire. I thank you for the powers concerning Flanders, the other I have not yet received. The siege of Menin goes on very slowly, and I am afraid that some of our friends have a peace more at heart, than the carrying the war on with vigour.

QUEEN ANNE to [ROBERT HARLEY].

[1706,] August 6. Windsor.—“I have reason to beleieve Mr. St. Johns will be desired to be heare Friday or Saturday, which is the occasion of my giving you this trouble to desire you would speak with him before he coms, and take care to order it soe with him, in case there should be any more horse thought necessary to be sent for out of Ireland, that the regiment may not be mentioned that I hindred from being ordered before, which will very much oblidg

Your very affectionett freind,

ANNE R.”

*Postscript.*—“I desire that you will take care that Mr. St. Johns may not think you know of his being to be heare soe soon as I have mentioned, that he may not suspect what you say to him about the Regiment coms from me.”

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, August 8. Thursday.—I received a letter from Lord Marlborough last post in which he says it is so disagreeable a thing to keep a spy about one, that he bids me order a servant to watch him, and intercept his letters, and if I find it as I imagine, that I should put him away. This is the occasion of my giving you this new trouble, to desire you would please to order that any letters that come to the Post Office from Windsor, directed in the hand of this receipt, should be stopped, and returned to me, or any letters directed to David Foulks, which is the name of this suspected person.

You have expressed so much goodness to me upon several occasions that I venture to take this liberty, though I know it is impertinent, because I fancy you may have some servant that may do it without much trouble to you, and the way my Lord Marlborough directs I believe would not prove so effectual as this, for besides the difficulty of servants keeping a secret that live together, I have observed that they don't care to discover the greatest villany in the world, unless it be something that hurts themselves.

*Postscript.*—I thought the best way of getting my spy's hand was to make him write the enclosed receipt.

SIR R[OGER] BRADSHAIGH to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, August 8.—I was this afternoon with Lady Betty [Savage] and told her what I heard reported, which startled her very much, till I named the person I was told she had married, which when she found not to be the man seemed to make a jest of it, and notwithstanding all I could say to her, I could not get anything from her to convince me there was no grounds for such a report. But at last I have got the secret out, and which, I am sorry to tell your Lordship, is that she is married to my Lord Barrymore, and that as long since as in June; the particulars are too tedious at present for me to send you, nor am I thoroughly informed of them, but in a day or two will give your Lordship a more perfect account, but must beg your Lordship will not take notice of it by the return of this post for some reasons you shall know hereafter, nor that I send you this account, but I could not forbear letting you know a thing that so much concerns you, and I am sorry to find those who should have sent you this account before now have kept it so long a secret; there was my Lord of Kerry and Mrs. Scrimshaw present at the wedding, and now there is a consultation on foot whether they shall own it, and my Lady Elizabeth Savage to leave her behind with her Lord. I shall be sent for I am told to consult what is to be done in regard to letting your Lordship know it as soon as it is resolved whether I am to be trusted with the secret, which I believe will not be long. So since what you had from the Doctor was not groundless, I only at present beg you will take no notice of this till you hear further from me, for a particular friend of mine will take it ill.



## BRIGADIER J. BAYNES to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, August 11. Petersfield.—Yesterday morning I left London by my Lady Elizabeth Savage's commands, that if I could possibly reach your Lordship before you were sailed away I should deliver these enclosed letters to your Excellency, but finding that the fleet was gone, I thought fit to send them after. Her Ladyship and Lady Betty both were very desirous I should see your Lordship and so was I myself, but was so unfortunate not to be able to get time enough ; their Ladyships being under a great concern about your Excellency's reception of the news you receive in the letters. On Friday night I was at my Lady Elizabeth's house where I found my Lord Barrymore and Sir Roger Bradshaigh, and by his Lordship's desire, he obtained leave of both the ladies to come down to submit himself to your Lordship's favour in order to beg your forgiveness for what has been done without your Lordship's knowledge.

My Lord Barrymore, who was extremely desirous of being admitted to your Lordship's presence, came hither on purpose and in hopes thereof with the advice of my Lady Elizabeth with all the submission to your Lordship, only by his future behaviour to your Lordship and his Lady expecting your Lordship's reconciliation and favour, which he desires me to acquaint your Lordship with.

## SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH to EARL RIVERS.

1706, August 12.—I sent your Lordship a letter by Brigadier "Beans" last Saturday, but I believe the fleet was sailed before he got to Portsmouth. He was desired by my Lady Elizabeth and Lady Betty to wait on you, what particular instructions he had from them I was not privy to, though I was with them that night and desired to say as much as I could to your Lordship to mitigate so great a crime as Lady Betty has been guilty of. I hope you will excuse my presumption in concerning myself so far, but I hope your Lordship will not let it give you too much uneasiness since it cannot now be remedied. My Lady Guise and myself have been very free with my Lady Elizabeth upon this occasion, and think you have been used with so little regard and indeed common gratitude that we cannot expect but you should resent it in the greatest degree ; however I hope as she is your Lordship's child she will be happy, but that seldom attends disobedience especially to so kind a parent which I shall always justify your Lordship in to the world, though I believe there are some would have it thought otherwise to give a colour to what has been done. My Lady Guise has writ this post to you and I am sure she is a hearty well wisher to your Lordship.

*Postscript.*—I am told my Lord Barrymore has in present near 1,500*l.* per annum, and I find he is generally well spoken of about the town and indeed seems more concerned for disobliging your Lordship than those who have been most active in this affair.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "to Your self" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, August 16 [N.S.].—I am very impatient for what you promised me in your paper of the 23rd of the last month, being very sure you will do it impartially; and I am very confident you are so kind and just to me as to be sure I shall make no other use of it, but that of making myself more capable to serve her Majesty and the public.

La Mott mentioned in Mr. Henry Griffith's letter I do not know; Limbec who is my steward has been with me all this war, and is a very honest man. The Duke of Vandome will have to-morrow assembled all his army not far from Lille, and has assured the governor of Menin that he will relieve the place by the 20th of this month.

SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH to EARL RIVERS.

1706, August 18. Dunstable.—As your Lordship had commanded me in Mrs. Colleton's letter, I immediately went to Lady Betty and delivered the message, who told me she would send the letter your Lordship required to my house yesterday, but none having been left there or any further answer from her, I thought it my duty to let you know it, though perhaps it may be sent after me into the country, which as soon as I receive I shall send to Mrs. Colleton.

My Lord Barrymore has taken a house in Great Russell Street where I found them last Friday, when I went for the letter. My Lady Elizabeth, Mrs. Paine and Mrs. Scrimshaw, were all above stairs with Lady Betty and Bridget "Beans"; and Mr. Paine below with my Lord. I do not know in what favour I am with these ladies but they look very grave upon me and perhaps think I have talked a little too free of the late affair, but I am sure I have never said or writ anything to your Lordship to do them any prejudice; but what I thought should not be a secret to you I took the liberty to acquaint you with, and shall always do the same where I ever hear anything so nearly concerns you. I shall see Mr. Vernon at Hulms Chapel next Thursday, where we shall talk over this matter and in the mean time I hope your Lordship will excuse a hasty letter after a dusty journey.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, August 18, Sunday night. Windsor.—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter from Torbay, which having been laid this evening before the Queen, with the result of your Council of War, her Majesty finding that the thing proposed, supposing it should succeed, could not have an effect in this year answerable to the great expense of this expedition and the expectation of the world from it, and considering on the other hand that the present posture of affairs in [Spain] might make it yet necessary to send more forces into that kingdom for the entire reducing of that kingdom, she has for this year wholly laid aside the



thought of a descent in France, and determined to send you with the troops under your command to make a diversion upon the coast of Spain.

Your instructions, I suppose, will be to go to the river of Seville, to land your troops as near as you can to that town, which is open and very rich, and when you have reduced it to the obedience of King Charles, to take the best measures you can for making yourself master of Cadiz, either by attacking it if you find any encouragement to that, or by keeping their subsistence from them, which will not be difficult when you are once possessed of Seville and the country about it.

This proposition is thought more advisable than attempting any port in Biscay or Galicia, though more remote, because from that north part of Spain you could have no communication with the King in case he should be obliged to retire to Valentia or Arragon; but from Andalusia upon occasion you might hear from one another and concert measures.

This proposition is also thought much better than to send the troops to Lisbon, because it would be inexcusable to expose ourselves a second time to the humours of the Portuguese; besides that this is a thing of very great *éclat* as well as of the greatest importance.

You can have no instructions at this time how to govern yourself in relation to the King of Spain, or in case he should desire you to join him, we having not any certainty of his present circumstances.

The long delays occasioned by the contrary winds having defeated the first design I hope you will have success enough in this to recompense you for that misfortune.

Upon acquainting the States with the resolution we doubt of their concurrence, though we must not stay for their answer, but the French *Réfugiés* will I doubt be much disappointed, and their regiments so weak that it would be well if they could be made fewer and stronger, and kept on with the expectation of going into their own country another year.

My humble service to my Lord Essex and tell him I have taken care of Sir Thomas Clark and Mr. Wallis.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, August 20. Windsor.—Her Majesty having taken a resolution to send the fleet with the troops on board under your command to the coast of Spain I hereby send you the instructions she has thought fit to give your Excellency for that expedition, and am to acquaint you that her Majesty depends upon your proceeding accordingly without loss of time. It will be of great importance to keep your design as private as possible, for if it should take air perhaps you may find some opposition at your landing, whereas if you arrive before it is known you will have none at all.

So soon as you are landed you will take all possible care to give speedy notice of it to the King of Spain and Earl of Galway, and

such others of the Queen's commanders as you shall think fit, and immediately enter into correspondence with them for the mutual assisting one another and the concerting such measures together as may most contribute to the success of her Majesty's arms and the establishment of King Charles. I send this by an express, and Col. Richards will follow it to-morrow morning, who is to accompany your Excellency in this expedition and may be a proper person to be sent to the King of Portugal, being acquainted in the country and understanding what the Portuguese can do for your assistance. I should have sent the declaration printed in the Spanish language, but there was no time for it, and 'twas not thought fit to make any delay on that account, since perhaps you may have no occasion, or if you have there is a press on board for printing it or any other orders you shall judge necessary to be published.

I shall send your Excellency a cypher for corresponding with the Earl of Galway as soon as it can be got ready. I wish you a good voyage and all possible success.

*Postscript.*—I send your Excellency extracts of the late Ambassador Methuen's letters relating to an attempt upon Cadiz, not knowing but they may be of some use to you and particularly for concerting measures with the King of Portugal.

#### EARL RIVERS to LORD TREASURER GODOLPHIN.

1706, August 21. Torbay.—Her Majesty's commands signified by your Lordship in your letter of the 18th from Windsor shall be cheerfully obeyed, and since the thoughts of a descent on France are laid aside for this year, mine shall be wholly employed how I may most effectually carry on the service (with the small number of troops I have under my command) where I am directed.

In order to it I have already given directions for the buying up of hay and oats to make good the stores already spent, but I find upon a strict examination that all our transports and store ships will not carry for above thirty-five days of hay and oats so that I have given order for the hiring of two ships at Topsham to put provisions of that kind into, the Admiral telling me that we must expect to be thirty days at least in our passage.

I must beg leave to renew to your Lordship the instance I have already made relating to a further supply of money, the distance we are going to makes the reason still the stronger. I gave you an account that there is but one month's pay for the troops from the 24th of this month and between 3 and 4,000*l.* left for contingencies, which will be lessened by this addition of hay and oats. If your Lordship, according to that proportion, would be pleased to send us two months' more and for contingencies in proportion we shall be able to subsist till your Lordship can send us a further supply, which Sir Cloudesley says may be done by the way of Lisbon and he will take care to send ships for it; but this will take up some time, so that in my poor opinion we cannot be with less than what I mention in specie.



I desire her Majesty's particular directions in relation to the five French regiments and Monsieur Guiscard. There is but three hundred of them in all, I mean private men. I think the best way will be to put them in one regiment and give it Vimar with a double number of officers; and for Guiscard his project being at an end he is of no use to me. I shall treat them at parting as I am directed what's necessary, for the number he has, which is upward of four hundred, are very good who I have put in an English brigade. If your Lordship thinks fitting I will take the whole clothing with me. Some of our English regiments are weak which may be supplied by a detachment from Paston's regiment at Plymouth, I being informed by those that have seen them that there are five hundred good men in it. I beg your Lordship's speedy orders that I may take three hundred of them, which we can get on board with great ease. I hope your Lordship will send after us more ordnance stores; Lieut.-General Erle will send a particular what may be wanted. Mr. Onslow says he will pay for what hay and oats I shall buy here out of some money he has upon account of the Excise if your Lordship please to allow it; then for what he lays out here he will have my hand for his voucher. I shall submit to her Majesty's pleasure and your commands in everything but being under the orders of my Lord Peterborough; pardon me if I press you for an answer to this before we sail.

*Copy.*

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, August 21. Windsor.—Your Lordship will have received the Queen's instructions for the expedition to Seville and Cadiz; the first of these places is easy to be had, the second very difficult till you have the first, but after that I hope and believe you will soon be in possession of it.

This bearer, Col. Richards, who is a sensible ingenious man, has been particularly well acquainted with that place and will be able fully to explain to you the methods by which we hope it is to be gained, and the necessary steps in order to it. We have had a great deal of talk with him and I hope you will receive much satisfaction from the lights he seems to have in this affair. Besides that, having lately served both in Portugal, in Catalonia and Valentia, he can easily foresee all difficulties that you can meet with, and be as ready to suggest to you such remedies as they are capable of in that country.

It seems to me absolutely necessary you should make what haste you can to Seville, that being the only place where you can get money for the subsistence of your forces, by drawing bills from thence upon the Paymaster in England; and there is no doubt but you will find sufficient credit there, that being a place of the greatest riches and trade in Spain, which consideration will I hope incline them to assist you in reducing of Cadiz, and thereby restoring to them the commerce of the West Indies, of which they have had but little advantage since the French

have had the government in Spain. Now our aim being chiefly to bring back that trade to its old channel it ought naturally to be a powerful motive to them to give all concurrence to this end.

I ask your pardon for troubling you with so long letters. It is because I would not willingly omit anything for your information that may be of use for the expedition, in which I wish you all prosperity.

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH to SECRETARY HARLEY.

[1706,] August 21. St. James's.—The enclosed letter you did me the favour to send to Windsor is not from the servant I suspected, but from a foolish woman in another family, that is married to a footman of Lord Marlborough's. It is of so little consequence that I think I should not have troubled you with it again, but you are very good, and I hope will pardon me.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706, August 23. Windsor.—I trouble you with the copy of an affidavit which I received yesterday in a letter from the Bishop of Norwich, though I know of no other use that can be made of it than to observe that favours to any men of that sort do not seem to be extremely well placed. But as to the words themselves which surely are no less than high treason if duly proved, yet not being informed of in so many months after the time of their being spoken, I doubt much whether they are questionable at all.

*Enclosure.*

The Information of Thomas Seaman, of Starston, Norfolk, yeoman, taken before Waller Bacon, esq., a justice of the peace, August 17, 1706, about some treasonable remarks made by Thomas Arrowsmith, rector of Starston, to the deponent when they were going together to Norwich on November 13 preceding.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, August 24, Saturday. Windsor.—I received last night your letter of the 21st, and have acquainted the Queen with the contents of it. Her Majesty approves your intentions concerning the French regiments.

As for Monsieur de Guiscard, since it is by no fault of his that his project is laid aside, it seems not unreasonable that he should be at liberty to serve upon this expedition or not, as he shall incline to most; but I shall be able to write more particularly to you upon this head after to-morrow, as also concerning the men you desire out of my Lord Paston's regiment.

As for the money you desire to be sent you, all care shall be taken to give you credit upon the Paymaster at Lisbon by the next packet, and if there be any money in the hands of the receivers or collectors of the revenue near you, that will be



persuaded to take the same methods offered by Mr. Onslow, they shall have notice that whatever money they furnish you with shall upon your Lordship's acquittance be looked upon as so much answered in London upon their account. I am afraid this will not amount to much, but, however, 'tis all the present hurry will admit of.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, August 25. Windsor.—Forwards certain papers and adds—The Lord Treasurer bid me acquaint you that he forgot to tell you that you should not be commanded by the Earl of Peterborough.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "for Yourself" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, August 26 [N.S.]—My Lord Raby has acquainted me with your letter, as that came to his hands but yesterday, it is impossible for him to do other than take his leave at Berlin; as to his going to Vienna, he insists on the same allowances Lord Sunderland had and that of being declared of the Council, which last can hardly be refused to any Ambassador that can desire it. You will consult Lord Treasurer in this; Mr. Stepney has now eight pounds a day, and I am afraid you will find nobody of quality will go cheaper, his equipage being already made, and this commission is likely to last no longer than the war. I am of opinion you will not find a better choice, but in this, as in all things else, I submit to your better judgment. You have forgot to send me the copies of Cranston's letters.

EARL RIVERS TO LORD TREASURER GODOLPHIN.

1706, August 27.—I have had the honour of your Lordship's of the 21st and shall obey your commands in every particular, which I had answered sooner but was in hopes before this to have had a return to a letter I writ you from hence of the same date. I writ so fully to you in relation to the subsistence of the army that I will mention that matter no further, not doubting your Lordship's care in it.

I hope before I go I shall receive orders for the three hundred men from Plymouth. A weekly list that General Erle has sent to Mr. St. John will shew you how weak some of the regiments are, and what I am sorry to acquaint you with, that the men begin to grow sickly, which makes me press your Lordship to send us as soon as possible those regiments that were promised to be sent after us. If any difficulty should be found to procure transports for horses from Ireland, if you would send us the men with their accoutrements and levy money, which will not amount to what the transport of the horses would come to, and which those that mount the horses left in Ireland must pay for, Colonel Richards assures me we shall not fail getting them good horses in Andalusia. The reason why I urge this the more is because

the five French regiments that if complete should have made the fourth part at least of what I have with me, are now not three hundred men besides officers, and there is little probability of recruiting them where we are to go.

The English regiments I have with me in such a voyage must be supposed by death and sickness to decrease in their number. However, I resolve with what I have to push what I am ordered to the utmost of my power.

As soon as Colonel Richards came I sent him to Plymouth to avoid any suspicion upon his account where we are going. He is to join me from thence and I will take him into the same ship with me to consult with him on our passage, and I intend to advise with him on all occasions.

M. Guiscard without taking any notice of me as I understand is gone to Exeter, which seems a little odd. I shall govern myself to him as I receive directions from your Lordship, though I cannot think him where I am now going of any use to me.

Though the wind should come fair it will be impossible for us to sail till to-morrow or next day, for till then the horse provisions cannot all be put on board, and if I had not taken due measures for it as soon as we came hither but had stayed for Mr. Coleby it could not have been got ready this ten days.

There is one Colonel Dampier, a French man that was recommended to me by Mr. Stanhope from the Hague, who pretended to go as a volunteer. He came from Holland with Brigadier Lisle Marre. I received him very civilly, but the Brigadier came to me and told me he believed him a dangerous intriguing man. I found that he writes often to the King of Prussia and the Electress of Hanover. Not knowing but he might keep other correspondence and reflecting what Lisle Marre had said made me order him back in some of the great ships that are parted from us. This is to prepare your Lordship lest he should make complaint.

*Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "to Your self" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, [August 28-] September 7.—I did acquaint you from Dendermond of the surrender of that place. I now write to Lord Treasurer my thoughts as to the acquainting Monsieur Vriberg with the Queen's resolution of having Mr. Stepney at Brussels, as I am sure that Holland will not like his being there, they being so foolish as to affect everything that may make these people think that they have the absolute government of them; when you have the Queen's commands, and have adjusted with Lord Treasurer, what is to be said to Monsieur Vriberg, I beg of you that you will give yourself the trouble of writing to Monsieur Buys, and my Lord Treasurer to the Pensionaire Heinsius, for fear that Vriberg should give it a wrong turn. I saw in a Dutch gazette that the English were forced back into Plymouth and the Dutch to Torbay, but I hope it is not true.



## THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "to Yourself" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, August 30 [N.S.].—I am very much obliged to you for the two copies you sent me in yours of the 9th. You may be sure they shall not be seen by anybody. That part in which he mentions Cadogan, he is very much in the wrong, for if those troops had not been brought back they must have been cut to pieces. The man you have named is certainly the author.

If you will employ Captain Cowdal, he must be sent either to Italy or Spain, for we have here but one regiment which has not two hundred men in it, and the two regiments on the Rhine are also very weak, so that his coming to me will be loss of time.

## EARL RIVERS to SIR C. HEDGES.

1706, September 2. Torbay.—There is no part of her Majesty's instructions that I shall more willingly obey than what relates to the good order and discipline of her troops, not only in obedience to her royal commands but likewise for the credit of her arms which heretofore have suffered so much from the want of it. But I must needs take notice to you that there is something wanting in my instructions which seems inconsistent with this extraordinary management of the Spaniards, for hitherto what means have been proposed to me, or what directions given how to carry the army baggage, the artillery, stores of war, and bread? If it be expected that I exact the carriage thereof from the country which upon our landing shall render us their obedience, our friendship may seem to them too burdensome, and no ways comformable to the fair promises that shall be made them. But supposing that they do condescend to our demands, the next doubt is, whether what they promise may be depended upon.

Certainly I have been informed that in Portugal and elsewhere we have been disappointed by depending on the country in this important article, and God forbid that this expensive expedition should prove abortive for want of the necessary means to march. I say not this with a design of aggravating the public expense, for if the Spaniards will readily come into it, and that it is judged that what they promise may be relied upon, this article shall not cost her Majesty a farthing. In the mean time I hope that her Majesty will be pleased to give me some instructions hereabouts, and the necessary means to put them in execution.

The same reflections are to be made as to the siege of ——— [sic, Cadiz?], for whether it be a formal attack or blockade, great quantities of earth must be moved, and whoever does it, either Spaniard or soldier, must be paid for it, and I have no fund nor indeed instructions thereabouts.

The weakness of our horse is so great in comparison of the numbers which it is possible the enemy may oppose against us, that it may be judged necessary to mount some of our foot as has been practised in Catalonia, but for so doing I desire to have her Majesty's orders and instructions.

And whereas my Lord Galway in his late manifesto did promise to all the King of Spain's subjects as well officers as soldiers, who out of a due sense of loyalty to King Charles should abandon the service of the Duke of Anjou, that they should enjoy the same posts or better, and enter immediately into present pay, pursuant to which divers regiments have been formed and paid by the Queen, of which there being not a word in my instructions, I desire that I may have the necessary orders thereabouts.

I am likewise very credibly informed, that by reason of the extreme dearness of the forage in Spain, which for more than ten months in the year must be had out of the public magazines, so that the dragoon cannot subsist upon his pay, as her Majesty has been sufficiently informed by my Lords Galway and Peterborough, I therefore hope that those under my command may be subsisted upon the same foot as those who serve in conjunction with the Portuguese, &c.

I am informed that the irregular price of the Spanish money wherewith the troops in Catalonia have been paid has caused no little confusion and discontent, whereas in Portugal, that current money has been regulated at a certain price. I desire that the same method of a fixed price may be made with us to avoid the disorders which fractions and those variable pursuant to the irregular courses of exchange must occasion.

Whereas it is possible (which however God Almighty avert it from us) that the King of Spain's person and her Majesty's troops which are with him may be reduced to such terms that nothing less than this fleet and this army could save them. The which it is not possible for me to know but from Portugal, and it may be not until we are engaged in the siege of ———, which it seems by my instructions is the only object of this present expedition.

The Dutch troops upon this expedition do expect that we should supply them with ammunition as indeed they have been supplied in Catalonia. However I desire to have her Majesty's order for so doing.

*Copy.*

#### QUEEN ANNE to SECRETARY HARLEY.

[1706,] September 2.—“I forgot when you weare heare to ask you whether you had writt to the Bishop of London about the French minister he recommended. I spoke with him myself when I was at Kensington, and he promised me to take care the book that is called my Life should not be printed, but I dare not trust to the Bishop in this matter, and therefore desire you would give yourself the trouble to enquire after this book, and take care it may not be printed, for it would vex me very much to have such a ridiculous thing as this is appear in the world.

I suppose when you told me Lord Treasurer desired the horse and dragoons in Ireland should be sent into the north you only meant those that weare intended to be sent abroad, and I hope if any more should be thought necessary you will take care the



regiment I am concerned for may not be ordered, and forgive my impertinence in troubling you so often on this subject, since it is my concern for my friend that is the occasion of it. I am

Your very affectionate friend

ANNE R."

For Mr. Secretary Harley.

EARL RIVERS to SIR C. HEDGES.

1706, September 11. Torbay.—The Marquis de Guiscard and the other foreign officers being gone, I judged it proper to send for Mr. Richards from Plymouth, the winds being still out of the way.

Upon deliberation on our present affairs, Sir C. Shovell, Lieut.-General Erle and Sir John Norrice being present, there appeared several powerful reasons to send Richards to Lisbon sooner than was designed.

In the first place that he might bring away with him the King of Spain's envoy, Father Cien Fuegos, a Jesuit, a person entirely informed of the Spanish affairs and a native of Seville whose assistance in this present expedition is esteemed of the greatest importance.

The want of money, which he must endeavour to bring along with him, as much as he can, and for so doing to procure the King of Portugal's leave.

That if possible he may bring with him some pilots of Seville.

That he may bring with him all the necessary advices that may any ways influence our affairs.

And lastly that he may induce the King of Portugal to march some troops that way and particularly some horse.

And it being judged that if he is only sent when we are past Faro, all or most of these expectations will be of no effect because they can never join us in time. Wherefore we have judged it necessary that I should write to the King of Portugal giving him an account of our design which at present can have less consequences considering that it is already communicated to the States of Holland and guessed at almost by everybody else. But in case her Majesty does not approve of this our resolution, you will be pleased to let me know by express her Majesty's further orders.

*Postscript.*—The Colonel of the Artillery having made this additional demand of store of war which has been approved of by ———(sic) I hope that the Queen and Council will give the necessary orders to the Board of Ordnance thereabouts.

*Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, September [9-]20.—I very much approve of the answer that is sent to Monsieur Buys, as they would also do, were they not cursed with the passion of jealousy. It is gone to so extravagant a length as that some fear the French may be brought to Loo, but I hope the honest party is much the greater, so that they will

approve of a treaty for guaranteeing any future treaty of peace we may have with France, which must be our security, for there can be no relying on anything France shall promise.

LORD GODOLPHIN to EARL RIVERS, Commander-in-Chief of  
Her Majesty's Forces in Torbay, Devon.

1706, September 14. Windsor.—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 10th and have also seen the letters you have written by the same post to Mr. Secretary Hedges, which will be laid before the Queen to-morrow for her Majesty's directions upon them. In the meantime I was unwilling to lose this post in acquainting you that I had received your letter, and that I shall do my best to send you credit at Lisbon as you desire.

The reasons you give for sending Mr. Richards as soon as possible to Portugal seem to be very well grounded, but perhaps it may be necessary he should have some latitude in the instructions you give him and that he be ordered to make his application to the King of Portugal, according to the posture in which he shall find my Lord Galway upon his arrival at Lisbon; for if my Lord Galway be in a condition and within any reach of assisting your enterprise with a body of horse, he has been written to these three weeks upon that subject, and informed of the design of your expedition that he might according turn his thoughts to every possibility of helping you in it; but no certain directions or instructions upon this point can properly be sent you from hence at present because of the uncertainty we have long been in as to the state of the King of Spain's affairs since his joining the Portuguese army, the communication with Portugal being wholly interrupted, and even by the way of France the accounts we used to have fail us, there being now five posts due from Holland, which was scarce ever known at this time of year.

As to the secret of your expedition, the sending away of the French officers has made it none, that you are not going to France but to Spain, but to what part of Spain, if it be guessed at, is not known even in Holland itself, much less in Portugal; and the reason why the Queen was shy of having it known there till you were passed Faro was for fear of the importunity of the King of Portugal to have the troops landed there, and his uneasiness which would naturally follow upon his being refused.

To this consideration may be added that perhaps the Portuguese will not be very fond of having C[adiz ?] in our hands, because the consequence of that would be to transfer from Lisbon the expense made there upon account of the fleet, to that place.

I do not mention these things to hinder you from sending away Richards immediately to Portugal, but to let you see it may be reasonable to give him some caution, not to apply to the King of Portugal for assistance till he has first learned how far my Lord Galway, that is to say the King's army, may be in a capacity to give it; but these are only my own notions, you will receive the Queen's directions upon the subject of your letters, after to-morrow night, from the Secretaries of State.



## ROBERT HARLEY to EARL RIVERS.

1706, September 15. Windsor Castle.—Both your Lordship's letters to Mr. Secretary Hedges, dated September 11, at Torbay were received the 13th inst., at night; and they having been laid before her Majesty, I am commanded (Mr. Secretary Hedges being gone into Wiltshire) to return your Lordship the following answers to all the particulars of your letter.

Your Lordship begins with that part of your instructions which relates to the preserving good order and discipline, and the Queen is extremely pleased with the remarks you make upon it, it being agreeable to what her Majesty expected from your Lordship's zeal for her service and your own experience in military affairs, as well as from your good sense and regard to your own honour and that of the nation, and it is no ways to be doubted but you will have the assistance and compliance herein from all the general officers and others under your command.

As to those points wherein you desire direction I will take them in the same order as they lie before me in your Lordship's letters.

1. Relates to the procuring of carriage for the artillery, bread and necessary baggage for the army.

The answer to this is, that if you find the country so well inclined to you that you can have this done without money, so as it can be depended upon, it will be very well; and in every instance your Lordship will be as saving of the public money as is consistent with the carrying on the service. Your Lordship is entrusted with power to expend money for this and other necessary services, and my Lord Treasurer hath taken care to furnish your Lordship with credit at Lisbon.

And in case your Lordship succeeds in the first attempt upon Seville, you will readily find money amongst those merchants upon your Lordship's bills drawn upon England.

2. The next point is that of paying labourers in case of a siege, &c. The answer to this is the same as the former, the case being parallel, and it is left to your Lordship's good management.

3. As to your Lordship's mounting any of your foot, that also is left to your Lordship's judgment to act therein as you shall judge the good of the service requires.

4. The instruction my Lord Galway had for forming troops out of such Spaniards as should embrace the interest of King Charles (how far it hath succeeded you will hear from Lord Galway); however the Queen thinks it very reasonable your Lordship should have the same power and therefore recommends it to your Lordship's care; but if you think it needful you shall have instruction sent you in form for that purpose.

5. As to what your Lordship proposes of furnishing forage to the Dragoons, it is the Queen's intentions that the Dragoons under your Lordship's command should be upon as good a foot as those under my Lord Galway, but her Majesty will not allow of any increase upon the establishment of their pay; but that

douceur of their forage may be allowed them in the same manner as it is to her Majesty's Dragoons now in Spain out of the contingent money.

6. What your Lordship proposes as to the regulation of the value of the money for the payment of the troops is very requisite; and therefore what you receive from the paymaster at Lisbon will be under the same regulation as it is already; and whatever bills your Lordship shall draw anywhere else it will be in your own power to regulate that so as to do justice to the Queen and to the soldiers.

7. As to what your Lordship desires of particular instructions in case (which God forbid) that the King of Spain should be reduced to such straits and that the case should happen which you mention:—

All that can be said upon that subject is this; the forces and fleet are sent to recover and secure Spain to King Charles, that which appears at present to be the likeliest way to do it is by the taking of Cadiz in the method proposed, and therefore that is to be chiefly in your eye, but because it is impossible at this distance to accommodate your Lordship's instructions to every unforeseen accident which may happen, therefore it must be left to your Lordship's judgment to do what is best for and most conducing to the main end and design you are sent upon.

8. As to the furnishing of the Dutch troops with ammunition, they having no train with them, it is hoped they go out with a good proportion, but in case that should be exhausted, and they are not furnished by the States, you are not to let them be unserviceable for want of ammunition.

I have now gone over all the particulars of this letter and I hope your Lordship will find the answers distinct and plain.

And now as to your Lordship's proposal in your other letter to send away Mr. Richards immediately, her Majesty is pleased to approve of that, and that he bring with him Father Cienfuegos or any one else who may be proper to assist you in your designs; as for his bringing of money that is answered above, that my Lord Treasurer hath sent you credit upon Lisbon. But great care hath been taken here to conceal the place you are designed for from the Portuguese, who it is reasonable to be supposed will do their utmost to draw the fleet to come to disembark the forces at Lisbon, if it were only from the great profit they receive by it, and for the same reason will be always averse to your succeeding at the place you are intended for, which must necessarily deprive them of so great advantages.

Therefore Mr. Richards ought to be directed to go in the first place to Lord Galway, to whom an account of the design you go upon hath been transmitted a month since, and his Lordship being upon the place will be the best judge what instructions Mr. Richards is to follow, and accordingly you are to write to Lord Galway to give Mr. Richards such directions as he thinks best for his speaking to the King of Portugal; and if your Lordship think it proper to write to the King of Portugal you are to enclose the same to Lord Galway, who according to



the situation of affairs there will order Mr. Richards to deliver your letter or not; but it may be your Lordship may find it easier only to write a short letter to that King in general, referring yourself to what Mr. Richards shall tell him by word of mouth and desiring his assistance in the particulars he shall mention.

My Lord Galway will certainly have informed himself what assistance he or the Portuguese can give to your undertaking, and therefore can best direct Mr. Richards how to behave himself with the King of Portugal and his ministers.

For the reason above mentioned your Lordship will find it will be best not to take pilots from Lisbon, which will discover the place designed and alarm the Portuguese, and Sir Cloudesley Shovell knows best whether as good pilots are not to be had at Faro or Lagos for the place you go to.

This is what I have received in command from her Majesty to signify to your Lordship. I shall only add my most hearty wishes that your Lordship's success may be answerable to your great ability, and to assure you that I am as much your servant as any one in the world.

*Postscript.*—The additional demand of stores of war your Lordship mentions did not come in your letter. I suppose it was forgot to be put into the packet.

*Signed.*

SARAH DUCHESS of MARLBOROUGH to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, September 18. Woodstock Park.—You are so very obliging and good to me upon all occasions, that I can't send the enclosed without giving you many thanks for your last favours, and knowing how precious your time is and how well it is employed, I will take no more of it, than to assure you I am with a great deal of respect &c.

EARL RIVERS to LORD TREASURER GODOLPHIN.

1706, September 19. Torbay.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 14th and one from Mr. Secretary Harley of the 15th current, with her Majesty's instructions in relation to those points, which I lately writ about, which being so very plain and ample I have nothing more to add than my most humble thanks to your Lordship for the same.

The only difficulty I perceive is about sending away of Richards, Mr. Secretary Harley seems to insinuate should be done immediately to my Lord Galway, to the end he might receive his directions how he should behave himself towards the King of Portugal, &c. But it being visible that he cannot go so far as Madrid and it may be further either by sea or land, and return in time either to do me any service in Portugal, or to be assistant at my landing, I have resolved not to send him until then, and in the mean time to send him to Lisbon, where he is to give out

that he is returning as express by sea with the Queen's answer to that dispatch which he carryed over land, and only called in at Lisbon to deliver Mr. Methuen some letters from the Secretary of State.

In effect he will not stay longer than to bring off the King of Spain's envoy, in case he can be induced to come.

By means of the said envoy to dispatch some faithful person over land with letters to the King and my Lord Galway, which however shall be writ in cypher.

To bring us what advices and informations he can of our affairs in Spain, and particularly those that will most influence our enterprise.

And lastly to bring with him what ready money the Queen's paymaster in Lisbon can immediately raise upon the credit sent him by your Lordship.

After which he is immediately to rejoin the fleet, and so soon as I am got on shore I will send him or somebody else to my Lord Galway. I cannot do it before because I have nobody with me that knows either the language or the country, whereas for the way we first designed I am sufficiently provided. This is, my Lord, what we have here agreed upon, in case it meets with her Majesty's approbation, and I hope it is very conformable to her intentions.

The wind sprung up very fair on Tuesday last, but it came all together and so much of it that not a transport ship could weigh.

*Postscript.*—Although the wind be a little slackened, the Dutch have not been able to get off all their provisions, but I hope however that we shall sail to-morrow.

I forgot to advise your Lordship that besides the 100*l.* which I lent the Dutch Brigadier pursuant to your orders signified to me by Mr. Taylor, I have likewise lent him 1,000*l.* more.

I am not as yet able to give you an exact account of what our paymasters have received from the collectors of the customs and excise, for one of them who has received considerable sums is absent, but he will be here to-night and by the first opportunity I will send you an account thereof not but they have given already their receipts to the collectors, from whom you may have it.\*

*Copy.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1706, September] 19, Thursday.—I return the papers you sent me last night, with the Dresden passes signed by the Queen. Whether the King of Sweden's assurances be real or not, I am of opinion it is our business at present to let him think we believe them to be so, and to let Monsieur Schutz see we make no question but the Elector his master will make use of all his

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\* There was a letter to the same effect addressed to Secretary Harley on the same day, of which a copy is kept in this collection.



influence to keep the King of Sweden in that reasonable temper; and if the Elector were made mediator of that matter, I don't see how England could desire better, but whether Schutz has orders to advance any proposition of that nature I know not.

I think the French will and must indeed abandon Italy, in which case our endeavour must be to make the Duke of Savoy follow them, if we can. I have said so much to-day to the Comte de Briançon upon that subject that I hope there will not be much difficulty for him to engage his Master in it, if his letter by this post can come in time for it; for unless we can prevail with him to do this, the consequence of this victory at Turin will be that the remnant of the French army will be sent into Spain, which we can't be too early in endeavouring to prevent.

I hear the Duke of Argyll will be here to-morrow. I find by the Duke of Marlborough's letters to me he will expect his commission of major-general should be ready for him, and perhaps other things which will not be ready for him. The Duke of Marlborough writes also that these new commissions must all bear date from the day of the battle of Ramillies.

#### ROBERT HARLEY TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, September 22, Sunday night, ten o'clock. Windsor Castle.—Yesterday I received your Excellency's letter by a flying packet at two in the afternoon. I sent those enclosed for the Board of Ordnance and Mr. Burchet as directed, and also yours to My Lord Treasurer together with that to myself with the Council of War, and the disposition of powder, &c., to Windsor; and this day your letter was read before her Majesty who has commanded me to signify to your Excellency her approbation of your proposal about Mr. Richards as being what is agreeable to the service you are going upon, and the circumstances and particulars you mention relating to his going are the most proper upon this occasion.

As to the ordnance stores I suppose that Board will give you an account what is ordered upon it.

As to the arms and the clothing to be disposed to such troops as shall come in to you and can be formed into regiments your Excellency will have full order by the next post, which if you should have a fair wind, will yet be with you before you can have need to put them in use.

#### EARL RIVERS TO LORD TREASURER GODOLPHIN.

1706, September 27. Torbay.—Enclosed I send your Lordship a copy of the manifesto, which I design to publish upon my arrival in Spain and am now printing here in Spanish, as likewise her Majesty's order for preventing the pillaging the country. If her Majesty thinks fit to make any declaration therein, it shall be published in the next which I shall have occasion to make.

I intended for the greater encouragement of the Spaniards to come in to us to have expressed their freedom of navigation and trade in more general and universal terms, but finding Sir Cloudesley Shovell a little scrupulous in this matter I gave it over until I have her Majesty's further directions therein, though it may be there is nothing more proper to induce the Spaniards to come in to us than the security of their estates which they expect the return of from the Indies, and the freedom of exporting the growth of their country in as ample a manner as they practised during the last war when they were in our alliance; and although I have offered in my manifesto to give the loyal Spaniards my passports for the security of their navigation, yet upon further consideration I shall be very cautious in doing it without her Majesty's directions therein, and I find Sir C. Shovell of the same sentiment.

Although I have had sufficient instructions about entertaining such troops as shall abandon and desert the service of the Duke of Anjou, it is likewise very probable that some of the most zealous partisans of King Charles's will offer to raise some body of horse and foot for his service; though I doubt not but that the country when the government thereof shall be regulated will find ways and means to support them, yet in the mean time it may be judged necessary to subsist them, we having already arms and clothes to give them, about which however I desire to have her Majesty's instructions, which I hope to make so good use of as not to spend a penny of the public money, more than what shall be absolutely conducive to her service.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, [September 27–] October 7.—I see by the end of yours that Monsieur Buys has answered Lord Treasurer's and your letter, if there be anything material you will be pleased to let me know it, for that may be of use to me at the Hague. As to what you say of Holland's being against the union, I have not heard that, but it is certain that some amongst them have very unreasonable jealousies; for the good of Europe I think this war must continue another year, so that I hope all honest Englishmen will be for it; I intend to be at the Hague at the end of this month, or the beginning of the next; and shall make no longer stay there than what will be absolutely necessary.

As the Parliament grows near, I beg at your leisure, I may hear as often as may be.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1706, October [1–]11.—I have by this post sent an "Observator" to Mr. St. Johns. I should be extremely obliged to you if you would speak to Lord Keeper, and see if there be any method to protect me against this rogue, who is set on by Lord Haversham. If I can't have justice done me, I must find some friend that will break his and the printer's bones, which I



hope will be approved on by all honest Englishmen, since I serve my Queen and country with all my heart. When I have been at the Hague I shall be better able to let you know if Franco's coming may be of any use, but I fear the ill humour is already gone beyond his reach.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, October 1. Whitehall.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 29th past with the draught of your declaration, and have laid them before her Majesty, but have not yet received her commands concerning the instructions your Lordship desires at the close of your letter. As to the passports for the security of the Spaniards' trade and navigation, I believe that cannot be done effectually but by the Queen, in the terms and manner as have been adjusted by the Council and upon the memorials of the Envoy of Holland; for other passports will not be a security against the English and Dutch men-of-war and privateers, though it is certainly very right for your Lordship to give them all the assistance you can for securing their navigation and the freedom of their trade in case it can be done without opening a gap for covering and colouring the effects of the enemy. I believe all this matter will be further considered when her Majesty returns from Newmarket, and what instructions her Majesty thinks fit to give will be sent after you, for the wind being come fair, it is hoped you will not be detained any longer at Torbay. Your Excellency will have herewith the news we have by the three Dutch mails come in this afternoon together with what the last letters bring from Lisbon, which I desire you will communicate to Sir Cloudesley Shovell. I have only to add that it is of the greatest importance to let the Earl of Galway hear from you as soon as possible.

*Copy.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706, October 3. Newmarket.—I return you the letters you sent me with many thanks, and am glad to find by them the Duke of Marlborough gives over the thought of any other siege, since it seems to me to be only losing time and men to little purpose if Holland will not continue the war, and if they will or but only make a show of doing it, I think 'tis very plain we may have the peace insisted upon in our letter, with a great many thanks from all parties concerned, France not excepted.

I find by the Duke of Marlborough's letter to me, as also by letters from the Pensionaries, Heinsius and Buys, that they were extremely uneasy for want of the preliminary treaty, that is to say, to have their barrier settled; but 'tis impracticable to have the guarantee of our succession and the guarantee of a future peace in the same treaty, for the reason expressed in our answer to M. Buys' letter of the 25th September.

The Duke of Marlborough desires the Queen's leave to speak plainly to them in Holland about the French propositions. Her Majesty is desirous he should not only have her leave but her orders to do, and has commanded me to let you know as much, that you signify her pleasure to him accordingly by this post.

He ought to have powers, and I suppose he has, for concluding and signing this preliminary treaty, and Mr. Stepney ought also to meet powers and instructions in that matter at the Hague.

The Pensionary Heinsius in his letter to me seems desirous he should come first to the Hague before he goes to Brussels, his argument is, *pour éviter des inconveniens*; 'tis easy to see what that means, but as far as it is now possible I think in that we might comply with them.

I have no objection to the draft which the Duke of Marlborough proposes to print, except some literal amendments, faults only of the transcriber; but the naming of the treaty of the Pyrenees, I doubt that may fright the people of Holland so much as to take off the impression which otherwise some of his arguments would not fail to make upon them. I have therefore drawn a stroke under some few lines which I submit to be left out, and in their room inserted one or two small additions in the margin.

I hope your West Indies news is true.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706, October 10.—I herewith return the letters and papers you sent me with many thanks for the favour of your letter, and your being so particular in the matter upon which I desired your thoughts, though I differ in opinion. I think the matter of elections was but a pretext taken in the last session, there was an averseness at bottom to do anything that they thought would give any merit to the Whigs, though it was and is a demonstration that without them, and their being entire, the Queen cannot be served; but the leaning to what I take to be an impossibility will, I think, make them jealous and uneasy, and at best but passive. The consequence of which is that the majority will be against us upon every occasion of consequence. I hope however the Queen's service will go on, and for myself I am as little concerned as one need to be upon such an occasion; but I am not blind nor asleep.

The topics you mention would not hurt us alone, if there were not a preparation to make those uneasy and jealous from whom only we can have, or hope for, any help.

I think you do very well to have a watch upon Robinson. As to the affair of Mr. Clement I shall be Saturday night in London, so I must beg it will be deferred till then.

I wish the convoy might be dispatched that is to bring over the Duke of Marlborough.



## EARL RIVERS to SIR CHARLES HEDGES.

1706, October 10. *Association*, ten leagues to the westward of Scilly.—Ever since our departure from Torbay we have scarcely had any other than contrary winds from the S. to the S.W. and sometimes so very hard that a great part of our transports have been forced to bear away to the number I judge of 50 or 60, and yesterday the *Barfleur* on which I was embarked myself sprung so dangerous a leak as to be judged incapable of continuing the voyage, so that with a great deal of difficulty I got myself and some of my servants on board the Admiral (?).

Sir Cloudesley Shovell having given his rendezvous orders at Lisbon we are in hopes that the most part of our separated transports will be there and therefore it is judged proper that we should go ourselves, the wind permitting us so to do which at present is [blank].

My intentions are to tell the King of Portugal that my orders are for Alicant, to the end I may conceal our real design, and this I will persist in until I have her Majesty's further instructions, and in the meantime I will endeavour to put our troops on shore in quarters of refreshment until we are joined by the rest, to procure which I will send Richards before me to Lisbon.

What I have to request is that all possible dispatch may be given to those transports which have been forced back to England or Ireland, and whereas it is most probable that we have lost a considerable number of horses, the importance of which is so notorious in this expedition, her Majesty is the best judge whether a convenient number be sent with the first ships to recruit what is wanting.

*Copy.*

## SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, October 15. Whitehall.—I trouble your Excellency with a copy of my last which was in answer to yours of the 29th past. As to the instructions mentioned in the close of that letter, her Majesty thinks your Excellency as General has sufficient authority to dispose and direct those matters without any particular instructions, and does not think it for the advantage of her service, or that it is possible to give particular instructions for all cases that may happen, but that it is more proper to leave the direction of such matters as tend to the furtherance of the main design to the prudence and discretion of the General. Your Excellency will receive this by the hands of Mr. Crowe whom her Majesty has honoured with the character of her Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary for making a treaty of commerce with the King of Spain, in consideration of his being well versed in the Spanish Trade, of the interest he has with his Majesty, the knowledge he has of the people and country, and of the experience she has had of his zeal for her

service, upon which accounts her Majesty does not doubt he will be of good use also to your Excellency and to the Earl of Galway to whom he is to repair without loss of time with such accounts and proposals for the co-operation and assisting each other as you shall judge proper. This gentleman and the Earl of Galway are well acquainted and in very good correspondence. You will find the state of affairs about Madrid much altered since you left England, but if proper measures are taken and vigorously pursued all will soon be retrieved. However her Majesty does not think fit to alter anything you have in direction for putting the chief design on Seville and Cadiz in execution, having the greatest hopes of success to her arms under your Excellency's command and looking on it as the surest and speediest way to reduce the whole kingdom; but whether you succeed or not, it is her Majesty's pleasure that you continue in Spain for the support of King Charles, and in order thereto that you join the Earl of Galway as soon as may be after the expedition against Cadiz is at an end, in case the King of Spain and the Earl of Galway shall judge your junction will tend to the furtherance of the reducing the kingdom to his Catholic Majesty's obedience. When you are master of Cadiz you will leave such a garrison there as shall be judged fit for its safety, and then take the proper measures for joining the King's army; or in case you shall not be able to make yourself master of that town and have no prospect of success there, you are forthwith to consider and concert with the Earl of Galway of the most proper means for joining and proceed accordingly either by re-embarking her Majesty's troops or in such other way as shall be judged best for her service.

All her Majesty's troops in Spain and Portugal are to be under Lord Galway's direction who has the eldest commission, and the Queen takes it for granted that your Excellency has no objection to it.

Upon the news of the *Barfleur's* coming back I thought fit to send you this by the *Tartar* or *Sorlings*, since they are now like to be with your Excellency before Mr. Crowe.

[ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1706, October 15. Braimpton.—I received this morning the honour of your Lordship's letter of the tenth instant. I arrived here but last night late, and with other letters from London I received a private one from the Duke of Marlborough with one enclosed from the Elector of Hanover to his Grace, which I send herewith to your Lordship. The public letters are delivered to Mr. Secretary Hedges, who I doubt not hath attended your Lordship with them. Your Lordship may please to remember that Mr. Schutz said there was no such treaty designed by his master as the King of Prussia would set on foot, and that it was only a tentative of that Court to fish out the inclinations of the Queen and the Elector, and to set on foot some sort of negotiation with Sweden by which he might get something.



As to the other particulars my Lord Duke mentions about the treaty for the succession and the barrier, as also for guaranteeing the peace, I wrote as fully as I could to my Lord M[arlborough] Thursday se'nnight, and I think mentioned the same to your Lordship, that I humbly conceive that those treaties should be finished as soon as possible, and also the affair of Munster, for those two points are made use of by the ill intentioned in Holland to the prejudice of England. The project Lord Halifax brought over I have left sealed up with Mr. Lewis, who will bring it to your Lordship whenever you will please to command it. I think the objections my Lord Halifax makes to the barriers being too generally expressed, and that it ought to be more particularly specified, are very just; but if they are obstinate in it, under pretence they cannot decently particularise places which yet are not in their power, I humbly proposed to my Lord Duke to consider whether that matter might not be accommodated by putting the particulars into a secret article, but I doubt not his Grace will find out a proper method to settle that point.

As to home affairs, what I wrote to your Lordship was in the sincerity of my heart, and what I could collect from my conversation with both parties, and of which I am at any time ready to give your Lordship the particulars, but far be it from me to espouse any opinion of my own, or to differ from your Lordship's judgment; I shall always be ready, when required, and never but then, to give my poor thoughts and such reasons as I have, and when I have done that I know myself too well to be fond of any notions of my own. I have no other views but the Queen's service with that attachment to your Lordship and my Lord Marlborough which I shall always preserve.

The reason I mentioned elections in my letter was, because that occasion of stumbling is in a great measure removed; and from the little experience I have had, the attempting to bend everybody to one measure in that affair hath proved one of the greatest means of ruining the expectation of that party which hath attempted it. I have often seen the foundation laid of blowing up each of the factions by that very method and the reason is plain; for those gentlemen who think themselves to be independent, and would be thought to be so, but yet would support the Queen and serve her ministers, expect their compliance therein should be accepted, and that they should be left to themselves in personal friendships and matters which they will always think remote from the government's observation, and that if they vote for the public service of the government, and support of the ministers, more ought not to be expected of them. Indeed I have not been able to answer them when they have said, why should not everybody's service be accepted of as far as he will go, and it is not impossible that one step may draw on another. This I am certain, many of the most staunch Whigs (not whimsical) have, and do frequently lament the fury of their leaders, and have rejoiced when their presumption was humbled; and to use an expression of one of them, that if they were gratified

in all they desire, they would immediately be undone. I am very far from making them jealous. I did not mean that places should be given to others, but I was humbly of opinion that whoever would come in a volunteer to the service should be accepted as far as he would go, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion because those who call themselves Whigs if united are the inferior number, and that they will not follow those who make themselves their leaders, but yet may be united in the Queen's service by her ministers, and yet at the same time they would make everyone else desperate, nay to use the words of themselves they have proscribed a great many who never differed, yet, from them; and as to those who came into them, some whereof have surrendered themselves and gave elections to them and laid themselves at their feet, and yet they will not be contented with them, and every one who have helped to rescue them from the malice and rage of their adversaries and to make them a majority have been sensible that all that went for nothing and they were told more than once or twice expressly that they hoped in a little time to cast them off and do without them.

I have with grief observed that the leaders (or zealots rather) of both parties are frequent even now, in their reflections on the Queen's ministers, I mean your Lordship and my Lord M[arlborough]. I cannot but apprehend danger from both sides in the extreme, and therefore I am humbly of opinion to increase the number of those who would devote themselves to the Queen's and your service would be best; and I the rather mention this because so many who have been lately obliged pay their acknowledgments to and real dependence on other people. As to myself I have made all the application imaginable to those who would be thought the chiefs of that faction, and there is nothing I will not do for the Queen's service and the support of her ministers, neither would I have troubled your lordship with this long scribble, but that your lordship's indulgence has encouraged me to tell you the truth, and what you may when you please have confirmed from the mouths of those of that very party who have no little interest in both Houses; and now I have said this I beseech you lordship to be so just to me as to be assured I have no measures, nor will have any but what shall be submitted to the test of your better judgment, and that you will have the goodness to impute it to my excess of zeal when I cannot forbear saying that this ensuing session may be made very easy or very difficult by either giving or sparing a few good words without any further engagement than to let those who are not stigmatised by any particular folly know that they need not be desperate. I have now tired your lordship's patience with my impertinence and will add nothing more than that having shot my bolt there remains nothing further for me but to obey your commands.

*Copy.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706, October 17.—Yesterday there came letters of the fleet of the 10th. Fifteen leagues west from Scilly they had met with



very foul weather and cross winds. However the weather was then come fair, and they were gone on to Lisbon, which it seems was their rendezvous in case of separation, though much dispersed. The *Barfleur* in which Lord Rivers was had sprung a leak and is sent home. The Queen has sent her orders to them this day to Lisbon.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, October 17.—Finding by your letter of the 10th to the Secretary of State, dated fifteen leagues westward from Scilly that you had met with bad weather, which had separated great part of your fleet and transports and that in that case your rendezvous being appointed at Lisbon, the wind coming fair again you had resolved to go thither, and upon your arrival not to own your design to the King of Portugal, but to acquaint him your orders were to go straight to Alicante; and finding by the same letters from your Lordship and from the Admiral that your horses had suffered very much, the Queen upon consideration of this misfortune seeing that it was impossible in point of time, were there no other difficulty, to recruit your horses from hence, and thinking on the other side that since you were under a necessity of going to Portugal it might look like too great a distrust of that King if you should absolutely conceal your intentions from him, her Majesty has thought fit to allow you a latitude to say that though your instructions are positive to go to Alicante, yet in case you see room to hope for any success at Seville or Cadiz as you pass there, or that the King of Portugal be in inclination and condition to supply you with horses for that attempt, in that case her Majesty has commanded you to desire his assistance in this affair, which if it succeeds will be an entire security to his commerce for the future, the French having no port to friend nearer to Toulon except Cadiz.

This argument may be of some weight with the King of Portugal, and you will, I doubt, be under a necessity of applying to him, both for your want of horses, and because I am afraid you will be forced to stay at Lisbon some time in expectation of your scattered transports.

If ever you come to join the King of Spain the Queen has determined my Lord Galway shall have the chief command, but that you shall not be commanded by my Lord Peterborough.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, October 17. Whitehall.—Yesterday I received the honour of your Excellency's of the 10th inst. and am very sorry to find you have had such continual bad weather since your putting to sea, and that the ship you were on board had so great a misfortune as to oblige her to return. She is arrived with the *Tartar* and *Sorlings* at Spithead, and all diligence is used to send the two last to Lisbon, the place of their rendezvous since the fleet was separated by storm, in hopes of meeting you there.

The Prince's Council tell me those ships stay only for the Queen's orders, and I dispatch them to-night that there may be no sort of delay.

The first thing in which your Excellency desires her Majesty's directions is, concerning the concealment of the real design from the King of Portugal; her Majesty approves of your precaution therein, and the secret is still to be kept as much as possible, and the King himself is not to know but it was designed for Alicant; but since by this accident of the fleet's being dispersed you were obliged to go to Lisbon, her Majesty would have you at such time as you judge proper let the King of Portugal know you have a latitude to stop at Cadiz, if you find a favourable opportunity for reducing it upon your arrival on the Spanish coast, and that you are at liberty to attempt making yourself master of it, if there be any room to hope for his Portuguese Majesty's assistance in that design, either by furnishing you with horses or troops or what else you may have occasion for to carry it on. Her Majesty thinks it is necessary to give some such intimation, since it is your fortune to be with him, for to go thither directly from Lisbon, without taking any notice, may give some disgust, which should be avoided with so necessary an ally at this juncture; besides your Excellency may procure some assistance, and especially in horses, if the king relishes such a design, but you are to be careful to give this intimation in such a manner and under secrecy that your real design may not be public, nor make you liable to pressures to stay at Lisbon for other operations.

As to the other point in your letter all possible care is to be taken to dispatch to Lisbon all ships and transports that shall be driven back to England and Ireland, but as to sending recruits of horses from home, it is not to be depended on, it not being possible to be effected in time: but if the King of Portugal can help you in that particular your Excellency may assure him so many as he furnishes to her Majesty's troops will be replaced by the next campaign. But that offer should not hinder your procuring all the assistance you can from the King upon his own account, which may reasonably be insisted on since her Majesty has made such an extraordinary effort, far beyond what she is obliged to do by the treaty, to assist the King of Portugal and support the King of Spain.

I have written to Mr. Methuen, and in case of his absence to Consul Milner, to press the King of Portugal to consent that the subsidies her Majesty pays for the 13,000 Portuguese may be remitted directly from hence to the Portuguese General in Spain, which her Majesty thinks is so reasonable a proposal that the King can not make any difficulty in consenting to it, though the Portuguese Ministers for private reasons may oppose it. Consul Milner will be able fully to acquaint your Excellency with the necessity of having this done and of the abuses that have been committed by the misapplication of the money to the prejudice of the service. It will be a great advantage to obtain this point and her Majesty hopes your Excellency will use your endeavours, and press the King to consent to it now the state of the war is



so much altered and his troops are in Spain, and the communication between them and Portugal is cut off, so that there is no sending money but by sea, and it may easier be done from hence at once than by sending first to Lisbon and afterwards to Valentia. Mr. Crowe, who was designed to call on your Excellency, will now take his passage directly to Alicant and be going in a few days, but will touch at Faro to learn news of the fleet, and if your Excellency has anything to impart to Lord Galway I believe it may be proper to lodge it in the Consul's hands at Faro, sending copies of the same also by another hand.

*Copy.*

GENERAL JAMES STANHOPE to EARL RIVERS.

1706, October [18-]29, n.s. Valentia.—Being told from England that your Lordship is bound for this part of the world I beg leave to welcome your Lordship on the coast of Spain, where I hope this letter will find your Lordship attended with all manner of success in all your undertakings. The King of Spain and my Lord Galway [will] give your Lordship an account of our condition here, and of their thoughts and wishes how your Lordship's forces and the fleet should be employed. The Duke of Savoy has sent advice that he is certainly informed that the enemies are preparing to embark forty five battalions of their beaten army, whether to return to Italy or to be sent to Spain was uncertain, but the station of affairs in Italy makes it reasonable to believe they will give up that country, and push to make an end of the war in Spain, the only part where they have a prospect to succeed. A squadron in these parts would prevent their attempt on either side by sea. Your Lordship and the Admiral can best tell how far this is practicable.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706, October 23.—I designed to have thanked you last night for your kind letter from Brampton, but I had so much to write, that it was not possible for me ; and you ought to be a little the more indulgent to me, because I should not have had so much upon my hands if you had been here.

I believe Mr. Secretary Hedges will have informed you of the letters sent over by the Duke of Marlborough from the Elector of B[avaria] to himself and the States deputies, and also with what he has been directed by the Queen to write to his Grace upon that subject. The proposal appears to have been artificial and ensnaring enough, and I hope the answer is worded so cautiously as to prevent the ill effects of it, but that we can't be satisfied in till the return of the messenger dispatched with it last Monday. In the meantime I think we have the satisfaction of seeing plainly they have no hopes of succeeding by their underhand *pourparlers*, as Monsieur B[uyss] terms it. By the way, I have not heard one word from him since you left us.

The other affairs of your province want your care as well as this. Some measures should be concerted about the King of Sweden. The King of Poland, by his example, begins to be troublesome too, and, I doubt, the King of Prussia is naturally not very unapt to catch that infection.

There is a new mystery about my Lord Raby, more impenetrable than the former. Mons. Spanheim has new credentials of ambassador here, provided my Lord Raby do continue at Berlin in that character.

Our affairs in Spain go very ill and want the speedy arrival of the fleet.

Mr. Methuen writes from Genoa that Lord Peterborough was there negotiating for money; but he has [not?] vouchsafed to write himself, at least not to Mr. Secretary nor to me. Mr. Chetwynd writes he is expected by the Duke of Savoy at his camp. He talks of going back to Spain in a month, and his friends here give it out, but for my own part I expect him here by the meeting of the Parliament, and don't know whether I ought to be glad or sorry to prove deceived in that expectation.

We have great triumphs in Scotland. Not knowing if the account of them has reached you, I send you a very particular one in my letter from the Register. All Mr. Johnstone's friends have done very well, but I don't think he thanks them for it. Mr. Lewis has brought me several letters to G. Mason from D. F [oe?].

#### THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, [October 25-] November 4, n.s. Ghilingen.—You will see by the enclosed that it was printed before they could receive your remarks. What you have writ in a former letter concerning a title for Lord Keeper I think so reasonable that I shall with pleasure endeavour to serve him. My next will be from the Hague, where I will stay no longer than what may be absolutely necessary.

#### SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, October 28. Whitehall.—I herewith send your Excellency copies of my letters of the 1st, 13th, and 17th instant. We have not yet despatched Mr. Crowe, though we are doing it as fast as we can, and therefore it will be very convenient that your Excellency should give the earliest advices you can to the Earl of Galway of your proceedings and designs in order to your acting in concert one with the other.

Her Majesty having received an account from her Consul at Lisbon that the King of Portugal has made large remittances of money to the army in Spain and intends to send more, does not think it so proper a time to press him about the sending of the subsidies from hence directly thither, as is mentioned in mine to your Excellency of the 17th, till such time as what he has sent be replaced.



Your Excellency will see in the newspapers sent you from the Office what progress the Confederates are making in Italy. The French seem resolved to attempt the re-entering that country, whose *opiniâtreté* in that respect will it is hoped be of advantage to the service you go upon by diverting the enemy from sending a greater force into Spain.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, October 29.—I hope this will find you safe and well at Lisbon, and your transports in good measure gotten together again. Your Lordship will soon be made sensible by the news you will meet at Lisbon that our affairs in Spain are in a condition to require an immediate reinforcement of the army there; and though the Queen does not recall your orders for the design upon Seville and Cadiz, from whence it is probable they have drawn what troops they can to strengthen their army, and consequently you may find those places weak, yet in case it should prove otherwise too much time ought not to be consumed in fruitless endeavours, and most especially if you should hear from the King of Spain and my Lord Galway that they desire that you should hasten to join them.

All our affairs in Italy and these parts of the world go as we could wish.

We hear my Lord Peterborough is at Genoa, but not one word from himself or of his intentions. The Queen seems inclined to send my Lord Galway a new commission for the chief command of all her troops in Spain and Portugal that shall happen to be together. Lord Galway has several times asked the Queen's leave to return, upon the account of his being a cripple; if he should persist in these desires, and the King of Spain should give way to it, the whole care and weight of that service would fall upon your Lordship. I shall be glad to have your own thoughts and intentions as to this and everything else relating to the Queen's service and to yourself, as plainly and fully as you can when you have opportunity of sending; and in order to that I hope before Sir Cloudesley Shovell leaves Lisbon he will settle a constant intercourse betwixt that place and the coast of Spain within the Straits.

EARL RIVERS to SIR CHARLES HEDGES.

1706, October 29 [o.s.]. Lisbon.—The storm which I gave you an account of in my last did so disperse our fleet that we never came together until we met in this river, where the Admiral had given his rendezvous, thirteen ships except two which we hear are safely arrived in Ireland, two supposed to be cast away, and the other nine in St. Ubals (Setuval); but the damage which of necessity we must receive in so much bad weather is very considerable, as well in our shipping as in our troops, and especially the horse, of which the Dutch only have given an account of 191 lost and most of the rest incapable of service. The English have suffered much less; but still our loss is very considerable, 1,000 foot missing,

100 dead, half the horse spoiled and dead. Notwithstanding this misfortune a Council of War—a copy of which I send to you—held the 27th current, in which was present Sir Cloudesley Shoveil, has resolved to continue their voyage to the river of Seville and do their utmost endeavours to put her Majesty's orders in execution; I having here met with not a word from the King of Spain or my Lord Galway, neither does there appear any sufficient reasons to dispense with her Majesty's first orders.

In pursuance to this resolution I shall put the horses on shore for a few days until their ships and stalls be repaired, and until I can be provided with the necessary quantity of straw and barley to continue our voyage—our hay and oats being already consumed—which I presume will be about thirty days.

I do not hear that the Marquis de Villa de Arias, who commands in Andalusia, has above 4,000 foot and 500 horse, and these militia; however, the operations of the campaign being everywhere over it is very likely they may detach both from Estramadura and La Mancha some troops, and especially horse, in order to oppose us. This consideration is certainly sufficient to induce her Majesty to hasten those troops which are to follow us with all diligence possible, and particularly some horse which we so much want, and since our late losses at sea more than ever.

I shall immediately dispatch away to the King of Spain, giving him and my Lord Galway an account of our resolution and an exact detail of our forces, to the end that they may timely take their measures either to join us with some troops or to profit themselves by the diversion which we shall give to those of the enemy's. And so soon as I am past Faro I will send to the King of Portugal to give him an account where we are going, that he may likewise on his part move some of his troops towards Andalusia in order to join us, to which purpose I presume it might be necessary that her Majesty should write to the said King, which letter must be delivered to me here in case it arrives before I am gone, lest our secret, which as yet is in its entire, should be discovered too soon.

By order of my Lord Galway and of the late Ambassador, Mr. Methuen, here has been raised a Spanish regiment of foot, which regiment I take with me, out of the garrison of Alcantara, which at the beginning of the late campaign was made prisoners of war, and more might have been made had there been orders given for it, those people being very desirous to serve their lawful King; and now the Spanish envoy here, the Father Cien Fuegos, tells me that there are to the number of two regiments more who are desirous [to be] taken on.

I cannot imagine how the great superiority which the enemy have over us in horse is any other ways to be repaired than from Italy, which in all probability Prince Eugene can now spare, and which we may easily fetch in the spring from either Genoa or Leghorn, or rather Porto Specia. If her Majesty does approve of this she will be pleased to give her timely orders hereabouts to Sir Cloudesley Shoveil and write to the Emperor.



Father Cien Fuegos makes a difficulty of going with us upon this expedition, having had no orders so to do from the King his master, nor indeed any intimation thereof from the Court of England; however, here is arrived six days ago the brother of the Duke de Penna Randa, a man of great quality and related to the Governor of Cadiz and to the Marquis de Villa de Arias: he will go along with us, and hopes to have a great influence upon those persons who is to have one of these Spanish regiments.

I have ordered Mr. Morrice to procure me money for three months' subsistence of the army, as likewise a proper sum for the contingent expenses of the army.

*Postscript.*—31 October.—Since I writ the foregoing part of my letter [I have seen?] the Portuguese Minister Don Diego Mendoza. They are desirous to have these troops landed and to induce me the more proposed several projects upon their own frontiers which besides the improbability of them are as you know so absolutely opposite to the Queen's orders. I told him that these troops were destined by the Queen to support the King of Spain (it is generally believed here that we are going to Valentia), and therefore I could not without her Majesty's orders change the design, however that there was still a very considerable detachment of troops which I believed upon his Portuguese Majesty's request the Queen would alter their landing; this I said to silence them.

But my fears go further, for I am apprehensive that these people, seeing that they cannot overrule us, will indirectly give us all the hindrance possible in the procuring the necessary straw and barley to continue our voyage: but of this more in my next.

*Copy.*

#### SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, October 29. Whitehall.—The state of affairs in Spain being much changed, according to the advices that come by the way of France, her Majesty thinks it for the advantage of the service to give your Excellency a latitude in your expedition against Seville and Cadiz, which is, that in case you meet with such difficulties as cannot be foreseen here, and that the reducing those places will take up so much time as that the army in Valentia and Catalonia may be put to great straits and extremities, and the King of Spain's affairs on that side may be in danger for want of your joining the Earl of Galway; and in case upon any notices you shall receive from the King of Spain or the Earl of Galway, you shall find they judge it necessary to join without loss of time for the support of his Catholic Majesty, you are at liberty to act accordingly as you find the exigency of his affairs may require.

#### EARL RIVERS to GENERAL J. STANHOPE.

1706, October 30 [o.s]. Lisbon.—The expedition I am sent upon being communicated to you near three months ago, I need say no more to you than that I am got so far upon our [way], being

forced into this port contrary to my intentions and her Majesty's instructions, having met at sea with such violent weather as has cruelly shattered our fleet, insomuch that I have not with me above 8,000 foot and 600 dragoons fit for service. However, in a Council of War held here it is resolved to continue our voyage to the river of Guadalquiver pursuant to her Majesty's orders and instructions, of which resolution I send Col. Worsley to give the King and my Lord Galway an account thereof. Having not met here with any letters from them, nor anybody that can give me an exact account of your affairs, and whereas it is possible that it may so happen that your circumstances are so bad that nothing but this fleet and troops can support you, I will in this case sacrifice every other consideration to the honour of the Queen's arms and the good of my country ; but, as to a friend for whom I have singular esteem and in whom I have a particular confidence, I will tell you that I pretend to preserve the absolute command of these troops, which shall be kept entire, where ever the public service shall require them to go. With these conditions I accepted the command, and upon no others would I have come abroad. But lest you should not rightly understand me, I assure you that I am very willing to obey his Majesty's commands, and even my Lord Galway, provided I remain with the absolute and independent command of them, which being so very reasonable I doubt not but that your prudence and zeal for the public service will facilitate everything that shall stand in the way, if it should happen, which as yet I do not foresee, we should come together.

I have to write with this freedom to anybody else (*sic*), and therefore I entirely repose in your friendship to make a proper use of it.

*Copy.*

EARL RIVERS to "the KING OF SPAIN."

[1706, October 30 *Endorsed.*]—The Queen my mistress having nothing more at heart than the honour and interest of your Majesty, and therefore being sensible of the great disappointments which you have lately met with in Spain, she has generously abandoned her intended expedition against France to send me and the troops under my command to serve you in Spain.

What I can assure your Majesty is that I never received her orders with greater pleasure, not only in consideration of the just engagement which we are all in to support your undoubted rights to the Spanish Monarchy, but that I have likewise this occasion to signalize my zeal among so many other brave chiefs who so gloriously and so successfully defend your cause.

The Queen my mistress has judged in her great prudence that nothing would more contribute to your Majesty's service than the reducing of Cadiz and with it all Andalusia to its due obedience. Her Majesty's instructions do therefore oblige me in the first place to go up the river Guadalquiver and oblige Seville to declare for your Majesty, so that by possessing that important capital and the neighbouring country to reduce Cadiz to a necessity of doing the same.



I am come thus far upon this design, but after being detained a great while by contrary winds at sea I met with so great storms that it will require near thirty days to repair our ships and put ourselves in a condition to continue our voyage, which by a Council of War we have resolved to do pursuant to her Majesty's instructions. Wherefore I have sent this gentleman to acquaint your Majesty therewith, to the end that I may receive your further commands, and that your Majesty may take some proper measures to support us, or by sending us some troops, or at least to profit yourself by the diversion which we shall give to those of the enemy.

I have thought fit to take with me the Spanish regiment which by order of Mr. Methuen was raised in your Majesty's name out of the garrison of Alcantara, and the Father Cuen Fuegos having represented to me that there are to the number of two more who are willing to render their due obedience to your Majesty, I have ordered the raising of them, one in the name of Don Joseph Chaver, brother to the Conde de Penna Randa, who came lately from Madrid, the other in the name of Major-General Richards, whom the Queen, my mistress, has so good an opinion of as to send him with me in this expedition, and therefore I hope that it will not only meet with your Majesty's approbation, but that he will not any ways be a sufferer in your Majesty's favour by his absence.

And as her Majesty has in a more particular manner incharged me to have all due care, tenderness and respect towards all your Majesty's subjects, and particularly in what relates to sacred matters, I give your Majesty my word and honour that you shall never have a just occasion of complaint in this point, and that in everything else that relates to your royal service nobody will receive your commands with greater obedience and respect.

*Copy.*

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, November 1. Whitehall.—The *Rye* frigate, on board which is my letter to your Excellency of the 17th past, being put back, I send you by another ship dispatched on purpose the enclosed duplicate of it and with duplicates also of my two last letters of the 28th and 29th, which were dispatched to your Excellency by the last packet to Lisbon.

I write by this conveyance to Sir Cloudesley Shovell to signify to him her Majesty's pleasure, that in regard there may be occasion for his giving assistance with the fleet in what shall be resolved on according to the exigency of the King of Spain's affairs, he is to contribute all he can with the ships under his command towards putting what shall be resolved on in execution in such manner as shall be judged advisable by a Council of War and most to the advantage of that service.

[H. ST. JOHN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706, November 5. Whitehall.—I cannot let this post go away without carrying you my thanks for the favour of yours of the 1st, though I hope before this arrives at Brampton the floods will be abated and you on your way thither.

Nothing, dear Master, will continue long which exceeds its due bounds, but a short-lived inundation may prove a lasting evil. The torrent may make such a havoc and leave such scars in a little time as years will not repair. If you will give me leave to bring the allegory still more close, no husbandman in his right senses ever let that flood violently in to spoil his grounds and destroy his fruits which with care he might have guided in gentle streams to the improvement of both.

I am glad you find the same disposition where you have been as I believe is in other places. It will be one of the greatest pleasures I can have to be instrumental under you in making a proper use of it; in order to this, sure we must have a little more commerce with some gentlemen than has been of late kept up.

I did not believe when I writ last to you that the application made to Mr. B[romley] and Sir T. H[anmer] was the effect of your advice, but I do imagine in fact there has been some negotiation of that sort.

This day George Granville received a letter from the captain of the *Kinsale* to inform him that Sir Bevil died a month ago in his passage. This misfortune has touched George to the quick. I hear, by the bye, that his brother has brought from the Barbados enough to make him easy, though not in any degree such a fortune as governors usually amass. George is by his will sole executor.

Adieu! make haste to town, where the public as well as your friends wants you. No man is more entirely, dear Master, yours, than H.

CHARLES III. OF SPAIN to EARL RIVERS.

1706, November [13-]24. Valentia.—My Lord Comte, J'ay eu un gran plaisir d'apprendre par votre letre l'arrivé de la Flotte et de vos troupes de débarquement a Lisbonne. Vous entendres mes pensées par rapport a vos operations par les deux letres que vous receveres avec la presente dont la premiere est la duplicate de ma precedente. Je n'ay rien a ajuter sinon que pour ce qui est du commandement des troupes dont l'Envoyé Stanhope m'a parlé. Vous pouver conter de ne recevoir d'autres ordres, que de moy seul. Je me rapporte au surplus a ce que my lord Galloway vous ecrira sur ce sujet estant bien assuré que vous trouverez en sa personne toute la satisfaction imaginable, et je suis tousjours vous tres affectionnée esperant de vous bien tost embrasser. Charles.

PRINCE DE LICHTENSTEIN to LORD RIVERS.

1706, November [13-]24. Valencia.—Je connois assés vos grands merites pour desirer avec passion de connoitre de meme votre personne.



Les difficultés qu'il y a à craindre, que vous rencontrerez dans l'expédition des villes de Seville, et de Cadix, jointes au peu de fond qu'on scauroit faire sur l'affection des habitans de l'Andalousie me font juger, que vous quitterez sans balancer cette entreprise, pour embrasser avec plaisir l'occasion de servir sa maj<sup>e</sup> Cath : dans ses presentes necessités. Comme sa maj<sup>e</sup> la Regne votre maitresse dans le tems qu'elle vous ordonna de vous rendre avec la flotte sur les côtes de l'Andalousie ne fut apparemment informée de l'etat de nos affaires d'ici, je me flatte, que vous entrerez dans le même avis avec tous les ministres et generaux ici presens, qui ont jugé avec sa majesté que les forces de la flotte ne pourroient être employé dans la presente conjoncture plus utilement, qu'en les faisant venir en ce Royaume ; c'est en cette pensée que j'attens bien tôt l'honneur de vous embrasser, et de vous temoigner l'estime et l'attachement sincer, avec les quels je suis.

### CHARLES III. OF SPAIN to LORD RIVERS.

1706, November 24. Valencia.—J'ai été ravi d' entendre que la Flotte avec les troupes de débarquement qui se trouvent sous vos ordres soit entré dans la riviere de Lisbonne. J'espere que les contretems que vous avés rencontré en mer n'empêcheront point pourque vous ne vous remettés bientôt en état de pouvoir executer vos desseins en conformité des ordres de la Regne vôtres maitresse. Dés que j'apris la resolution de Sa Majesté Brittanique et le changement qu'elle avoit genereusement fait, en vous donnant les ordres d' aller sur les côtes de l'Andalousie au lieu de celles de France, j'ay depeché un navire expres pour vous apprendre mes intentions par rapport aux operations de la flotte, et de vos troupes de débarquement, mais comme je ne sçai point, si cette lettre ait eu le bon sort de parvenir jusques à vos mains, je vous en ai voulu mander la Duplicata ci-jointe, à la quelle je ne scaurois ajouter autre chose, si non que mes affaires s'empirant ici de jour en jour et ne nous trouvant nullement en état de nous opposer aux insultes des ennemis toujours superieures sur nous, tant en Infanterie qu'en Cavallerie, vous procuriés par tous vos soins de venir auplustôt avec la flotte et les troupes de débarquement dans la Mediterranée, pour nous mettre par ce renfort en état de pouvoir arrêter les progres des ennemis, et de recommencer nos operations pour le plus grande bien de la cause commune. Les ministres et les Generaux ici presens de la Regne vôtres maitresse, du Roy de Portugal, et de M<sup>rs</sup> les états generaux sont convenu avec moy, que comme les ennemis se sont rendu maitres de la ville de Cartagene, la flotte ne pourroit entrer dans un meilleur Port, que celui d'Alicante, faisant continuer la route aux freggattes, et aux navires de transport, pour prendre celui de Denia, pour y mettre à terre les troupes de débarquement, pour la subsistance des quelles je vas prevenir les ordres, à fin qu'a leur arrivée les vivres et les provisions pour la nourriture des hommes, et de la Cavallerie de même que toutes les choses necessaires pour le

train du bagage soyent à la main pour entrer aussi-tôt dans les operations qu'on jugera le plus convenables, et d'autant qu'on a remarqué, qu'il y a dans ce royaume et la principauté de Catalogne une grande disette des grains consumés par les ennemis et à l'occasion de la presence de nôtre armée, vous me fairés un agreable service en prenant soing de porter avec la flotte telle grande quantité de bled et d'avoine, que vous puissies ramasser à Lisbonne, Gibraltar, Tanger, Alger, ou en d'autres ports de la Barbarie, d'autant que cette provision viendra tousjours très à propos pour la subsistance de l'armée quoy que je ne laisserai point de faire faire en attendant toutes les preventions imaginables, pourqu' à vos troupes manque de rien à leur arrivée. Je me flatte que la presente aura la sort de vous rencontrer encore dans la riviere de Lisbonne, mais en tout cas qu'elle paroint en vos mains dans un tems, que vous fussiés avec les troupes actuellement engagé aux expéditions de Seville ou de Cadix, dont le succes à ce que l'on juge ici sera exposé à mille difficultés particulierement en cette saison, j'espere que vous laisserés pas pour cela de contribuer de vos bons offices à ce que l'Admiral Schovel envoie à mon assistance une escadre de vaisseaux, pour la seureté de ces côtes, et pour pouvoir entretenir la communication avec les Isles de Majorque, et d'Ivice, et pour pouvoir tacher, s'il est possible de se rendre maitre du Port de Maon, l'Isle de Minorque s'étant de même volontairement soumis à mon obeissance, et mes bons sujets de cette Islé ne desirant que quelques vaisseaux pour serrer du coté de la mer cette place qu'ils tiennent actuellement bloqué par terre. Je me rapporte au surplus à la duplicata de ma lettre precedente, en vous assurant de nouveau de mon estime et de ma parfaite reconnoissance.

GENERAL J. STANHOPE to EARL RIVERS.

1706, November [13-]24. Valentia.—I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 30th of October o.s., and am very sorry the despatches sent to your Lordship near a month ago from hence could not for want of shipping get to you. The very next day that we received news from England that your Lordship was intended to act on the coast of Spain, I sent my brother with letters from the King and my Lord Galway to go to your Lordship, but a man-of-war the *Ipswich*, which promised to call at Altea to take in our letters, did not touch there, so my brother was detained three weeks at Denia and Alicant, and embarked at last on a merchant ship. I hope he will have had the good fortune to kiss your Lordship's hands before this reaches you, but lest any accident should have prevented him you will by Col. Worseley receive duplicates of what was then writ.

Our circumstances are not mended but on the contrary since that time, having lost Cathagena, but the King and my Lord Galway write so fully to your Lordship that I have little to add on that subject.



I am very much obliged to your Lordship for the confidence you are pleased to express in me, which I shall always endeavour to make use of to the utmost of my power for the service of your Lordship and the public. I believe the King and my Lord Galway will have explained themselves to your Lordship's satisfaction on the matter your Lordship was pleased to touch to me and am fully persuaded that your Lordship will be made as easy in that matter as you can wish and desire. The Portuguese General does by virtue of our treaty claim and is in possession of the command of those troops that are on the establishment of Portugal; over those which were of my Lord Peterborough's establishment, he can pretend nothing, much less of any distinct body sent hither by the Queen to our assistance over and above what her Majesty is by any treaty obliged to furnish. The King is too much concerned in interest to have this body join him not to comply with whatever your Lordship shall insist on, and I do verily believe that your Lordship will find in my Lord Galway all manner of easiness.

The great difficulty we shall have to struggle with will be provisions, though that will be made much easier than it now is when we have ships in these seas. I am promised by the King and his ministers that all possible diligence shall be used in making magazines, but I fear the country has not wherewithal. From Majorca we may have considerable supplies so soon as any shipping comes. If from Lisbon or Barbary your Lordship and Sir Cloudesley Shovell can get any quantities of corn, and barley especially, it will be the greatest service can be done us.

*Copy.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1706, November] 15, Friday night.—I return your two Scots letters; I reckon others are come in to-day, though I have not had any, but I conclude they will not proceed upon the Union till they have perfected their Act for security of their Church. Their majority having fallen at one time from 70 to 32 has made them very apprehensive, and, I doubt, with reason.

I shall not write to the Duke of Marlborough to-night because I hope he will be here to-morrow or next day. If he can conquer animosity as well as armies his presence will be very useful in this island of Britain.

I hear Crawford is dead, so there's a government [of Sheerness] for one of his officers. The governor of Virginia [Nott] is also dead; I make no doubt but my Lord Orkney will seize upon that, and I don't see why one might not persuade him to go down to Scotland and vote for the Union, without which he can't be capable of it.

What with their lingering there and the expectation of it here, I doubt we must take the pretext of the floods for putting off the Parliaments.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, November 19.—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 30th October from Lisbon.

You will see by the instructions you will receive from Mr. Secretary Hedges by this packet that in case you are not gone from Lisbon before it arrives the Queen has changed at present her thoughts of your going to Seville and Cadiz.

This change has been occasioned partly by the delays and other misfortunes of the bad weather you have met with, but chiefly from knowing my Lord Galway's opinion by Monsieur de Montandre, now here but designed to be sent to Lisbon again within four days, that your forces could not be so useful to the King of Spain's service by joining him at Valentia as they might be by joining with the troops of the King of Portugal, and taking post now immediately upon the frontiers of Castille, that so the army may be in readiness to march to Toledo as soon as the season of the year will admit. This, M. de Montandre tells us, was my Lord Galway's opinion, and to this the Duke of Marlborough, now arrived, agrees; and the rather because we find, both by the Envoy of Portugal here and by what M. de Montandre relates of the temper in which he left the Court of Portugal, that they are now as desirous and forward to march to Madrid as they were backward last summer, because by experience they find it is not a difficult matter, and because they have no other way of disengaging their army now in Spain; and the Queen's consideration in leaving her troops under your command to act in conjunction with them will probably be so agreeable to the King of Portugal that he will give you no uneasiness in the point of command, but direct his general, who shall have the name of the chief command, to be wholly guided by you in the executive part; and we are also promised there shall be the same disposition to make you easy in furnishing all manner of necessities for the marching and subsisting of your troops.

M. de Montandre will be dispatched in a few days to Lisbon, to see all accomplished that has been promised by the King of Portugal, and from thence he is to give the King of Spain and my Lord Galway an account in what state he has left all in Lisbon, that so they may take their measures according for entering into Castille on that side at the same time you shall begin to march from the frontiers of Portugal.

*Postscript.*—I desire to make my compliments to my Lord Essex, and to tell him that he is declared Constable of the Tower.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to EARL RIVERS.

1706, November 19: Whitehall.—I herewith send your Excellency her Majesty's instruction for continuing at Lisbon in case this meets you there, and you will by express, which perhaps may reach you as soon as this, receive her Majesty's further instructions for the operations of the next campaign by entering Spain on the Portugal side, the framing of which is now under consideration; but since it is of use that your Excellency should be informed of her Majesty's intentions as soon as possible I here send you the first draught of what is designed for your instruc-



tions, that you may be the better prepared by being apprised of the measures that are taking, which I desire you will communicate to Sir Cloudesley Shovell. You will see by this draught that your letters of the 29th and 31st past are come to hand, and I hope this alteration will be agreeable to your Excellency.

Monsieur Montandre will bring you the instructions as soon as they are finished, and will more fully explain this matter to you with the inducement that inclined her Majesty to countermand her former orders.

If Mr. Methuen be at Lisbon it will be necessary to communicate all to him, who as her Majesty's minister will give your Excellency assistance in all that may be needful, being well acquainted with that Court and the temper of the people there. I enclose a letter from Lord Treasurer.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, November 26. Whitehall.—I have received the favour of your Excellency's of the 29th and 31st past with the Council of War, which having been laid before the Queen, her Majesty has thought fit to send you the inclosed instructions, a duplicate of which for more certainty will also go by the packet boat. Her Majesty has therein so fully recited the motives that induced her to give these orders that I have little occasion to trouble your Excellency with any further explanations. It is hoped they will reach you before you leave Lisbon; but whether you are still there or that these come to hand when you are advanced further towards Cadiz according to your former instructions, I am to acquaint your Excellency that you are to look upon the latitude you had then for joining the Earl of Galway as being at an end, upon the representations and proposals made by the Envoy of Portugal and Monsieur Montandre. And in case it shall not be found advisable to proceed upon those former instructions, now the season of the year is so far advanced, the men-of-war shattered and the troops fatigued with the voyage, and that the difficulties in this enterprise appear to be such as may make your success doubtful and harass your men so as not to be in a good condition to begin the campaign early, you are then to continue at Lisbon, or to return thither if you should be gone from thence.

As to the sending your Excellency particular instructions for giving out clothes or arms to the Spanish troops, or any other services that you judge tend to the advancing the interest of the common cause, her Majesty does not think it proper to give any particular directions, and leaves those matters and all minute particulars to your Excellency's discretion and prudence, not doubting but you will in all things order what shall conduce most to her service and the carrying on the main design for establishing King Charles on the throne.

Your Excellency will receive with your instructions a copy of a memorial presented to the Queen by the envoy of Portugal with the answer which was given to it by her Majesty's command.

She takes it for granted that all that is therein proposed will be effectually complied with, so that I hope your Excellency will have no difficulty with the King of Portugal in settling any of those articles, especially since he himself has proposed the same to the Marquis de Montandre; but whatever else occurs to your Excellency for facilitating the proposed design and for putting it in execution early in the year is recommended particularly to your care to be put into a good method and forwardness, so that nothing may be wanting when you come to take the field, and you are, as far as is possible, to get all necessaries provided by the King of Portugal on the most advantageous terms you can with regard to her Majesty's interest and the advancement of the service. At the same time, while all things are preparing for an early campaign on the side of Portugal, there should be no manner of neglect in dispatching the Portuguese recruits and all necessaries for the Portugal troops at Valentia, it being the reinforcements the Earl of Galway entirely depends on, and the principal inducement to his proposing that her Majesty's troops that were designed for the former expedition should act in Portugal, in conjunction with the ten thousand foot and between two and three thousand horse that the King proposes to join to them, and march to Madrid by the way of Toledo, as the most effectual means in his Lordship's opinion for putting him in a condition to co-operate on the other side and regain the capital, which it is believed will most facilitate the reducing of the whole kingdom.

The King of Portugal having writ to the Queen upon this subject, her Majesty has thought fit to return an answer, which you have herewith, wherein she gives your Excellency a credential for negotiating and adjusting everything with his Portuguese Majesty for the carrying on of this service. This letter you will please to deliver to the King, giving him assurances at the same time of her Majesty's steady and firm resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour in conjunction with his Majesty, and that you are ready to agree to settle all that remains requisite to be adjusted on the foot that his envoy here and the Marquis de Montandre have proposed; I also enclose an extract of the King's letter and a copy of her Majesty's answer for your information.

I have no orders to trouble your Excellency with anything relating to money or what may be wanting for the army, but must crave leave to refer you to my Lord Treasurer for the former and to the Secretary at War for the latter. Whatever your Excellency proposes on those heads I constantly, according to my duty, lay it before the Queen; but those are the proper channels for putting in execution all orders his Majesty thinks fit to give of that kind.

If Mr. Methuen be arrived your Excellency will please to communicate your orders to him, who, as her Majesty's envoy, you may be sure will readily assist in everything you think needful, and I have written to him upon this subject.

I send your Excellency a copy of Monsieur Montandre's proposals and the answers that have been given to them, and care



will be taken that they be complied with by the proper offices; and as to the disposal of arms you will hear from the Board of Ordnance upon that head.

*Postscript.*—Your Excellency will receive this by Monsieur Montandre, who will be able to explain to you more fully what I now write and the measures that are intended to be pursued.

*Signed.*

#### EARL RIVERS TO SIR CHARLES HEDGES.

1706, November. Lisbon.—In my last I gave you an account that pursuant to her Majesty's orders and instructions it was resolved by a Council of War to continue our voyage, in order to which that I had landed our horses that the ships and stalls might be refitted, and that I was doing my utmost endeavours to supply ourselves with the necessary horse meat for our expedition; but besides the many difficulties which are natural to this country the continual bad weather has been a great hindrance to us.

I am more than ever surprised that I have heard nothing from the King of Spain or my Lord Galway. On my part I have left nothing undone that can conduce to the ends that I have been sent about. I have dispatched an officer away to Valentia to give them an account of my arrival here and of her Majesty's orders and instructions to me, and at my request the Spanish envoy has sent a proper person into the country where we are going to bring us account of matters thence, and we may probably expect his return before we go hence. The said Spanish envoy has assured me that there is a very good disposition among the great men there to second us.

The Portuguese have given out that Alcantara was besieged, and the King sent to me to know whether I would not land any of my troops. I answered him that my orders were to join the King of Spain, and that without disobeying the Queen I could not do it; but this I believe was an invention of their own to try my pulse.

I had a general order from my Lord Treasurer whilst we were at Torbay to supply the Dutch with money to buy their own forage, victualling, &c. Upon our arrival here Brigadier Lisle Mare addressed himself to me that I would continue doing the same, for that Monsieur Schonenberg, the Dutch minister here, would do nothing in it, having no orders from his masters for so doing, which I do not wonder at, the secret of this expedition being kept from them, and our coming here altogether accidental. So that upon the whole matter I find myself necessitated to help them. He has brought me an estimate of about 7,000*l.*, part of which I have already advanced and the rest I shall pay in a few days, and by the next post I shall send you his receipt for the same. I resisted his importunity all I could, but he having told me that without this money he could not proceed with me I was forced at last to comply.

It being long since Mr. Secretary Harley promised to let me known her Majesty's pleasure what should be done with the

clothing which I have with me, designed for the French regiments, I am surprised to hear nothing from him. They were very inconveniently loaded on board several men-of-war, which being subject to be commanded away we may be disappointed of them, and therefore I shall order them to be landed here, the Admiral so desiring it, until I have power to dispose of them otherways.

We are hard at work in refitting our ships and in providing of forage, but the continual rains are a great hindrance to us, and serve the Portuguese likewise for an excuse of their no better compliance. However, I am in better hopes than I was in the writing of my last that they will perform what they have promised.

*Copy.*

DON DIEGO MENDOÇA to LORD RIVERS.

1706 [November 30.] December 11. [Lisbon.] Au Palais.—Je presentai a sa Magesté le Roy mon maistre vòtre lettre de le 11<sup>e</sup> du current, et sa Magesté m'ordonâ de vous remercier de sa part de vos souhaits pour la prosperité de son regne; come aussi du chagrin; que vous témoignes, vous á causé la mort du feu Roy son Pere.

Sa ditte Magesté m'ordonâ aussi de vous assurer, qu'elle continuera à observer l'alliance faite par le feu Roy son Pere avec la Reyne vòtre Maitresse, et les autres Princes Alliés, faisant observer de son côté, tout ce qu' á été estipulé dans le Traité, continuant la guerre avec le même vigueur, que jusqu' a present; parceque elle est dans les mêmes intentions, que estoit le Roy son Pere; et sa Magesté á chargé son Envoyé à Londres de communiquer celà a la Reyne vòtre Maitresse.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1706, December [1-]12. [Lisbon.] Au Palais.—Avant hier j'avois ajusté avec Mr. Richard chez Mr. Methuyn qu'on devoit envoyer avec Torres un ministre de sa Majesté, pour faire transporter ici toute la paille qu'il faudroit pour vos chevaux, et que meme votre Excellencie enverra un Anglois qui parleroit portugais pour aller avec eux, croyant que cela seroit plus convenable pour avoir de la paille, car si on arrete cet homme la, nous aurons de la pene a l'avoir citot:

Le Ministre et Torres, n'attendant que le commissaire Anglois pour partir faites moy la grace de mander si vous souhaitez, qu'on aille on bien que le dit Torres soit arrêté j'attens votre reponse.

EARL RIVERS to SIR CHARLES HEDGES.

1706, December 3-14. Lisbon.—I have before me yours of the 1st, 15th, 17th, 28th, 29th of October and 1st of November, to all which I will make answer in the amplest manner I can, though as yet I have not heard one word from either the King of Spain



or my Lord Galway, whose advices are so necessary for my conduct I have writ them by five several occasions, and I presume that they have been writ [to] from home by the way of Italy. As to Mr. Crow I have not as yet seen him.

In all my former letters I have acquainted you that it was still my opinion, as likewise that of the Council of War (a copy of which was sent you), to pursue her Majesty's first orders and instructions, and in the same opinion I still remain, but under the restrictions mentioned in yours, and particularly that of the 29th of October, pursuant to which we shall determine what is most advantageous to her Majesty's service, and the end to which I was sent, which is the reduction of Spain.

I am sorry to tell you that the Duke of Anjou, suspecting the fidelity of his officers and governors in Andalusia, has about a month ago turned them all out and sent others in their room. He did it not without reason, for we had several good assurances that divers of them were our friends, but as yet we do not hear that they have detached any troops that way.

As to the conjunction of these troops under my command with those of my Lord Galway, I shall punctually comply with the same pursuant to her Majesty's instructions, the circumstances of our affairs, and the judgment of the Council of War; but as to my serving in person I hope her Majesty will have the goodness to excuse me, it being well known that I came not abroad but in view of the honour of commanding alone, and yet when her service required me to go to Spain I readily condescended, not doubting but that at least the command of these troops would have remained with me, whoever I had joined; but seeing her Majesty's pleasure is now otherwise, I will carry these troops up to Valentia (in case it shall be judged necessary so to do), and so return for England, having resolved to serve under nobody but his Royal Highness or the Duke of Marlborough.

I observe her Majesty's order to suspend for some time her former instructions about proposing to the King of Portugal that we should pay his troops in Valentia.

The secret of our expedition is as entire as when we arrived here, neither shall I reveal it until the last, when I will make all the efforts possible upon the King to co-operate with us, which I wish he may be induced to; but as to his giving us any horses to be repaid again in specie by horses to be sent from England, I fear that he will scarcely condescend to, however it shall be proposed.

That the enemy infinitely exceeds us in horse if we do not make some extraordinary effort is certain, and consequently will prove an invincible difficulty to a long march, such as we must make if we will go for Madrid. Among all the projects that have been proposed to me to reinforce ours, there is none that in all respects does answer the design as to have a good body of veteran horse from Italy, provided they can be spared, for our transports so soon as we are secured ashore may go fetch them; but of this her Majesty is the best judge whether it be feasible or no.

The King of Portugal has established two boats at Faro to run between that place and Gibraltar. Sir Cloudesley Shovell has ordered two frigates to attend them, to take up the letters and carry them to Alicant, so that provided the winds be favourable we shall have letters every fifteen days, but inasmuch as the westerly winds do reign here for months together (as at present) I believe it will be judged proper that a couple of feluccas be employed to run between Barcelona and Genoa so soon as the season of the year will permit them.

Whereas in yours of the first of October, it appears that the article in my manifesto relating to the protection of the loyal Spaniards, navigation was thought too particular and that without communicating this matter with the States General it was not to be done. I was in hopes to have been further directed therein, for want of which I have by advice of Sir Cloudesley Shovell inserted this clause, we having judged it necessary to say something to this purpose, which I hope will meet with her Majesty's approbation:—

“And furthermore we declare that all his Catholic Majesty's subjects who shall render their obedience to their lawful King shall be protected in their navigation, to which end the Queen, my mistress, at the request of King Charles, has sent already a powerful squadron to the Spanish West Indies to protect and secure the states and effects of those Spaniards who by their loyalty shall merit this grace and favour, and to convoy and bring back their said Spanish ships to Cadiz or Seville provided the said places are in the obedience of his Catholic Majesty, King Charles.”

I have often writ to have orders how to dispose of the clothing which I have with me, and which was designed for the French. I do presume that it may be her Majesty's intentions to bestow it upon such of the Spaniards as shall come in to us, but about this I desire to have her Majesty's further instructions.

The King of Portugal is dead, and his son will be proclaimed to-morrow. What influence this will have on our affairs and whatever else relates to this Court I entirely remit you to Mr. Methuen; however, I think it proper to send you a copy of letter writ me by the Secretary of State.

*Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, December 4. “St. Jeameses.”—Finding upon my arrival from Holland, the Marquis de Montandre ready to return to Portugal with the Queen's letters to the King, and her Majesty's instructions to your Lordship, 'tis with great satisfaction that I lay hold of this opportunity to congratulate your safe arrival on that side after so troublesome and hazardous a voyage. I shall not entertain you with the measures we are taking for carrying on the war in the Low Countries, having fully instructed the Marquis on that subject for your information,



## THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, December 4. London.—The Queen was pleased yesterday to give me the seals in the room of Sir Charles Hedges, and to allot me the Southern Province, which is particularly agreeable to me, as what will give me frequent opportunities of corresponding with your Lordship. I am very sensible of the difficulties of such an employment, but as our friends would have me undertake it, so I shall always endeavour by their support and assistance to be as useful as I can be to the honest interest. I wish your Lordship all good success.

## LORD SOMERS TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, December 4. London.—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the eighth of November, and I assure you it was very welcome to me, for after the account we had of your dangerous voyage, it was no little pleasure to me to be assured from your own hand that you were safe and well. I have found an opportunity of discoursing particularly, upon the subject of the necessity of your Lordship being well supplied, with my Lord Treasurer. He gave me a fair occasion, and I laid hold of it, with respect to the general service, as well as of my friendship to your Lordship, which obliged me to desire that everything should prosper in your hands. Nobody could speak more kindly and promise more fully. He said his whole heart was on the business you were employed in, and that nothing should be wanting. I hope what he does will be suitable and I can ask no more.

My Lord Galway has proposed your acting with the Portuguese, as the most effectual way to advance the interest of King Charles. I have understood that a great deal is still left to your judgment. I believe you will find the Marquis de Montandre to have good sense and to be capable of acquainting your Lordship of the humour of the Portuguese and of the inclination and qualification of their persons. Be pleased to allow me to suggest that they will promise anything to oblige you to stay with them, for the troops they have in Spain give them a real concern; but on the other side I hope that your Lordship will take all precautions possible that they may observe what they promise to you.

I hope you have heard long since of the answer about Guernsey, that the General Ch[urchill] had an old promise of it. After this nothing could be said I find.

At length Lord Sunderland is Secretary in place of Sir Ch. Hedges, and for the same province, for which I congratulate your Lordship.

I can wish nothing more than I do your success. I will mind nothing more than your affairs.

## EARL RIVERS TO SIR CHARLES HEDGES.

1706, December 6-17. Lisbon.—I have already writ you under the 3-14 current, but it was afterwards judged necessary to detain

the packet boat until Col. Worsley arrived with the King of Spain's letter, &c., which he did two days ago, the import of which is to this purpose. That the enemy is so superior to them in both horse and foot that in case we be not already engaged in the enterprise of Cadiz, the King as well as the General Officers do earnestly desire that we may come to his succour, which in a Council of War, of which you have here a copy, we resolved to do with all possible expedition, and we now stay for nothing else but a little straw which I wish we may get in so far as ten or twelve days.

Furthermore, the King of Spain and Mr. Stanhope do earnestly desire that we should bring with us all the bread and corn we can, and particularly barley, of all which there is there great scarcity, for which reason I have ordered the buying up one hundred days bread and corn for the troops under my command and I shall leave nothing unattempted to procure the same from Algiers, Tunis, Majorca, &c., for as to the rest of Barbary I fear they will not supply us with any, and yet these my endeavours are not so entirely to be depended upon but that I judge it would be necessary to send some ships from England laden with wheat and barley and biscuit to Alicant; it is keeping so much money in the nation and may if not wanted be sold to profit.

I am informed that our troops there are very weak, to recruit which as well as my own, I conceive there are but three ways, one of which her Majesty in her great prudence will be pleased to make use of. The first is to send entire regiments with a very few officers, which so soon as they have landed their men in Spain will return back again to the rest of their officers in England, who in the meantime will be raising of their regiments again.

The second is by breaking of the weakest regiments into the strongest and sending the officers back again to raise them anew. And if there was some such general rule, that when a regiment should be reduced to such a number (without having been in service) it should be broken into another, it might oblige the officers to be more careful of their men.

The third way is by drafts, which occasions great confusion in their accounts.

We received some letters from Valentia, which we might have had near a month sooner had there been a frigate to have brought them away, or indeed had not the Captain of the man-of-war disappointed him, of which his Catholic Majesty and my Lord Galway do complain, and indeed this is a matter of such consequence that he does earnestly desire that three or four small frigates may have orders to attend that coast and to obey such orders as they shall receive from the King of Spain, or in his absence the General commanding her Majesty's forces, and indeed that all other frigates despatched with letters may be obliged upon the King's request to stay for his answer. I do not say this to offend Sir C. Shovell, who is very forward and zealous in whatever relates to the public service, that this precaution would not be necessary if we were always sure of having him here.



We are so very weak in horses, and the enemy is so very superior to us that there is nothing that I will leave unattempted to reinforce them, pursuant to her Majesty's instructions. I am told that there are some in Valentia, which I will immediately buy up, and draw the money upon Mr. Morice, but lest these my endeavours should prove futile I hope that her Majesty will be pleased to reflect upon my former proposal of procuring a body of good serviceable horse to be sent from Italy upon our transports.

The King of Spain having lost this campaign a great part of his infantry, my Lord Galway has writ to Mr. Morice (not supposing me to be here) to pay another Spanish regiment to be raised out of the garrison of Alcantara, pursuant to which I have given the necessary orders, the plan of which regiment and its expense shall be sent you next packet, and I doubt not but that my Lord Treasurer will make account thereof in order to be regularly subsisted.

I, having by this occasion received all the satisfaction I could expect both from the King of Spain and my Lord Galway in relation to the command of those troops which are now under my orders, have resolved to go with them to Valentia and to continue there until her Majesty shall give her further direction therein, the said Earl of Galway having in divers of his letters assured me that he was desirous of going home on account of his health, and that immediately upon my arrival he would remit the command even of his own to me.

*Copy.*

#### EARL RIVERS to the LORD TREASURER.

1706, December 6-17. Lisbon.—I will not trouble your Lordship with the repetition of what I have writ Mr. Secretary, to whom you will please to be referred. Your Lordship will be informed that pursuant to the King of Spain's earnest desire and the unanimous opinion of the Generals there, that without being powerfully succoured they run a hazard of being entirely undone. I have resolved together with a Council of War to make all possible haste to their assistance.

I have here had from Mr. Morice the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling, which I judge will subsist us to the latter end of April, supposing that there be no necessity of any extraordinary expense as the buying up of horses, &c., which I am resolved to do in case they are to be had, and therefore I hope that your Lordship will be very forward in the remitting hither proportionable sums, I say remitting, because that I am informed that this place will not always afford the great sums ordinary and extraordinary which this remote war does require, and therefore if your Lordship should approve of it, I judge it very necessary that a sufficient credit was likewise lodged in Genoa or Leghorn for any emergent occasion.

I have a favour to beg of you which is that in the regiments designed hither that my Lord Barrymore may not be one of

them, and I have so great a confidence in your Lordship's friendship that I entirely remit whatever I shall ask or propose in relation to myself to your better judgement, so that whatever you think is not fitting to be done that you will not so much as mention it, and on the contrary whatever is just and reasonable I shall always meet with your Lordship's concurrence therein, and therefore I beg that your Lordship will be very plain with me and in that manner answer whatever I have and shall propose to you.

I am informed that there comes over to us a good many French deserters, so that my design is to complete Guiscard's regiment so soon as I can, and whereas it is not to be expected that it should be well governed without a Colonel, I beg that her Majesty will either give me the said regiment or permit me to nominate a Colonel.

The next thing in which I desire your Lordship's advice is what I should do in case the King of Spain should propose to me to take any commission from him which my Lord Peterborough did, and I hear that my Lord Galway has lately done from the Emperor. I must confess that I thought it so reasonable the remaining with the command of these troops (whenever the service should require that I should join) that I proposed it both to the King and my Lord Galway, to which they having readily condescended, I have resolved not only to go up with the troops to Valentia, but to stay with them, and my Lord Galway has likewise further assured me in divers letters that he is still desirous of going home upon account of his health and that therefore he will remit the troops under his command to me. I wish I was as able as I am willing to undertake anything for her Majesty's service, but I being conscious of my own insufficiency, I entirely remit myself to her Majesty's pleasure.

I hope that the Spanish regiment which I take with me, as likewise the other to be raised by order of my Lord Galway (as you will see more at large by what I have writ Mr. Secretary), will be comprehended in your Lordship's calculations of this future year's expenses to the end that they may be regularly paid as well as our own troops.

*Copy.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to EARL RIVERS.]

1706, December 16.—I have had the honour to read to the Queen your Lordship's of the 29th of November. Her Majesty thinks the resolutions you propose to take in case of your forces joining with my Lord Galway very prudent and reasonable, but we are in good hopes the orders from hence to stop you at Lisbon may come in time to keep you there, since the accident of the King of Portugal's death will probably increase the delays you met with before in getting all things ready for your leaving it, besides that the season of the year, through the many accidents which have concurred to detain you so long, is now very little proper for such an expedition as was at first designed.



These considerations, joined with our accounts from Valentia that they want all manner of subsistence for the troops already there, have determined the Queen to agree to the plan brought by M. de Montandre from the Earl of Galway that your Lordship with the troops under your command should, in conjunction, with the forces of the King of Portugal, endeavour to make a diversion on that side as early as the season of the year will admit of your taking the field.

The orders to this purpose went from hence time enough to have reached you before the fleet could have sailed, but they have unluckily been long kept back by contrary winds, which makes us now very uneasy under the uncertainty whether they have come in time to you or not. If you have received them I believe you will find great assistance from M. de Montandre in the execution of them, since he knows all that country very well, is perfectly acquainted with the humour and temper of the Portuguese, and capable of being very serviceable to you.

I shall only add that our Parliament here is so unanimous in carrying on the war next year everywhere with all the vigour imaginable, that whatever they gave out, or brag of, in Spain, it will be impossible for France to spare them any troops, since they will have their hands very full on the side of Dauphiné, on the Rhine, and in Flanders.

#### THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, December 17. Whitehall.—This sudden accident of the King of Portugal's death makes us very uneasy here, and apprehensive of some ill turn in our affairs there, upon this new Government. It is a very fortunate thing for her Majesty's service that your Lordship is there with the troops and fleet at so critical a juncture, and I am sure you will improve it to the best advantage. I send by this packet, credentials and commission of ambassador to Mr. Methuen, notwithstanding which her Majesty thought it would be taken as a mark of her great regard to the new King to have the first compliments made to him by one of your Lordship's figure and quality, and therefore has writ a *lettre de cachette* with her own hand to him which I send you here enclosed. Your Lordship will at the same time make the compliments of condolence and congratulation with the assurances of the Queen's desire of continuing in the strictest amity and friendship with him, and in order to it she has sent instructions to Mr. Methuen, her residing ambassador there, to renew the treaties now in force, which he will acquaint you with.

I hope by this time you have received the last orders that were sent about joining the troops with the Portuguese. This accident of the King of Portugal's death makes that yet more necessary.

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1706, December 20. Whitehall.—Having received your Lordship's letters from Lisbon of the 3-14 December and of the 6-17, by which the condition of our affairs in Valentia seems to require

your going forthwith thither with the troops under your command; I am to acquaint your Lordship that it is her Majesty's pleasure that you do go thither with the troops as soon as possible, notwithstanding any orders you may receive to the contrary, those having been sent before it was known how much the King of Spain and my Lord Galway did want your assistance. By the next packet your Lordship will receive full answers to and directions upon your last letters.

PRINCE DE LICHTENSTEIN to LORD RIVERS.

1706, December [20-]31. Valencia.—Je me flatte que ces lignes auront le bon sort de vous être rendu en chemin vers la Méditerranée, suivant les derniers avis de Lisbonne, par les quels nous apprimes, que vous seriez en peu de jours prêt pour mettre à la voile avec la flotte, et les troupes de débarquement. Comme sa Majesté par la ci-jointe vous renouvelle ses instances pour venir au plus-tôt à son secours, et de ces pais menacés de toutes parts d'un nouvelle invasion d'autant plus grande, et dangereuse, que nous n'avons point des forces à la main pour les opposer aux leurs, qui restent tousjours dans la superiorité, et s'agrandissent de plus en plus par les grands renfors, qui leur viennent de la France, j'espere que votre zele et votre grande application pour l'avancement des interêts de sa Majesté et pour la seureté de sa Royale personne ne balanceront aucunement pour venir incessamment à nôtre secours. C'est dans cette esperance que je me promets d'avoir bien-tôt l'honneur de vous embrasser, et de vous temoigner l'attachement et la passion sincere, avec les quels je suis, &c.

KING CHARLES OF SPAIN to LORD RIVERS.

1706, December [20-]31. Valencia.—Quoy que je suis assuré de vôtre Zele, qu' après avoir reçu mes lettres precedentes du 29 Octobre et 24 Novembre vous aurés fait toutes les dispositions et diligences possibles pour venir à mon secours avec la Flotte, et les troupes de débarquement, qui se trouvent sous vos ordres, je ne scaurois néanmoins laisser de nouvellier avec cette occasion les instances que je vous fis de venir au plus tôt dans la Méditerranée avec toutes les forces, et des provisions que vous aurés pû ramasser, a fin qu'à leur arrivée on soit d'autant plus en état d'entreprendre les operations qu'on jugera les plus convenables. Comme les ennemis tiennent tousjours la superiorité des armes dans ces pays, et qu'ils vont former un corps considerable dans le Roussillon pour assaillir derechef ma principauté de Catalogne, et que d'ailleurs par les avis que j'ay, je ne scaurois me promettre aucun secours du coté de l'Italie, vous jugerés assés de la pressante necessité de venir avec toute la promptitude imaginable à mon assistance y ayant tout lieu de craindre, que faute de votre puissant secours, et les ennemis faissant tous les efforts possibles pour attaquer ces terres de deux cotés, et pour me prendre au milieu, ma personne, et par consequent toute l'expédition d'Espagne pourroit être reduite dans la même extremité ou elle



se trouva d'hyver passé. Votre claire voyance est trop grande pour ne point s'appercevoir que ce seroit la dernière des toutes les disgrâces, qui pourroit arriver à la cause commune dans la belle situation des affaires, ou nous sommes par tout ailleurs hormis en Espagne. Ou me vient de faire un portrait si vif de vos grandes qualités, et de votre application pour le bien de mon service et de la cause commune, que je me repose entièrement sur votre zèle, que vous ne tarderé point un moment, pour m'amener votre secours, comme étant le seul, qui pourra mettre ma personne, et toutes ces terres à couvert des insultes, dont elles sont menacées. C'est le plus grand, et le plus agréable service, que vous sauriés jamais rendre en cette conjoncture à un Prince plein de reconnaissance, et d'estime pour votre personne.

#### KING CHARLES OF SPAIN to LORD RIVERS.

[1706, December 23.] 1707, January 2. Valencia.—Ayant appris quoy qu'avec incertitude que la Flotte avoit paru sur la hauteur d'Alicante, Je vous envoie mon adjudant-Royal Paul Lipperz de Rosendal pour vous recevoir et vous féliciter sur votre heureuse arrivée. Comme je fais tous mes efforts autant que la constitution de ces pays le permet, pour qu'à l'arrivée des troupes de débarquement, qui se trouvent sous vos ordres elles entrassent d'abord aux opérations les plus nécessaires pour l'ouverture de la Campagne. Je vous mande ci joint le projet, dont je suis convenu avec les généraux ici présents, et dont Mylord Gallway vous écrira plus largement, sur lequel je m'en rapporte, esperant, que votre grand zèle, application et expérience ne tarderont guères à le mettre promptement en exécution, et que vous me marquerés en quoy je vous puisse assister d'ici, pour seconder les glorieuses expéditions, que vous allés entreprendre pour mon service, et celui de la cause commune. Sur quoy je prie Dieu qu'il vous aye Mylord dans sa sainte garde, et en attendant le plaisir de vous voir, et de vous embrasser bientôt, je vous assure de ma parfaite estime, et bienveillance.

#### LORD SOMERS to EARL RIVERS.

1706, December 23. London.—Though I had not the honour of receiving a letter from you by the packet boat which brought an account of your being upon the point of embarking for Spain (which is a resolution very different from that which Mons. Montandre reported to be the opinion of my Lord Galway at the time when he was here before), yet I cannot forbear to send this second letter by him, to wish you all possible prosperity in your intended voyage. I pray God you may meet with all things in a tolerable condition, and may be able to set yourself well with our King of Spain, which, as far as I find, may not prove a very easy matter.

My Lord Galway has a temper and practice in business very likely to have won upon this young King, but it is said he has

not succeeded. Your Lordship will soon find how the fact is, and from what grounds any uneasiness or coldness has proceeded, and if it can be set right by any other management. You will also find that before any thoughts of your going to Valentia the Queen had wrote to the King of Spain pressing him in the most earnest manner to hearken to my Lord Galway and to be advised by him, and the Queen and ministers in their letters to my Lord Galway have been pressing with him to continue in his command.

I have been confined by a rheumatic pain for this week to my chamber, and therefore am not so well able to give you an account of what they write now, but it is certainly to the same effect. The best service I can do your Lordship is to acquaint you sincerely of the sentiments of your friends and of those who mean well, upon such an occasion as this which was not foreseen or thought of when we parted. They think it would be wrong for your Lordship in such a juncture to refuse to serve, if my Lord G. should resolve to continue to command; they think it would be to sacrifice Europe to a punctilio, and what would have a very wrong interpretation in England, where it is believed nobody but my Lord G. has the art of dealing with the Portuguese: and give me leave to say, it would be a very melancholy thought to me, to have the Earl R[ivers] and the Earl of P[eterborough] abandoning the service upon the same ground.

Perhaps I have said too much upon this subject but it is out of the sincerity of my heart, and therefore you will interpret it rightly. I will ask your leave to add a few words more. If this be the case I hope your Lordship will go along with my Lord Galway, who has expressed great respect for you in his letters, and who is certainly a very easy man to be lived with. But if he will persist in declining to serve longer, which by all his letters is most probable, I am promised that everything shall be done to form a good opinion of Lord Rivers with the King of Spain and to increase and improve his credit and weight with him. Our new Secretary assures me he has orders to write this to you, and my Lord Treasurer said to me he would not fail to write fully this night to this effect. My dear Lord, do not take ill anything I may write out of want of knowledge of military affairs, but let me deal plainly with you; I have long desired to see you in a circumstance wherein you might shew what you could and would do for your own honour and that of your country. I am sure no man alive is better qualified. I am not sure that things in Spain are in a very hopeful posture, but for God's sake if it be any way practicable make the best of it, and do not let men have a pretence to say you threw away the opportunity out of a humour.

#### THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, December 23. Whitehall.—I have received your Lordship's letters to Sir Charles Hedges of the 3-14 and 6-17 of December, and must acquaint you that her Majesty does entirely approve



of the resolution you have taken of going as soon as possible with the troops under your command to Valentia, where the King of Spain and Lord Galway seem to be so much in want of them, and it is her pleasure that you should go on forthwith, notwithstanding any orders you may receive to the contrary (such orders having been sent some time since, upon former advices from Portugal). As for Lord Galway's staying there, it is her Majesty's opinion that, if he can be persuaded to it, it is absolutely necessary for the service he should, considering the influence he has upon the Portuguese, and that nobody has been able to manage them but him. My Lord Treasurer and I have writ to him accordingly by the Queen's command. If he is persuaded to stay, the Queen is disposed to do whatever is possible to make your Lordship easy in the service, but of this I beg leave to refer to what my Lord Treasurer will write, who I know intends to write very fully to you upon this subject; however, at all events in case he should retire, or that his indisposition should not allow him to act, I do by her Majesty's command send to your Lordship a commission to command in chief all the forces in Spain in the absence of my Lord Galway; and your Lordship may depend upon it, that there is nothing in the Queen's power to do, to engage the King of Spain to be influenced entirely by your advice, that she won't do, and in everything to give you that credit and authority which is so necessary for the service.

I must also acquaint you that since her Majesty is willing that your Lordship and the troops with you should join the King of Spain and the forces in Valentia, it is expected that all the troops there should act together as much as possible, in order to march straight to Madrid, and not amuse themselves in lesser projects, which possibly some about the King may be too fond of. There will also be such assurances given to Portugal of sending some troops to join theirs as may engage them to make a diversion on that side and also to send their recruits to Valentia.

As for the want your Lordship mentions of horse, if there be any to be bought in Valentia, or from any other part, her Majesty leaves it entirely to you, but desires that what are bought may be in the first place for the English troops.

As to any veteran horse, which may be had from Italy, that must be left to the King of Spain's management with the Emperor, though I fear that will not be found practicable; and I hope they may be of as great use there, for I must acquaint you that there are measures now taking in Italy, that I hope will effectually prevent the French from sending more forces into Spain.

As to the provisions, there is a great quantity of biscuit prepared to be shipped for Valentia, as much as will serve 20,000 men for thirty days, which will be sent by the first convoy. For any other provisions, you may doubtlessly have them from Algiers, Tunis and Majorca; however if more is wanted they will be sent.

As for the clothing which you have with you, and which was designed for the French, it is her Majesty's pleasure that you offer it to our regiments that want, provided they will take it upon their own account, and if they won't, to the Spanish but upon

the same terms. As to the methods your Lordship proposes of recruiting the troops, that of breaking the weakest regiments into the strongest, and then sending the officers to England to raise them anew, is the method that has been taken and directions have been given accordingly.

I send you here enclosed a copy of a letter of Mons. Cavalier to the Queen. If you think the design practicable, and that the circumstances of affairs do permit it, her Majesty thinks it should be encouraged.

*Postscript.*—I must not forget telling you that her Majesty has recalled my Lord Peterborough, and that I have accordingly sent letters of revocation.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, December 23.—I have had the honour to read to the Queen your letter of the 6th December, with the account of Colonel Worsley's return to you, and the desires of the King of Spain that you should forthwith bring the troops to Valentia, and your resolutions to do so accordingly.

Her Majesty approves of all you have done, and seemed very well pleased with the freedom you allow me of writing my thoughts plainly to you upon all occasions of importance to the service in which you are engaged.

In pursuance then of that method I must acquaint your Lordship that in case my Lord Galway can by any means be prevailed with to stay with the army or with the King of Spain, the Queen and all her Council are fully of opinion that is in the first place to be endeavoured for the good of the service; and in that case they also think that your Lordship will do yourself right in the opinion of her Majesty and the whole kingdom if you continue to stay with the troops; and, in case of my Lord Galway's absence, the Queen sends you a commission to command the whole in the same manner as my Lord Galway does, and will also recommend you as effectually to the King of Spain's favour and consideration.

As to the commission you mention from his Christian Majesty of the same nature with what my Lord Galway had from the Emperor it is thought here more for the Queen's honour that you decline it, unless you evidently find the service is like to suffer for want of such a distinction.

You should not expect now that any troops should follow you; whatever can be spared from hence will be sent to Portugal to contribute to a diversion on that side.

Monsieur de Montandre, who will give you this, was despatched ten days ago with a plan of another nature, but having been forced back by contrary winds he has been sent for up hither, upon the news of your going to Valentia, and new instructions given him accordingly.

I refer to him and Mr. Walpole to give you a particular account of the vigour and dispatch of our Parliament.



## THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, December 23. London.—This is the second letter you will receive from me by the Marquis Montandre. Since I wrote my first we have advice that you are preparing to sail in few days for Valentia, where I hope this will find you safely arrived with the troops, and preparing to take the field. I exhort the King in the most earnest manner that no time be lost in entering upon action before the French can have any considerable succours, and that his Majesty would please to afford a greater share of his confidence to the Queen's generals, to the want whereof we may in some measure attribute our past misfortunes. I intimate the same thing to Comte Noyelles and tell him that as you are old acquaintance I doubt not but there will be a perfect friendship between you. Your Lordship will soon find I believe that he has a great deal of credit with the King, and doubt not but you will be able to improve it as may be most for the service.

I must refer you for what passes here to the Marquis of Montandre, and pray you will believe me with much truth, &c.

## EARL RIVERS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1706, December 25. Lisbon.—I had done myself the honour to have writ to your Grace before, but that I have been so unfortunate in everything that I was to undertake that I had nothing to communicate to you worth your acceptance. These last instructions I received for my landing here will I fear prove more fatal still, for they are neither in a condition to do what is promised by Montandre and their envoy, nor, I have great reason to believe, willing if they were. This King is very young and entirely governed by the D[uke] of Cadaval, and his ministers are much the greatest part of the same principle; this by all that I can learn is certain, that if the King of Spain is not by me or speedily by some number of troops from England or Ireland supported, he will be forced to quit Spain. His expression in one of his letters is that if I did not come soon to his assistance he should be in a worse condition than he was last year. In order to which I had embarked the dragoons and, had not instructions come to the contrary, had sailed in two days.

I have by the advice of the general land and sea officers communicated to the King of Portugal by writing those conditions which her Majesty does expect he should agree to. Had it been left to me upon refusal not to have put my troops on shore in case any material matter demanded had been refused, then I could have known how to have acted, but I am ordered to insist upon some things which I shall heartily do, and not told how to act if denied; however I shall upon their answer, with the advice of the general officers and envoy of England and Holland, and if there be any room left that I can be safe, proceed still on and endeavour to save the King of Spain, who I fear will be lost before I can assist him; the Duke of Berwick being much stronger both in horse and foot. My Lord Galway has dealt ungentlemanlike by me, never so much as to mention the message

he sent Montandre about to England as to my landing here, but on the contrary presses me to come forthwith and land at Alsen and Denia or the King of Spain will be lost, or to that effect. All that he says of Portugal in a letter of an old date is, that if the Admiral does think it too late in the year to venture into the straits the next best thing is to land here. This I say in confidence lest the King of Spain suffer by its being known and not on my own account, for I value no one's displeasure of a subject but your Grace's and Lord Treasurer's which I will always endeavour to preserve.

The Portuguese envoy has put in his memorial what is false, wherein he says these troops under my command are furnished with equipage which will be of great use, the country not being able to supply them. Your Grace will be informed that there were but three horses to a battalion allowed to be transported and most of them were lost at sea or dead since. I am very well assured that the rest of his proposals has as little truth in them, but I shall let the King know we can not, if we are so unfortunate as to land here, march but by the same appointed [way?] as the troops under Lord Galway did.

*Copy in Lord Rivers' handwriting.*

#### EARL RIVERS to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1706, December 25, o.s. Lisbon.—Under the 5th current I gave Mr. Secretary Hedges an account of the resolution here taken by a Council of War, pursuant to her Majesty's instructions, and the unanimous desires of the King of Spain and my Lord Galway, as likewise the generals and ministers that assist in that Court, all which import that they were not in a condition to take the field, by reason of the great superiority of the enemy both in horse and foot, that they were apprehensive that they would attack Alicant, and that without our coming they would be exposed to the last extremities, and the King of Spain went so far as to conclude that without my coming he would be reduced to a worse condition than he was last year, besieged in some miserable town.

Pursuant to the said resolution I had actually embarked the dragoons and should have sailed within a day or two. Your Lordship may therefore believe that it was very surprising to me to receive her Majesty's instructions, which were brought me by this packet boat, to land all her forces here, and that the Queen should be advised thereto by my Lord Galway, who but a little before insisted so hard upon my joining him.

It is true the Queen does order me in her instructions to insist not only upon what the envoy of Portugal and Montandre have offered there, but likewise some other points, but there being no instructions given me what to do in case the King should not perform what his envoy has promised or the Queen does expect from him, which in truth I fear he cannot nor will not do, his answer therefore can only be referred to the judgment of a Council of War of our sea and land officers, wherein I designed



the Ministers of our Allies shall be present, pursuant to which I shall stay or go, and I having already given to the King of Portugal in writing a demand of what the Queen expects from him (a copy of which I send you), I am in hopes to have his answer before the packet boat goes, if not, it must be the subject matter of my next.

If after all the Queen does judge it for her service to have a body of troops in this country, I cannot but esteem myself a very improper person to command them. The just resentment which I have shown of their unfair dealing with us in detaining us here so long, the affront they have lately put upon the Queen's fleet, the particulars of which I refer you to Sir C. Shovell, who on this occasion has exerted himself in a manner becoming an English Admiral, and my constant though civil refusal of landing any of her troops without her orders has put me upon such a foot as I fear does unqualify me to serve with them, and besides I know neither their language nor their customs. But my Lord Galway who by his long service and experience in this country has judged that they are capable of doing great matters, I take to be the more proper person to see them performed.

I have here with me part of the clothing of the French regiments, the rest remaining in Ireland with the commissary who is incharged with them. I have often writ for orders to dispose of them and without them I will not do it, so that until then they will be of no use to us.

I do not doubt but that Mr. Methuen does fully inform her Majesty of the state of the Portuguese troops in this country, and yet I think it is my duty to let her know what I am credibly informed of that their foot exceeds not 4,000 at present, and their horse exceeds not 1,500 effective; what probability there is that they can send 6 or 7,000 recruits to Valentia, and put the number which they have promised into the field may be easily comprehended by anybody that has the least knowledge of the country.

The King of Spain and my Lord Galway having writ to me so positively to bring with me what corn I can procure, more especially barley, and saying that this could have been furnished in great measure from Majorca and other places, had they had some men-of-war and transports to fetch it, and I having mentioned in my last to the Secretary of State that I thought it proper that some men-of-war should be left under command of the King of Spain and her Majesty's generals, but upon further inquiry I find that Sir George Bing had ordered some for that purpose, which men-of-war are by chance since hobbled to Genoa. The Admiral tells me that he will leave some for that service. I cannot help upon this occasion saying that never any man was more zealous for her Majesty's service, nor more kind to her troops in assisting them with everything that is necessary. I do not doubt but Sir G. Bing will do the same when he is gone.

*Copy.*

## EARL RIVERS to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1706, December 31. Lisbon.—In my last I sent your Lordship a copy of the proposals which pursuant to the Queen's instructions I presented to the King of Portugal, to which I had some days since his Majesty's answer (a copy of which I do likewise send you). By it you may perceive that as to the first point they assign neither the number of their recruits nor the time for their shipping off, and we are very well assured that it would be to no purpose if they did, they having few or none in the country, and that in Valentia they want 7,000.

As to the second point, they positively refuse that the Queen should have the paying of those subsidies which she and the States give them.

As to the third, they expect that the Queen should be at the expense of transporting their troops in case they should send any to Valentia.

As to the fourth about the 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse, they were to join me, their answer is only in general that they will raise the most they can, but we are assured that they can never comply in this point and indeed had they had any real design they would have begun their levies a great while ago.

As to the fifth about the carriage of the train stores of war and mouth provisions and the baggage of the army, they will be at no expense, but put it all upon the Queen and troops.

As to the sixth, the command of the army, they will have it whether they understand it or no.

It concludes that the country is indeed in great want of provisions and carriage so that it is not possible to provide for so great an army, and therefore demands but 4,000 foot and all our horse, the rest they desire may be sent to the King of Spain who they are very sensible is in want of them.

Upon the receipt of this answer I called a Council of War, of whose resolutions I here send you a copy, and I hope that what has been so maturely deliberated and so unanimously resolved will likewise meet with her Majesty's approbation.

It being therefore resolved that we should sail for Valentia it is very proper that your Lordship be informed of the number and strength of our forces there, which by the exactest account I can get is from 11 to 12,000 foot and 3 to 4,000 horse, comprehending the English, Dutch, Spaniards and Portuguese, as you may see more particularly by the enclosed list. What I carry with me is about 9,000 men.

From Spain we are informed that they have given out commissions for levying of 16,000 men in order to complete their army to 40,000 of which 10,000 will be horse. This is more likely because the extraordinary successes which they have lately had, and particularly the taking of Alcantara has mightily raised their drooping spirits. What expectations they have from France is better known to your Lordship. By what I have said the Queen may judge what is wanting to give us a superiority, and whereas our weakness will chiefly consist in horse I hope that some



proper measures will be taken to reinforce us. I can think of none more proper than to negotiate for a good body of German horse which our transports may easily fetch from Italy.

I carry money with me to subsist the troops until the latter end of March, and by that time I cannot doubt but that there will be proper measures taken for the continuance of the same.

There is in Valentia a great want of corn and particularly barley, of which I have given an account home, from whence I hope that we shall be speedily and plentifully supplied, and in the mean time I will endeavour to get what I can from Majorca and Barbary.

*Copy.*

#### EARL RIVERS to LORD HALIFAX.

1706, December 31, o.s. Lisbon.—I have met with so many disappointments since I first engaged in this expedition, that I thought it to little purpose to write my friends of what I was so uncertain of doing myself. But of all the counter orders that I have had from home, there is none that has so much surprised me as the last, which was to land all my forces here to serve in conjunction with the Portuguese. My surprise was still the greater because I found that it was chiefly by the advice of my Lord Galway that the Queen was induced to this resolution, who to this purpose sent home Montandre, who touched at this Court in his way, when measures were further concerted (conformable to the late memorial given to the Queen by the Portuguese Envoy) for which good service the said Montandre was I hear pretty well rewarded "*antemano*" (*sic*).

In conclusion I cannot but judge this the most pernicious advice that was ever given to the Queen, which in my Lord Galway could not be ignorance, he knowing better than anybody that the Portuguese are not in a condition, nor indeed ever intended, to perform what they promised the Queen, which is better seen by their answers to my proposals, than by anything I can say, a copy of which I send you here inclosed. Furthermore my Lord Galway could not be ignorant of our weakness in Valentia, and the great superiority of the enemy there both in horse and foot, which is reiterated and exaggerated in all their letters, as well the King's, his own, and the other Generals' and Ministers'.

What other consequence could this project have, but that the King should be either made a prisoner or drove into the sea, whilst we should be drivelling away our time in Portugal.

This conduct of his, I do assure your Lordship, has made as much impression upon me, as whatever I have since heard to his disadvantage, and has so alarmed everybody else that wishes us well, that one of them some days since put a paper into my hands of which I send your Lordship a copy, not doubting but that in your great prudence you will make a good use of it in reference to the King of Spain, whose circumstances will be rendered but the worse if this should be talked of. The poor

Prince knows all this and a great deal more, but whether he has given the Queen any account thereof I know not. For my part I am under no such necessity of managing anybody. I relate simply what I hear, and have just reason to fear is too true, for so it is credibly reported by a great many of the better sort of people in this country.

Mr. Methuen being very young may be very ignorant of his father's practices; he seems weary of this employment and desirous to go home. A man of quality and of an estate is certainly the more proper person to reside here, who will take upon him to see that what has been promised in that very ill treaty is performed, particularly as to the troops, for by the said treaty we were not to pay any until 15,000 of the Portuguese were made out to be on foot, and then we were to pay 13,000 Portuguese more provided they were actually in the field, otherwise in proportion only to what they had, for I can safely say that at present, all that they have both here and in Valentia exceeds not 15,000 men. The Dutch envoy Mr. Schonenbourg is so certain of this that he pays nothing, and tells us that we are a very generous people taking every thing upon content which he cannot answer for to his Masters.

Pursuant to the unanimous judgment of a Council of War of the Land and Sea Officers in which were present the Queen's Minister, as likewise those of Holland and Spain, we are resolved to go to Valentia. This resolution may save the King of Spain and cannot hurt the Portuguese, for if the Queen is resolved to send hither troops, which I hope in God she will not, they may be here before the Portuguese can take the field and be in readiness with their carriage, &c., to march them. I depend upon your friendship that you will represent these reasons to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Treasurer which if they approve of them I am desirous it may be communicated to me by the Secretary of State at the Queen's orders.

I carry money with me to pay the troops under my command to the last of March, and I do not doubt but that my Lord Treasurer will support this great work, which cannot be done but by a very regular subsistence of the troops.

In my last I represented to the Queen the great want of corn in Valentia, and particularly barley, with which I hope we shall be very speedily and very plentifully supplied from home, not that I shall leave anything unattempted to help ourselves from Majorca, &c.

*Copy.*

#### EARL RIVERS to LORD HALIFAX.

1706, December. Lisbon.—If so pernicious advice\* had been given by any other but the Earl of Galway, who better than anybody knows these people and country and the impracticability

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\* That is, the advice referred to in the first paragraph of the preceding letter, which is word for word the same as the opening paragraph of this letter, omitted on that account. Much of it is however repeated towards the end of the letter.



of performing what he advised to, I should the less have wondered at it, but this his conduct has so scandalised all honest English men, that I must confess I have since opened both my eyes and ears to those reflections, which before were impenetrable to everything that reflected upon the fidelity of this otherwise so valuable a person.

I was soon let into the secret of the most infamous practices that ever were managed by men of the characters of the late Mr. Methuen and Lord Galway, the story of which you must have the patience to hear, because it is the grounds of those just suspicions which we have of their infidelity.

About the time of the King of Spain's embarkation for Barcelona there was a Frenchman taken upon these frontiers with divers letters in cyphers for the Courts of Madrid, France &c. He pleaded the pass of Mr. Ambassador Methuen which he had. Notwithstanding which the Marquis de la Frontierra, governor of that country, sent him prisoner to this Court, as likewise the intercepted letters to the King.

In Portugal they have a secret tribunal called the Inconfidentia where all matters of treason against the State are privately examined and finally judged, of which was president Señor Roco Montero, until then esteemed the partial friend of Mr. Methuen, and as Minister of the King of Portugal made with him the late treaty with the Allies.

The delinquent upon his examination confessed that Madam Armada, a French gentlewoman who is here married to a Portuguese, the French Vice-Consul and Mr. Methuen were complices. Accordingly the three French people were seized and imprisoned but in separate places, and their examination went forward.

Mr. Methuen at first denied that he had given any such pass, but he soon perceived that his pass was to be produced. He then denied that he knew anything of the letters, but the taking up of Madam Armada and the French Vice Consul soon put him upon other measures to secure himself before the matter came to such a height as to render his case irremediable. He therefore twice threw himself at the King's feet to implore his clemency, and at the same time negociated with his Ministers (it is to be supposed by those ways which are commonly practised in Courts); and he was very successful therein.

The King moved with compassion for the lady, by whom he has two children, and by his Ministers who represented to him that although Methuen was an ill man, yet his Majesty could not have a more useful one at his Court, for being master of his life and honour they could oblige him to condescend to whatever they would. Hereupon the King ordered Roco Montero, the aforesaid President of the Secret Tribunal, to pronounce them innocent.

Queen Catherine, who was at this time Regent of Portugal during the indisposition of her brother, was so far convinced of the guilt of Methuen, that she deliberated how to suspend him

from the functions of Ambassador, which she so positively insisted upon, that the Ministry found no other expedient by the King's resuming the government which he did.

Roco Montero, who lived and died in opinion one of the honestest men in Portugal, shewed no less constancy than the Queen, for he refused to comply with what the King commanded him, to whom he replied, that his life and estate were in his Majesty's power but not his conscience, that they were all convicted of treason which his Majesty might if he pleased pardon, but that for his part he was never to be induced to give any other sentence than according to his conscience and the laws of the land.

The King and his Ministers seeing that there was nothing to be gained this way, it was resolved to deprive this honest man, who for many years had managed the principal affairs of State, of all his employments. All the papers that related to the trial and examination of the aforesaid persons were sent for out of his hands and other judges were named to examine them, who, more obedient to the orders of the court, smuggled up the business. The Marquis de Algrete, the Prime Minister of this Court, gave Mr. Methuen a Carta Absolutoria of whatever was imputed to him, in consequence of which the prisoners were likewise set at liberty; but as secret as this matter was managed it could not but arrive to the knowledge of several worthy, as well as the principal nobility, who cannot but reflect with horror and shame at the weakness of their Prince and the ignominy of his Ministers.

Methuen is dead and incapable of doing good or hurt, so that I should not relate this long story if with his death I could hope that there was an end of treasonable practices, but the aforesaid Roco Montero did constantly and positively affirm that not only Methuen was convicted but, by the confession of the prisoners, that my Lord Galway was complice and knew that the foresaid letters were sent to the Courts of Spain and France, and this he persisted in to his death, which soon after happened as well as that of Queen Dowager. That which is certain is that my Lord Galway left nothing unattempted to bring Methuen off, which it seems it mightily imported him to do, for could the papers relating to this secret trial be produced, it is not to be doubted but that we should discover the most infamous practices that ever men of their characters were guilty of.

Your Lordship may judge in what melancholy condition the poor King of Spain must be in who was not ignorant of all these fine doings, but the fair prospect which the declarations of his kingdoms of Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia and its dependencies gave him of getting to Madrid without any further dependence on either my Lord Galway or the Portuguese did a little alleviate his grief and induce him to dissemble; and being other ways doubtful of the success, should he attempt the communicating this matter to the Queen, for the laws of England may require a more positive conviction and should it not be judged sufficient to remove this man it would render the King's case worse than before.



But now that the state of war is so unexpectedly changed, partly by the neglect of those advantages which we had the last campaign, and partly (it is to be feared) through roguery, this poor Prince is once more in the hands of those people he had so much reason to avoid, and I am very credibly informed that he is advised by his friends in Spain that above 30,000 pistoles have been given this campaign by the Duke of Anjou for private service, but what measure he will take to disengage himself I know not.

As to what relates to my expedition I cannot but judge it the most pernicious advice that ever was given to the Queen to land her troops in Portugal, which in my Lord Galway could not be the effects of ignorance, he knowing better than anybody that the Portuguese are not in a condition, and indeed never intended to perform what they promised the Queen, which is better seen by their answer to my proposals (which I here enclose) than by anything I can say. Furthermore my Lord Galway cannot be ignorant of our weakness in Valentia, and the great superiority of the enemy, which is reiterated and exaggerated both by the King himself and their Councils; what consequence therefore can this have, but that the King should either be drove in the sea, or made a prisoner whilst we should be drivelling our time away in Portugal. This conduct of his I do assure your Lordship has made as much impression upon me as whatever has been elsewhere said to his disadvantage.

As to Mr. Methuen the present envoy I have nothing more to say, than that he is the son of such a father, and it may be reasonably expected that he cannot be entirely ignorant of his father's [*words omitted*].

I do likewise know that there are people who have reflected upon his conduct when he acted here alone, but for my part I would rather attribute it to the levity of his youth than anything else, but this I ought to say, that we have not here that value and esteem which the dignity of our Queen and country deserve, the great figure we make in the world and the mighty expense of blood and treasure which we are exhausting to deserve it. This in a great measure depends upon the qualifications of the Minister, who to manage these proud conceited fools ought to be a man whose birth, riches and integrity might make him respected, who being entirely ignorant of the infamous practices of this Court, might oblige them to compliance with this treaty as disadvantageous a one as it was to us.

*Copy.*

EARL RIVERS to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1706-7, January 2. Gibraltar.—Since our departure from Lisbon we have met with very bad weather as well as contrary winds, but we being to touch at Gibraltar I judged it necessary to quit the fleet off Cape Mary's and go before. Upon my arrival I met with several letters from the King of Spain and Lord Galway, the copies of which I send you to avoid the repetition of the same.

The King does judge the danger he is in to be very great, and especially if the enemy should invade Catalonia by the way of Rousillion as it seems they intend, that unless we come to his succour both he and we are undone. My Lord Galway says that he can get no bread nor horses from Majorca, and expresses the great difficulties of getting mules for the army's baggage, artillery and provisions.

As to the force of the enemy and their undertakings I have nothing to say, relying as I do upon her Majesty's great prudence, who will undoubtedly send a sufficient number of troops to qualify us to act offensively; but as to the difficulty about the carriage of the army's baggage, the stores of war and of mouth, I very well apprehended them before my departure from England, and therefore I obtained her Majesty's sufficient instructions therein, that in case this great expense could not be otherways avoided whatever I should be forced to disburse upon this account should be allowed. To which purpose I writ at large to my Lord Galway in hopes to engage the King and those provinces in this expense, which by his answer your Lordship will perceive is not to be done, and the troops not being in a condition to defray this great expense themselves, your Lordship will judge it but very equitable that her Majesty's troops serving in the same country and in the same army be put upon the same foot. I have with me but three months' pay for my troops, so that when I shall be obliged to make this extraordinary expense, I am not without fear that we shall want money before more will come, which must entirely ruin our affairs, and therefore I cannot but insist that timely remittances be made, and such other measures taken to support us. As to the rest, her Majesty may be assured that I shall husband the public money as if it were my own.

I have frequently represented the great want of provisions in Valentia and therefore I earnestly desired that a large supply of wheat flour, barley and biscuit might speedily be sent and I hope that it is upon the way, for unless it comes very soon, we shall be so far from being able to undertake anything that I see not how we can subsist in the country pursuant to the advices they have, and besides it is highly advantageous to the Queen and country that we should supply as great a part as possible from thence of the foreign expense by the growth of England.

Your Lordship will perceive how much the King of Spain depends upon the assistance of a squadron of our ships to stay with him, but I very much fear whether the shortness of their provisions will permit them to remain there any longer than to put us ashore, which cannot but be highly prejudicial to the public service, and seeing the Queen is at the expense of maintaining this garrison it is more than to be wondered at there is not lodged the necessary magazines as well of naval stores as of provisions to supply the necessities of the fleet.

I am informed that my Lord Peterborough is returned from Italy to Valentia with new projects not to be executed in Spain, and that he knows nothing of his being superseded in his command, about which he makes no little stir. It is easy for your



Lordship to apprehend the ill consequences which such confusion must produce, which I hope her Majesty will soon remedy one way or another, for as there is no man more forward to serve her Majesty than myself when I can do it with her honour and the public good, so I want not personal reasons enough not to be a spectator of such a campaign at the last was in Spain.

*Copy.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1706-7,] January 4, Saturday.—I am sorry the Bishop of London is so very refractory, it is certainly for the Queen's service to oblige the country and my Lord Chief Justice [Holt] in giving this living to Clegatt, and the claim of the Bishop upon which he surprised the Queen into this promise is founded upon nothing but silly nonsense; but something or other must always hinder right things from being done.

Mr. Strangeways is very desirous of the honour of seconding Lord Granby. Pitt is also ready to join in the motion, but, by what I hear, the former will take it ill if anybody should be pointed to before him.

I think there is not much to be said upon your Scotch letters more than to ask you what should be given to D[e] F[oe].

The Duke of Cambridge's patent being passed, should not a messenger be sent with it by the next packet boat to Mr. Howe?

I should be glad to hear what answer you have from Sir G. Heathcote.

GENERAL JAMES STANHOPE to EARL RIVERS.

1707, January 5-16. Valentia.—I am honoured with your Lordship's of the 12th of Dec., for which I return you my most humble thanks. So soon as I hear the fleet is on this coast, I will not fail to come and pay my respects to your Lordship, and receive your commands.

Your Lordship will have heard that my Lord Peterborough is returned hither from Italy; he expects orders from England in relation to a project sent thither which his Lordship had concocted with the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, and which is not to be executed in Spain.

KING CHARLES OF SPAIN to LORD RIVERS.

1707, January [6-]17. Valencia.—J'apprens avec bien de plaisir par votre lettre du 23<sup>me</sup> de Decembre la resolution que vous avés prise de venir à mon secours avec les troupes de débarquement, qui se trouvent sous vos ordres. J'espere que vous contribuerés de tous vos bons offices, à ce, que la flotte ou au moins une bonne et forte Escadre demeure dans cette mer, pour pouvoir mener toutes les troupes en Campagne, dont sans celà je devrois laisser une bonne partie pour la seureté des côtes et particulièrement de ma principauté de Catalogne. Je n'ay rien à ajouter à ma lettre et au projet, que je vous ay envoyé

avec mon Ajudant Royal Rosenthal, si non que je demeure dans les memes sentimens, à scavoir qu' après le débarquement des troupes vous entriés immédiatement en operation vers la ville d'Orijuela, Elcha, Cartagene, et la Murcie pour étendre nos quartiers, et faire rafraichir la Cavallerie. Pour le surplus je me rapporte de nouveau au Comte de Galloway, et en attendant avec empressement le plaisir de vous embrasser je vous assure de ma parfaite estime et reconnoissance.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND to the EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

1706-7, January 14. Whitehall.—Her Majesty having been informed by letters from Genoa the last post, from other persons as well as by your Lordship's of the 12th of December, n.s., to my Lord Treasurer, and of the 14th of December, n.s., to Mr. Bridges, that your Lordship has taken up great sums of money there at a most extravagant price, has commanded me to acquaint you that she has ordered the bills for the said money not to be accepted, the same having been drawn without any authority or permission from her Majesty, and at such a price which, if answered, must affect all the remittances that shall be necessary to be made for the public service the whole year; and also because it appears that some of the persons at Genoa with whom your Lordship has transacted for this money had notice from hence that their bills would not be accepted, and that provision was otherwise made for the supplying with money the army in Valencia, and at a much cheaper rate than could be done from Italy; the Queen thinks this the more extraordinary, in that your Lordship never acquainted either her Majesty or any of her ministers with your intentions to take up such great sums of money for her service.

I am commanded at the same time, to take notice to your Lordship of the extraordinary manner in which you left Spain, where you had so great a trust committed to you by her Majesty's commissions to go to negotiate matters with other Princes, without any orders from the Queen for so doing, or any credentials to those Princes. Upon all these accounts, I am commanded by her Majesty to let your Lordship know that it is her pleasure that you return forthwith to England to acquaint her Majesty with the reasons and grounds of your proceedings.

*Copy.*

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND to EARL RIVERS.

1706-7, January 14. Whitehall.—I had the honour of yours of the 25th of December, o.s., and am very sorry you received so unluckily the first orders that were sent you to stay, just as you was going, but I take for granted, as the winds have been, you must have received in very few days after the last orders that were sent for your going on to Valentia, as the King of Spain desires. However, lest any accident should have happened to the packet, I am commanded by her Majesty to renew those last



orders to you of going on to Valentia as soon as possible; and perhaps the backwardness of the Portuguese in consenting to what you have demanded will make your going easier both to you and them; however, in order to keep up their spirits, I have directed Mr. Methuen, from the Queen to assure the Court there that the troops which were to have followed your Lordship from Ireland shall be sent to them as soon as possible, and that her Majesty will do all in her power to forward any projects they may have on the side of Portugal, provided they do send forthwith their recruits to Valentia. As to what your Lordship mentions as to the clothing of the French regiments, that is left with a commissary in Ireland, care will be taken that it shall be sent with the troops that are to go from thence. We were very much surprised with the account of their firing upon our ships and her Majesty does entirely approve of what Sir Cloudesley Shovell has done, and in order to prevent the like for the future, has sent directions to Sir Cloudesley Shovell in case the like should ever be done to take his own satisfaction, and has ordered Mr. Methuen to acquaint the Court of Portugal with these directions. I hope this will find you in Valentia.

*Postscript.*—Lord Somers and Lord Halifax have charged me with their compliments to your Lordship.

I send your Lordship here a copy of a letter [*see above*] I have writ to my Lord Peterborough, by her Majesty's order.

#### EARL GODOLPHIN to EARL RIVERS.

1706-7, January 24.—I am to acknowledge the favour of two letters from your Lordship by Mr. Bradshaw, and am glad to find you had the satisfaction before you left Lisbon to know the Queen approved of your going to join the King of Spain, according to his desire.

Your Lordship commands me to write freely my thoughts to you upon all occasions, and I shall willingly do so, both for that reason and because I hope it may be for your service.

I think it was pretty strong to insist in your memorial to the King of Portugal that you could not obey anybody but his Majesty, because it differs from the Treaty, and also from the precedent of my Lord Galway submitting to be commanded by the Marquis das Minas.

As to what your Lordship seems to think you have reason to take ill of my Lord Galway, you may please to consider that when my Lord Galway sent Montandre to Lisbon, and from thence hither, he sent but his own thoughts; he did not know how they would be approved at Lisbon, or at London, he did not think perhaps that we should ever agree to carry so great a transport as far as Valentia, at that season of the year. Besides that, Cuenza was not then lost, nor the army so much straitened as they were afterwards by that and some other misfortunes of the same kind, upon which the King of Spain called the Council of War, which came to the resolution of desiring your Lordship to join him with the troops under your command. This being the

case, I find it is not only mine but the general opinion of all your friends here, that my Lord Galway has in nothing deserved ill of your Lordship or of the public.

But now to look forward. Since my Lord Galway in all his letters for many months together seems desirous to retire, in case he persists in that resolution the chief command must necessarily fall upon your Lordship.

The Parliament has voted supplies for the army in Spain, and 40,000*l.* for the personal expenses and equipage of the King.

It is fit that you should be informed the Queen and the States seem to agree in opinion that all your force should act jointly, and by no means to divide the army, which we are told is the Count Noyelle's inclination, but still all things of this nature must be in great measure submitted to the prudence and discretion of those upon the place, and I doubt not but you will govern yourselves according to the strength and motions of the enemy, and according to the carriages and provisions you are masters of for your own troops.

One thing only, I think, one may venture to assure you that whatever brags of that kind are given out, France cannot possibly be in any condition of sending troops to the assistance of Spain this next campaign; and therefore we ought not to be so much afraid of an enemy behind us as intent upon pressing before us. I wish you prosperity and success, and am ever, &c.

#### LORD HALIFAX TO [EARL RIVERS].

1706[-7], January 27.—I am honoured with three letters from your Lordship, that of the 31st December is I believe the longest you ever writ, which I esteem as a particular mark of your favour and friendship to me. It contains so many matters of the highest importance, that I wish I may be able to make that use of it that the confidence you put in me deserves. I showed it to Lord S[omers] and he is extremely surprised at what is said of Lord G[alway]. He is very much a friend to Lord G. but may be trusted with anything that comes from Lord Rivers. I find your Lordship has wrote to the same purpose both to the Duke of M[arlborough] and Lord Treasurer, and we are all unwilling to believe so ill of a man we have long had a good opinion of. The appearances are very strange, but he had so much partiality for the old Rogue [John Methuen] that is gone, and was so much governed by him, both in Ireland and Portugal, that I hope he had no share in the guilt, though he has so great a one in the scandal. I have always thought Methuen was the ruin of our affairs in Spain, he was truly the Minister of Portugal, and not of England. He diverted the war from being made in the West Indies which would have enriched us, and touched Spain most sensibly, to carry it into a place from whence we had no assistance, but they had our money, and France the silver of the Indies.



Count Zinzerling is now here from the King of Spain and, as I have heard, in a private audience which he desired of the Queen, complained of one of the Portuguese Generals which the King suspects, but he carried his suspicions no further.

I hope when you see Lord Galway, you will in some manner or other be satisfied with him; the King of Spain's Court is so ill disposed, you will meet with difficulty enough there, to keep them right, though you were more united and acted in concert. I may tell you one thing in confidence; they take it ill here, that you were so peremptory to refuse to obey any but the King of Portugal, which was contrary to the treaty which must be observed till we get a better. I have a nephew, Aid du Camp to Lord Galway, which I must recommend to your Lordship's favour and protection. There is also another gentleman, Major Kemp, who is under your Lordship's command that I hope you will be kind to. Lord M[arlborough] makes difficulty in giving General Erle that command, and says he has writ to you about it. I shall give your Lordship some account of our affairs as occasion offers.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND to EARL RIVERS.

1706-7, January 28. Whitehall.—I have the honour of your two letters of the 31st December and the 2nd of January, by Major Bradshaw, and am very glad to find that you had received mine of the 20th of December; her Majesty does entirely approve of the resolution you have taken, of not dividing the troops, but of carrying them all to Valentia, and has ordered me to recommend you, that when you are landed, you do all you can to prevent any division of the troops, which by all the letters from thence seems to be the design of Comte Noyelles, but will doubtless be fatal to the service if not prevented.

I hope this good success in Aragon will make everything easier to you when you are in Valentia, and particularly with respect to the want of corn, which by the taking of Mequinenza you may be more easily supplied with. However, all that can be done from hence will be.

As for what money you may want after the end of March for the subsistence of the troops you may depend upon my Lord Treasurer's care in it.

We shall be very impatient till we hear of your being landed. You will be very well pleased to hear that the Parliament has voted 150,000*l.* extraordinary for the support of the King of Spain and the paying of 6,000 of his own troops, which he promises shall be actually in the field, by Mons. Zinzerling who is come over from him.

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH to EARL RIVERS.

1706-7, [January 28.] February 7. Valentia.—I most heartily wish that your Lordship may have less trouble and as much good fortune as I have had in this country. I believe you will soon be sensible that I have had infinite fatigues and that I have done my duty.

I have talked with Britton that is much your servant about all manner of things, which had I seen your Lordship, I should have spoke to you about. I am glad to find you have that good opinion of "Gorge" [Galway?] that he deserves.

If the enemies come into Catalonia, as the present news seem to intimate, I doubt the campaign here may have its difficulties, otherwise the body of good foot will make its way.

From Italy I shall be able to supply you with good intelligence and good wine, both which are sufficiently wanting in the country, and my Lord I hope you believe, that upon all accounts for your public character, for your own, and having the honour of being your relation, upon all these motives you may depend upon the utmost of my services. And if things should go ill, assure yourself that if I can procure any remedy I will even return myself rather than omit anything in my power for the public service.

[H. ST. JOHN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706-7, January 30.—I was this morning by Lord Marlborough's direction at your house to enquire after your health, and whether he might see you before he went to St. Albans, from whence he will not return till Sunday night, perhaps till Monday. He commands me to let you know (and this I imagine is the least troublesome way of doing it) that he hopes at his return to find you quite recovered; and desires you would prepare an answer against Tuesday from the Queen to the States concerning his going back to Holland, which cannot possibly be in the middle of March, as they desire.

I cannot finish this note without telling you that when I waited on the Queen yesterday she enquired after your health, and expressed her concern for your illness in such terms as I am sure came from the bottom of her heart. She said so much of your having prejudiced your health in her service, and showed so much trouble, that I thought it was proper for me to tell you particularly of it.

Adieu, my dear friend; I love you without affectation or reserve, and wish you health not only in this character, but as I am a good Englishman.

KING CHARLES OF SPAIN to LORD RIVERS.

1707 [January 30.] February 10. Valencia.—Ayant receu par Mr. Richards une de vos lettres, et dans le mesme temps ayant entendu la heureuse nouvelle de l'arrivee de la flotte, et de votre chere personne a Alicant, et comme j'etois deja longtems auparavant informé du Pere Finfuegos de votre grand zele et particuliere affection que vous professies pour ma personne et interests, Je n'ay pas pu m'empêcher de vous embrasser par cette lettre et me rejouir avec vous de votre heureuse arrivée, en vous remerciant que vous ayez voulu bien venir icy avec vos troupes à mon secours, et vous temoignant la particuliere



confiance et estime que j'ay pour votre personne comme pour un si zelé pour mes interest. C'est pourquoy pour vous pouvoir moy même embrasser et vous temoigner plus emplement de bouche ce que contienne cette letre, comme je desire fort de tenir avec vous une particuliere bonne harmonie, et secrete confiance ; je souhaitrie fort [même j'el trouve tres necessaire] si sa fût possible, de m'aboucher avec vous même seulement que sa seret pour 24 heures, et que vous [ne disant si se peut a aucune rien de havoir receu celle cy] sur des autres pretext tachies de venir ici parsque je desire de concerter tout avec vous en confiance et n'entrer dans aucune operazion sans votre sentiment. Sur quoy et sur plusieurs choses j'espere de vous entretenir plus emplement, et je vous embrasse en vous assurant de ma particuliere estime et affection que j'ay pour votre chere personne.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1707, January.] Sunday at two.—I should be glad you would do me the favour to carry me to Kensington this evening in your chariot. I will stay for you at home.

We have settled the representatives in Scotland, and poor Lord Stair is dead, which is a loss and would have been a much greater loss, if it had happened sooner.

EARL RIVERS to the LORD TREASURER.

1707, January —. Gibraltar.—Upon my arrival here I met with several letters from Valentia the copies of which I do send to my Lord Sunderland. The King more than ever is apprehensive of his security unless I go speedily to his succour, the enemy being forming of troops in Rousillion to invade Catalonia on that side, which if it be true, will undoubtedly very much puzzle us.

I was in hopes to have saved the Queen the expense of carrying the army's baggage, the artillery, and bread by putting the King of Spain and his country upon doing of it, but by my Lord Galway's answer your Lordship will perceive that at last it must be at the public charge.

Your Lordship knows very well what money I have with me, so that being forced to make this great expense at my first landing, I am apprehensive that money will fall short before I shall receive any more, unless your Lordship will take some extraordinary measures to supply us therewith, which should it happen must entirely ruin our whole affair.

The King presses very hard that a squadron may stay with him, but I fear that the fleet has so little victuals as not to be able to remain in the Mediterranean any longer than to put us ashore, the situation of this place is so very advantagous that it were to be wished that magazines were here established as well of naval stores as of provisions for the fleet, for want of which our ships have been frequently distressed.

I hear that my Lord Peterborough is at Valentia and that he has brought from Italy a new project, of which I know nothing but that it is not to be executed in Spain. He knows nothing of his being recalled home, and therefore continues in the exercise of his command to the great confusion of the public affairs, which I hope her Majesty will one way or other put an end to, for so much disorder cannot produce any advantage to her service, nor any pleasure to them who are to command. At least I shall very unwillingly be a spectator of such another campaign as was the last.

I have often writ home of the great scarcity of provisions which there is in Valentia, and that without a speedy succour was sent of wheat, meal, barley and bisket we should be scarcely able to subsist in the country, much less to undertake any thing, and therefore I hope that we shall not be long without it, it being so visibly for her Majesty's service and the good of England that whatever part of the public expense can be supplied by the growths of our country should be done. *Copy.*

P[AUL] METHUEN to EARL RIVERS.

1707, February [9-]20, N.S. Lisbon.—I hope this will find your Excellency and the forces under your command safely ashore, but we have no news of the fleet since your departure except what was brought by a Dutchman who says he left you near Cape de Gatt. It happens well that this frigate has staid a little longer than was intended, for she now carries you the latest which came from England by the last packet boat, and I have taken care to send those that are for your Excellency in a bag to Mr. Stanhope. Everything goes on here with its usual slowness and though the Portuguese still talk of entering Spain and going to Segovia, I do not think their preparations answerable to their promises, and therefore as I am assured from England that those forces which were designed to follow your Excellency will be sent hither, so I have used my endeavours that if upon their arrival here the Portuguese were not in a condition to undertake something considerable they may be sent forward to your Excellency where they may be of some use.

GENERAL JAMES STANHOPE to EARL RIVERS.

1707, February [9-]20. Valencia.—My Lord Galway having writ several times to your Excellency on the points you did me the honour to mention to me, I have not thought it necessary to trouble your Lordship; but the King having now declared that he intends in about eight days to go towards Catalonia I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship therewith, imagining your Lordship may think it convenient to wait on his Majesty, which if you do not do before he goes it may be some time before you can have an opportunity to do it. No motion of the troops on this side can be made within these ten days for want of provisions which are gathering and providing as fast as is possible, so I am



in hopes to have soon the fortune of kissing your Lordship's hands here, which I very much desire both for the public and my own sake. I need not repeat to your Lordship that I hope you will do me the honour to accept of an indifferent quarter with me.

My Lord Galway who is now with me, does not write to your Excellency because I do, but flatters himself he shall soon have the honour of seeing you here and thinks it will be for the service you should take measures together both for the intended expedition on the side you are of, as likewise to settle a plan for the whole campaign. By his Lordship's command I send the enclosed paper relating to the charge of the mules.

*Postscript.*—I shall find a bed and a few bottles of claret for my Lord Essex if his Lordship have a mind to see Valencia.

#### THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL RIVERS.

1706-7, February 14. Whitehall.—I have before acknowledged your Lordship's of the 31 December and 2 January, o.s., as I do now that of 5 January, o.s., in which you sent me enclosed a copy of one from Monsieur Montandre, to Lord Galway. One can't very well judge by that letter, not knowing what passed between him and the Court of Portugal after that was writ, for it appears by that very letter that they were not come to a final resolution then. As for my Lord Galway, he has had a great many difficulties to struggle with which probably have hindered him from acting vigorously, as he would have done; but on the other side it is as certain, that he had once done the business, and if he had been supported we had continued masters of Madrid and probably by this time had been so of all Spain. Upon the whole matter, your coming there with such a body of men as you have with you I hope will restore all our affairs, and I don't doubt but my Lord Galway's temper is such that you and he will have no uneasiness.

As to what you write about Major Russell, it is certainly very reasonable that officers should either attend their posts or not be kept in, my Lord Marlborough has desired me to tell you that he has spoke to this Russell, and that he does intend to go to his post in Spain forthwith. As to what you desire to have a positive answer, aye or no, to all material matters, I assure you it shall not be my fault, if you have not, I will do my best to obtain it, and always let you know it as soon as I can.

#### LORD SOMERS TO EARL RIVERS.

1706-7, February 17. London.—I have been very desirous to lay hold of the first opportunity of acknowledging the honour of your Lordship's of the 3rd of January. I perceive, with a good deal of concern, upon comparing it with what your Lordship wrote to my Lord Halifax, that I went much too far in what I ventured to say in a former letter I took the liberty to send to your Lordship. I confess ingenuously to your Lordship that I thought myself so well established in your good opinion, that it

had not been possible for you to have thought that in any hint I should give to your Lordship I should have any other consideration than that of your interest and service. I assure you I had no other, I had no regard to anybody else, not to him you call my friend; and since it is necessary to say it, I had not written with so much freedom, but at the importunity of all your particular friends, with whom I am acquainted, who would not be satisfied but that I, whom they knew to be so entirely your servant, had credit enough to presume to write all their thoughts.

Your Lordship knows my thoughts of Methuen, and that no man in England had better reason than I to have those thoughts of him. I knew as well as anybody the partiality the Lord G. had for him, and have blamed it as much, but if I had disliked it more, yet the march to Madrid would have cured me of any suspicion of his entering into any wrong measures designedly till I was better informed. I never heard a tittle of his doing anything disobliging to your Lordship, till I received your letter, and no servant you have should more enter into a resentment of that kind, but as I know nothing of the particulars, so perhaps your Lordship may find it a mistake upon further information, which I say only from former observation of the natural temper of the man. My Lord, I may say you know how passionately I have longed to see you at the head of an army, and all our friends know how positively I have always asserted, that you would make as great a figure in such a station as the nature of things would bear. I am still of the same mind. Nobody living wishes it more, nor shall anybody take more pains to contribute what he can to make you easy in such a station, therefore pray forgive my freedom in telling you the thoughts of your friends in England, especially when they happened to agree unanimously with the opinion of those who were in the administration. Any advice at this time would be impertinent because the matter must have taken its turn one way or other. But I beg your Lordship to be assured that I will lose no opportunity of giving you all the proofs I am capable of that I am your particular servant preferable to anybody whatsoever. I have talked of this whole affair with my Lord Treasurer at large, and all he would conclude with to me was, that he had answered your request, which was to use freedom with you as a friend, and that he had sent his whole heart to you very plainly. I wish all success to your Lordship very heartily. I hope you will find great credit with the King and be able to keep him right. I am bound to tell you the notion of all people here, that the troops ought to be kept together, and that all should be done to act offensively, the charge being so excessive that it will not bear delay, and according to the intelligence here, the French not being in circumstances to send any considerable number of troops into Spain.

My dear Lord, pardon any fault I have been guilty of, since I am sure I said nothing but with a good intention, and that no man is more your faithful servant than SOMERS.



## [LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706-7, February 20.—Monsieur Schultz showed me this morning a letter from Hanover in which those ministers assure him of the King of Sweden's not having taken measures with France, and of his intentions to prosecute the war against the Czar, but at the same time they say he is resolved not to stir from Saxony till the treaty with King Augustus be fully complied with, and that he is very pressing for the meeting of the ministers of those who warranted the treaty of Travendale in order to the execution of that treaty. He added it was the opinion of the Elector, his master, that it would be very clearly the interest of the Queen and the rest of the Allies to gratify the King of Sweden in these particulars.

I must own myself to have been long of the same opinion, both because neither of these points seem to be unreasonable in themselves, and though there were more objection to either of them than I think there is, yet we ought to avoid as long as possibly we can the giving any handle to the King of Sweden to act openly to the prejudice of the Allies; but I have little hopes of prevailing with Holland to make a reasonable step in this, any more than in other things.

In the mean time, I think it is extremely necessary that Mr. Robinson should be written to, that he should undeceive the King of Sweden of the false impressions France has endeavoured to give him of the Queen's having contributed to excite the Czar to continue the war in Poland, which he may be otherwise but too apt to believe, because the Dutch are certainly enough inclined that way.

Upon the whole, I think Mr. Robinson should do his best to take off these impressions, and to encourage the meeting desired by the King of Sweden about the treaty of Travendale.

If I have troubled you too much with my politics, it is because I think France has no solid prospect of any relief, but from the false steps of the Allies with the King of Sweden.

## EARL RIVERS to LORD HALIFAX.

1707, February 23. Alicant.—I have from Lisbon given your Lordship an account of those just and reasonable difficulties which I had of serving with my Lord Galway, and of my desires to return home. At Gibraltar I met with letters from Lord Treasurer and Somers, which laid such a stress upon my proceeding that I could not but have a regard to the judgment of so good a friend. About the same time I received assurances from my Lord Galway that I should remain with the independent command of my troops, so I resolved to continue until her Majesty's pleasure should be further communicated to me—not doubting of her goodness that she would propose anything to me unbecoming my quality and post as the serving in the nature of Lieutenant-General under my Lord Galway would be.

Being come here to Alicant and having occasion to treat of the public affairs with him, I have great reason to suspect that he only meant to impose upon me, and no ways to comply with what he promised, for which ungentlemanlike dealing as well as for many other more weighty reasons, which are by this time well known to your Lordship, I hope that neither your Lordship nor any other my good friends will wonder that I should refuse to support so poor a character, together with a great share of the shame which their unaccountable conduct has hitherto occasioned; for so great is the power and influence which my Lord Galway has over the Portuguese that he neither would, or at least did not, persuade them to quit Madrid and march to the Ebro, whereby he would not only have hindered the French from getting out of Navarre, but likewise the conjunction of them with the Duke of Berwick, which would have put an end to the war of Spain. After which they resolved to retire to Valentia not only contrary to the sentiments of the King but the very protestations of the Spaniards in general, who much better than they knew the country, and when they did retreat it was in such disorder that besides many thousands of men which they lost *mal á propos* the country was plundered and burnt without regard to anything sacred or profane, that whatever passed at Port St. Mary's was but a jest to it, with this only difference, that there was not so much to steal. This cruelty, together with the little deference that was paid to the King, has made him resolve that unless it be remedied, he cannot retake the field to be a spectator of so great disorders, where he is so far from being treated as a king in his own country that they pay him not the respect of a general, to the great scandal of the Spaniards and the great prejudice of the common cause.

The truth of the matter is, that the Portuguese are to ruin Spain beyond recovery, and, if they could, pull it to pieces, that they may never be under any further apprehensions, and let the war last; so far as my Lord Galway conforms to them in these points he can influence them, but no other ways. The first step to be made to remedy so great disorders must be to take proper measures that the King of Portugal will pay his troops, and if it be true that my Lord Galway has so much interest in Portugal as he makes you believe, why is he not employed there, when it is so much apprehended that they will either not take the field at all or will do it to little purpose.

I have not as yet seen my Lord Galway, it may be when I do, he may be inspired with something more reasonable than what at present he insists upon; but should he still persist in his sentiments I see not how it is possible for me to stay, which I would very willingly do because my Lord Treasurer does me the honour to desire it, for these misunderstandings will be a perpetual source of difficulties to the great prejudice of the service; and therefore seeing that her Majesty has that entire confidence in Lord Galway, it were much better that he only commands. As to General officers they are here in such numbers that the service will not be prejudiced should Mr. Erle and I go home.

*Draft.*



## GENERAL J. STANHOPE to EARL RIVERS.

1707, February [15-] 26. Valencia.—I did myself the honour some days ago to write to your Excellency that the King was to make a journey to Catalonia in a few days, which letter I don't know whether your Lordship has received; I told your Lordship also that want of bread and corn for men and horses would for ten days hinder the troops on this side to draw together. These reasons made me hope your Lordship might incline to come hither, where I believe your Lordship's presence will be much for the service, in order to settle as well these matters your Lordship did me the honour to speak about, as the scheme and plan of this (enemies' ?) operation. The King holds his resolution of going in ten days, as I believe, at farthest. My Lord Galway commands me to acquaint your Lordship that he is to meet the Portuguese Generals to-morrow to see whether and how soon our troops on this side can be put in motion, if it be still thought serviceable to attempt Orihuela and Murcia. His Lordship is advised the enemies are drawing some forces together about Yecla.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1707, February [16-] 27. Valencia.—The advices we have here from the frontiers make us a little in pain for your Lordship, it being said the enemies have drawn together a considerable body, and we here being in no condition to move for want of provisions, though we are made to hope by our new assentistas that in a few days we shall be supplied. I am the more concerned at this, because it may perhaps prevent your Lordship's coming hither, where I should have hoped your Lordship and my Lord Galway might have come to a right understanding in what concerns both your Lordships and which is of such consequence for the public service. I know not what to wish may be the effects of the issue on which my Lord Galway puts this matter, but am thus far of Lord Galway's opinion, which I believe also to be your Lordship's, that unless there can be a perfect good union and understanding between your Lordships, 'tis better there stays but one here, and whosoever's lot it shall be, I have too much reason to fear he will meet with very great difficulties from the extravagance of the several people we have to do with. I need not tell your Lordship how great a mortification it is to me to see things brought to this pass between two persons for whom I have the greatest respect and value; and that since this unhappy situation of affairs gives me too much reason to fear they cannot both serve her Majesty here, I shall to the utmost of my power be subservient to him that shall undertake this troublesome task. *Signed.*

*Postscript.*—I shall dispatch the packet boat from hence in two days, but send orders to the captain to call at Alicant for your Excellency's letters.

## THE DUKE OF BERWICK TO EARL RIVERS.

1707, [February 22-] March 4. Orihuela.—Finding here a drummer of your army, I could not let slip the occasion of renewing our old acquaintance, and at the same time desire your Lordship will be pleased to let me know how my mother is in her health, for you may easily believe that at this distance I seldom learn news of my friends beyond sea; if there be anything in this country wherein I may be serviceable to you, be pleased to honour me with your commands.

## GENERAL J. STANHOPE TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1707, [February 26-] March 8. Valencia.—The Earl Rivers will probably be with your Lordship as soon as this letter, and give your Lordship an account of the situation of affairs here. His Lordship and my Lord Galway have thought it for her Majesty's service, as it certainly is, that there should be but one General and one establishment. My Lord Galway offered his Lordship the command of the whole, which he would by no means accept of so long as my Lord Galway could be persuaded to stay. I shall not trouble your Lordship with any detail relating to the troops nor with the views of our campaign, which my Lord Galway I know does very fully. The King went yesterday towards Catalonia, from whence his Majesty promises to join the army as soon as the Generals shall acquaint him they are ready to enter Castile. Our time has been so taken up in conferences and preparations for the King's journey, and mine particularly with my Lords Rivers and Galway settling what might be necessary before his Lordship left this place, which he did this morning, that I have not had a fit occasion to enter into negotiation about our treaty of commerce, and this journey of the King's will occasion a further delay in that matter. I shall follow his Majesty in a few days and lose no opportunity of posting this business.

My Lord Rivers will acquaint your Lordship with some particulars relating to the subject matter of my letter to your Lordship of the 24th of last month, which letter was by a mistake of mine, as I perceive by reading over the copy, dated wrong, for it should have been the 23rd.

*Copy.*

## EARL RIVERS TO GENERAL J. STANHOPE.

1707, March [6-] 17. Alicant.—I having forgot to take in writing what was agreed upon between my Lord Galway and myself, you being present when I was at Valentia, I have therefore desired my Lord Galway to sign a paper to that purpose, a copy of which I send you. I cannot imagine that he will refuse it, but in case he should make any difficulty, I desire that you will persuade him to what is more reasonable, which if you cannot do, do pray sign it yourself, for I would not have our friends in England who are in the same interest imagine that we are parted



otherwise than friends, which would give our adversaries an opportunity of prejudicing the interest of our party. In case this finds you in Valentia pray dispatch this gentleman with all expedition. In case you desire a copy of what you now sign, I will send you one signed by me.

*Copy.*

GENERAL J. STANHOPE to EARL RIVERS.

1707, March [7-]18. Valencia.—I have received your Lordship's letter of the 16th, but have no letters from England for your Lordship in my packets, and my Lord Galway's secretary tells me there are none in his. There is but one letter come from the office, which served only to cover one to my Lord Peterborough of which a copy is sent me. It orders his Lordship to return forthwith to England to acquaint her Majesty with the reasons and grounds of his proceedings.

The business of provisions for our army is not so forward as we hoped, and will I fear occasion some delay in our taking the field. I am going in two days to Barcelona, where I shall be very proud to receive any commands your Lordship may have.

*Postscript.*—Pray my most humble service to Lord Essex and Mr. Erle if with you.

QUEEN ANNE to ROBERT HARLEY.

[1707, March.] Wensday.—This is to desire you when the Act of Union exemplified is finished that you would order one of the messengers to cary it into Scotland. I beleieve it will be proper for you to writt to the Duke of Queensberry on this occasion, or Sir David Nairn will be better able to inform you of the form then I can do.

For Mr. Secretary Harley.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1707, March 19.] Monday night at 11 [*endorsed by Harley as received on March 24, 1707*].—As to the matter of the ship *Worcester*, if a method can be found to make it be forgotten before next winter it is well, but whether any such can be found or not I think it was right to keep it out from this session till the Union was over.

As to the preparations making to carry goods to Scotland, however the lawyers may vapour in private, I should have been very sorry to have rested upon the expectation of any opinion from them in public so as not to have had a bill brought into Parliament concerning that affair. If the bill be either made insignificant or the matter be too difficult for the Parliament, yet when it is once laid before them and fairly stated to them, though no proper remedy is found, I don't well see how there can lie any just ground of clamour against the Queen or those who have the honour to serve her upon that account.

I hope they will endeavour to terrify people from attempting this practice from England and Ireland, but when all is done it is not in our power to prevent it from Holland.

I return your two letters from L and D[e] F[oe], what he says of Patterson I dare say is exactly true.

The wind seemed to be this evening southward of the east, which makes me hope it will not last forty-eight hours longer.

GENERAL JAMES STANHOPE to EARL RIVERS.

1707, March [8-] 19. Valencia.—In obedience to your Lordship's commands by Captain Humphries I have been with my Lord Galway who made not the least difficulty of complying with what your Lordship required, as you will see by the paper he sends back to you signed by himself and me. The paper your Lordship sent to me being likewise signed by us it remains with my Lord Galway; so that your Lordship need not be at the trouble of sending any other. I send your Lordship enclosed the copy of my last letter to the Earl of Sunderland by which you will see that I had already writ much to the same purpose, the latter part of that letter relates to the discourse I had with your Lordship concerning the papers shewed you by the Earl of P[eterborough] of which I had touched something in a former letter. So soon as I join the Court I will get that matter explained, and sent to England what particulars I shall learn.

I take the liberty your Lordship is pleased to allow me of troubling you with some letters for England whither I wish your Lordship a happy voyage.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1707, March [9-] 20. Valencia.—I have received the letters from England but have found none for your Lordship nor has my Lord Galway any in his packet. I do not pretend to tell your Lordship any news supposing that you have had it. All we have very material is the Union of Scotland which had passed the Commons upon a division of 211 against 105, and had had a second reading in your Lordship's House. There had been also a great division about continuing the Bank carried by a considerable majority.

My Lord Galway and I desire of your Lordship that if you are upon your departure your Lordship will stay twenty-four hours for our letters.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to ROBERT HAREY.

1707, March 28. Margett [Margate].—I have had the favour of your obliging letter of the 25th and am very much surprised at what you tell me of my journey, for nobody knows of it from me but the Pensioner of Holland. The wind continuing so very contrary makes me apprehend that I shall not have time to go to Saxony, but my first letters from Holland shall let you know the certainty, so that you may be the better able to give your orders to Mr. Robinson.



DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, March 31. Margett.—After having been seven leagues at sea yesterday, I was beaten back by a north-east wind, which still continues, so that my stay here is like to be some time longer. This, with what Mr. Stepney writes in his letter of my journey, makes me desirous you would advise with Lord Treasurer and know the Queen's pleasure, whether it might not be proper to defer no longer the acquainting Mr. Robinson with the resolution her Majesty had taken of sending me to the King of Sweden, but that she apprehends these contrary winds may make it impossible for me to go, so that he should lose no time in endeavouring to gain to her Majesty's interest the Count de Piper and those others by pension he has formerly mentioned in his letters, and that till he hears from me from the Hague, he should take no notice of my journey; and if I should not be able to come but send an officer to the King, that he should be assisting to him in the execution of such instructions as I shall give him at the Hague.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND to EARL RIVERS.

1707, April 1. Whitehall.—This is to acknowledge your Lordship's of the 22 Jan., o.s., from Gibraltar. I am very glad to hear your Lordship and the forces are landed safe at Alicant. We are very impatient till we hear directly from your Lordship, not being able to make any judgment of the affairs in Spain till then. As to what you mention concerning the remittances of money to you, my Lord Treasurer says that all care is taken that Mr. Morrice may supply you with it and in time. As for biscuit and provisions of that kind, a very great quantity was sent from hence, but those ships fell in unluckily with the Brest squadron, and most of them were taken. However, Mr. Morrice has bought up nine thousand sacks of wheat at Lisbon, to supply that loss, and I hope it will do it pretty effectually. As to what relates to the command, everything has been done that was possible to rectify the past disorders, as your Lordship by this time knows, and I hope to your satisfaction.

*Postscript.*—The King of Spain having represented to the Queen the great want his troops are in of arms, I am to acquaint your Lordship that it is her Majesty's pleasure that of the ten thousand you have with you whatever remain, that are not distributed among the Queen's own troops, you should give the rest to the troops of the King of Spain, and the value will be deducted out of the money given by the Parliament for that service.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, April [5-]16. Hague.—The reception I have had and the assurances of esteem they have for her Majesty makes me hope my journey will be of some use. I hope to leave this place a Friday night, and the first day's rest I have you shall be sure to hear from your faithful friend and servant.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, April 11, Good Friday.—This is only to recommend the enclosed to your care, and to wonder we are so long without the Dutch letters, when the wind is so perfectly fair.

All the Scots will pour in upon us next week, I wish before they come we could pour out the English, and that I might go Monday to Newmarket; but be that as it will I should be glad you would call me by five upon Sunday, because I must speak to the Queen before Council.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1707, April 15. Newmarket.—As soon as I waked this morning I received the favour of yours by the flying packet, but don't send back another with my answer, because I found by the label it was more than twelve hours upon the road, so I concluded it would but disturb you by coming at an unseasonable hour, and I have nothing to write to the Duke of M[arlborough] but what may go as well by Friday's post.

I return you his Grace's and Mr. Stepney's letters. You may please to let Mr. Stepney know, I will endeavour to remit the 70,000 crowns next week, but when I come to town I must also have the Queen's commands to do so signified by you, in pursuance of a treaty made to that effect.

I hope the million mentioned in yours is but a million of florins and not of pounds sterling.

The last lines of your letter are very obliging, nobody in the world is more truly sensible of your kindness nor more entirely your faithful humble servant, G.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1707, April 17. Newmarket.—I give you many thanks for the favour of your letter and the votes of the House of Commons, by which I find they persist in their first thoughts of that matter, as I always believed they would; but though this be their unanimous sense and the sense of all England, yet if it be against the sense of Scotland and contrary to the apprehension of the Treaty, I doubt it may bring a very great difficulty at this time upon the Queen.

You were in the right certainly not to be at the head of this thing, and perhaps your appearing in it before has been the occasion of all this broil; but more of that when I see you, which I hope may be Sunday at five or six, if you please to call upon your humble servant.

GENERAL THOMAS ERLE to EARL RIVERS.

1707, April [17-]28. Alcira near Valentia.—Ever since I had the misfortune to part from you it has been a continual series of misfortunes to me. The troops that came with you have had no rest, instead of a march that I could have made in one day to



have joined the army, which I proposed, I was ordered five days' march over such precipices as are about Alcoy, by which I lost above 500 men. When I joined we made a march to Yecla, from whence the Duke of Berwick retired, as he did from Mont Alegro, not having then assembled his troops, but we gave him time to do it with a witness by amusing ourselves five days about taking the foolish castle of Villena, which noble siege we were forced to raise because the Portuguese train had not materials to take it; but it was thought then it would be no disgrace because we resolved to march directly and fight the enemy, which I own that all the Generals were unanimously for; but it seems we had little intelligence of their strength till two young French officers that came to us the day before the battle and gave us an account they were fifty-eight battalions, of which thirty four were French, and one hundred odd squadrons, which proved too true, but then it was too late to avoid fighting: the consequence was we were entirely beaten, which we should have been had their numbers been less by the ill execution of the disposition we made to attack them and by the worse behaviour of the Portuguese horse, which was the greatest part of our cavalry. All our infantry broke to pieces, and all my friends and companions that come over with you are either killed or taken prisoners. I wish with all my heart I had gone with them. I cannot give you an exact account of particulars, but we hear that Count Dona, Shrimpton, Macartney and Briton made a brave retreat, after being abandoned by all the horse, to the mountains, where they were obliged to surrender themselves as prisoners of war. My own escape was next to a miracle, Charley Dormer, Roper, Jo. Lawrence, we are sure, are killed. God knows what is become of poor Jack Hill and Kirke as yet. I looked upon myself as a sacrifice when I resolved to stay behind your Lordship, for I will appeal to yourself what opinion I had of the management I should be under here, I am now confirmed in that opinion. Judge of our circumstances, and you will think I am like to be so. We are now here with about 800 English and Dutch horse, and above, as they say, 2,000 Portuguese that are not to be depended on, with which we pretend to make our way to Cortosa, above 30 Spanish leagues, if we can, and a victorious army that has 10,000 horse in it will give us leave. God knows whether I shall write to you any more.

*Postscript.*—I send this to your mich (?) to Alicant and it will be under cover of Mr. St. Johns, who I desire may see this for I have not time to write particulars to him.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, April 22.—I called at your office about eight this evening to have told you what I had several times forgotten to do, viz., that I had no objections to what the Duke of Marlborough seems to desire so earnestly in behalf of the Muscovite ambassador, about the Queen's allowing him a house, except the precedent of

it; and since he thinks it may be of use to gratify him in this request I can submit to his judgment, though it does not agree with my own.

I hear some of the Scots are very warm against the bills depending in the House of Lords, and talk of making a representation against it to the Queen. I have told those who mentioned it to me very plainly that I thought it would be very undesirable for them to meddle at all with what our Parliament was doing, and I hope they will have patience at least till after to-morrow.

The Queen seems very impatient to have an end, and to put out the proclamation for declaring that this Parliament shall be the first Parliament of Great Britain.

My Lord Seafield seems to have a mind the proclamation should bear date upon the first of May, and that then in the same proclamation the Queen might also approve the choice made by the Parliament of Scotland of their representatives; but this does not seem consistent with my Lord Keeper's notion of dropping our English Parliament before the first of May.

I foresee a thousand difficulties and inconveniences during this whole summer, and perhaps longer, of making the management of the revenues of that Kingdom but tolerably practicable.

Why might there not be a particular Committee of Council appointed to consider how the government of Scotland shall be carried on till the Parliament of Great Britain shall otherwise provide?

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1707, April] 25. Friday at five.—If I had known you had had the least concern for this Welsh judge or any other, nobody could ever have persuaded me to open my lips in it, but the truth of this case is that before my Lord Manchester went away he made it his earnest request that Mr. Pocklington might be made a Welsh judge before the first of May, upon which I spoke to the Queen, and to my Lord Keeper, who alone can change this, and I hope he will if you say as much to him as you have done to me. There are some of these judges for whom nobody will be much concerned.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND to EARL RIVERS.

1707, May 6. Whitehall.—Her Majesty having been informed by my Lord Treasurer of your Lordship's readiness to comply with her desires, that you should return again to Spain, has commanded me to assure you that she takes it as the greatest mark that is possible of your zeal for her service, and that as she thinks it absolutely necessary for the public service that you should undertake this journey, so you may depend upon everything being done, that may make you easy in it. The Queen has ordered the Lords to meet at Mr. Secretary Harley's office on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock, where they beg your Lordship would meet them, to have your opinion and



advice, and to settle and agree upon the instructions to be given you, and whatever else shall be judged necessary upon this occasion.

LORD CONINGSBY to EARL RIVERS.

1707, May 12.—I yesterday delivered your Lordship's letter with the commands you gave me by word of mouth to my Lord Treasurer, who this morning was pleased to tell me he had laid them before the Queen, and that her Majesty being apprehensive of so long a negotiation as your Lordship's demands seemed to require, had resolved to send away immediately expresses both by sea and land to the King of Spain with such despatches as were most requisite to help the present exigencies; and as she does not intend to send any others till there came news more to be depended on from thence than any we have hitherto received, your Lordship would have more time to recover your health and to consider, when there shall be greater certainty; whether it will suit with your affairs to undertake this expedition.

*Postscript.*—My Lord Treasurer commands me to give his service to your Lordship.

H. S[T. JOHN] to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, May 13. Whitehall.—When I heard to-day at the Cockpit that Pepper was the man pitched upon to go express to the King of Spain I imagined you did not know how scandalously he procured this year a commission of brigadier by imposing a false date of his colonel's commission on the Duke of Marlborough. The thing deserved cashiering, and he seems to have a mark of favour conferred upon him.

Good night! I have writ to you concerning a demand of marines from the Admiralty.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1707, May 13. Whitehall.—The Admiralty require the usual number of marines to be immediately sent on board the several ships in the margin [*Albemarle, Ramillies, Hampshire, Dover, Pool, Northumberland, Canterbury, Devonshire, Mary, and Defiance, 550 men*]. This will prevent the sending such a number with the squadron designed for Spain as may furnish a battalion to join the troops which are to land there, unless these ships are to be of that squadron. Orders are given for recruiting the marine regiments, but the raising of them is not to be relied on. *Signed.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, [May 22.] June 2.—I have hitherto given you no trouble but by my letters of form. The apprehensions in Holland of the French being stronger than we will I am afraid make them so cautious that it may give me great trouble, and then you as a friend must be troubled, for I can't open myself to many. It is

true that by the treaty the French have made this winter in Italy they have been able to strengthen their army to that degree that they have thirty squadrons, and twenty-four battalions, more than we. However, I am verily persuaded with the blessing of God we should beat them, which would put a happy end to this troublesome war, of which your humble servant is very weary.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [EARL RIVERS].

1707, [May 26-] June 6. Meldert.—I have had the honour of yours by Captain Terill, and I should have been extreme glad I could have been so happy as to have seen you, so that I might have been the better able to have known in what I might have been useful to his Majesty. If I could be of any use I am sure my heart is sincerely his. His letter is so just and kind to you that I hope you will excuse my sending the enclosed copy.

The late treaty in Italy has so far enabled the King [of] France to draw troops from thence, that he has now a superiority over us in this country that, joined with the necessity we lie under of covering Brussels and the other great towns, hinders us from giving Monsieur Vandome that uneasiness we might other-ways do. Our army is in good heart and good condition, so that for the public good it were to be wished we could meet upon equal terms.

You say nothing to me of your returning to Spain, but as I see by the King's letter it is what he much desires, if it be not uneasy to yourself I should think you might do good service. Where'er you are I wish you happiness, and desire you will believe me what I am with truth, Your, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, June 5-16.—I have sent the Queen's letter to the King of Sweden. I do hope it may do good, but it is certain the Emperor's behaviour is unaccountable; the warrant for the 10,000 arms were ordered to be bought in Holland upon the desire of the Duke of Ormond and Lieutenant-General Ingolsby. The warrant should have been signed at the same time. You will be pleased to let it be signed, and I promise you hereafter to take the best care I can that there may be no more leave given.

I shall be very uneasy till I hear the Duke of Savoy is in Provence, for if the Emperor should spoil that project this campaign must go wrong, for our friends will not venture, unless we have an advantage, which our enemies will be careful not to give.

[LORD GODOLPHIN] to SECRETARY HARLEY.

[1707, June] 14, Saturday at noon.—Finding by the Bishop of Winchester [Trelawney] this morning that he goes for Windsor to-morrow to do his homage after chapel, and knowing so much of my Lord Sunderland's mind in that matter, that in case you are



not there it is probable the Bishop may be disappointed, which would make a great deal of noise and uneasiness, it is my humble request that you would be at Windsor to-morrow, letters or no letters, since otherwise I find something will happen which may be shocking and uneasy to the Queen.

I can take care to get you a lodging.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, June [16 received]. Meldert.—I give you the trouble of so many copies of letters by this post, that I would not trouble you with this, but for an expression in yours of the 6th saying you will not trouble me with home affairs since you must have them from others. I do assure you from none that I so willingly would hear, as from yourself, so that I conjure you as a friend that whenever you think there is anything in which her Majesty's service is concerned that you would let me know it.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, June 17. Windsor.—I give you many thanks for the honour of yours and the papers enclosed, which I have had the honour to read to the Queen. Her Majesty continues to leave it to the Duke of Marlborough to direct the Saxons' march as he thinks best, as also to do what he thinks most proper upon the French proposal for the exchange of prisoners.

I agree with you that no time must be lost in adjusting with the Imperial Court the number of troops they will send to Spain, and the terms of their being sent. Upon these points I think the Comte de Gallas should be spoken to, and Sir Ph. Meadows instructed by this post. The Duke of Marlborough is certainly right in his advice to offer them subsidies for their better support, but not to charge the Queen with the entire payment of these troops; but I think he is not in the right to defer this treaty till September, since as you observe 'twill then be too late for our fleet to receive orders for their assisting in that matter. And by the way I think it will now be time to think what orders, or at least suggestions, ought to be sent to Sir Cl. Shovell, in case either of succeeding or miscarrying at Toulon, for it is probable that matter will be determined one way or other by the time that such orders can reach him. In the mean time I was glad to find in some of the French letters that our fleet had been from Monaco.

I think the Elector of Hanover is in the wrong to decline the command of the army on the Rhine, for his own interest as well as for that of the common cause. Is it yet too late to offer it to the Landgrave of Hesse? Why should not you hint that to Sir Ph. Meadows?

I wish the zeal in which my Lord Raby describes the King of Prussia may continue as warm after he hears of the death of the Duchess of Nemours, but I can't be without my apprehensions it may put him upon measures that may prove inconvenient to the Allies.

## [LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, June 19. Windsor.—I have this morning received a letter from my Lord Chancellor by which I find the Chief Justices have condemned me, and that I must prepare very soon for my execution.\*

I beg leave to desire your favour of sending my answer to my Lord Chancellor, which is chiefly to prepare him for the trouble, Sunday or Monday, of hearing the objection of the Prince's Council against the expedient proposed of leaving out of His Royal Highness's new commission the clause relating to their salaries. They seem to think it will not afford them the least shelter in the House of Commons, against the objection of their having accepted a new office. All I could say to them was I would beg of my Lord Chancellor and of Mr. Attorney to hear them Monday next after Council, and I believe they would be glad if you and I were there at the same time.

The wind here seems fair enough this morning for us to hope we may have the foreign letters to-morrow.

## [THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1707, June 20. Windsor.—I have received the favour of your long letter, and I assure you it is always a satisfaction to me to find at the opening of it that it is a long letter. Much will require to be thought upon the main subject of it, but I shall reserve that point till Sunday night for a walk upon the Green.

I return you my Lord Poulett's letter without knowing very clearly what he would have done for Mr. Wood; but if you can make me know it I believe at this time either you or I can make the Bishop [Trelawney] do anything. I had last night a letter from his Lordship to acquaint me, my directions, as he called it, would be necessary to you for the restitution of his temporalities; he desires to have them from the death of Bishop Mew. The Queen consents to it, and I always think 'tis best not to oblige a man by halves; if afterwards they won't make a right return of it, let them answer for that.

I have had so many papers to day from the Treasury to read that I have not had time for your Scot's letter. What you say of Mr. Scot is extraordinary and worth tracing as far as it can go.

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\*An undated paper among Godolphin's letters at Longleat throws some light on this paragraph. The first sentence of it is in Harley's handwriting, and runs thus:—

I cannot find any reason why your Lordship is so much urged to be Treasurer of Great Britain, when I found yesterday both the Chief Justices are of your Lordship's opinion that it is not necessary, and so is the Attorney.

Below this Godolphin has written:—If the two Chief Justices are of that opinion, they will say so to my Lord Chancellor, and then there is an end of it.

To this Harley replies:—The two Chief Justices are now pressed to be of another opinion, and declare themselves for the necessity. If the Attorney spake with them first, and took their opinion, then they would be better prepared to discourse it with Lord Chancellor and the Chief Baron all together.

Godolphin adds:—I hope the Attorney will speak to them as soon as he can.



My brother [Henry] sent me word from Eton yesterday that the Dean of St. Paul's [Sherlock] was dead; the Queen gives the deanery to him, and his prebendary to the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain, Mr. Hare.

EARL RIVERS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1707, June 27.—I had acknowledged the honour of your Grace's letter before, had I known what to have said on the subject of my returning to Spain, and I am still in the dark of what is intended. I shall be ready to do the best service I can whenever her Majesty commands me. I own I thought it unreasonable to be sent away without any troops, only of a message to the King of Spain with assurances of speedy succours, and I did complain that I was always the worse in point of my fortune for any service I have been employed in, not being used as Lord Galway and others have been; if these are crimes to be laid aside for, I am contented.

I have given my Lord Treasurer the best light I can both as to the affairs of Spain and Portugal. I did not expect such a fatal blow, but I saw plainly nothing could be done to our advantage. If I have been too plain 'twas by the King of Spain's order and I don't repent it. 'Tis impossible to write what I could say to your Grace if I had had the good fortune to have met you, and I flatter myself you would have thought it of some weight, though some of my friends, as they are called, cannot think so hard of one of them in Spain. This I can assure you that the King of Spain is so well satisfied of his infidelity that he will never trust his person with him if he can avoid it, and he has told me of so many odd circumstances that I can't blame him. If they would send five or six battalions immediately to Catalonia till more troops can be ordered, it may happen to be the saving of the kingdom: for those projects of sending troops from Naples and the palatines from Savoy may meet with such difficulties that Catalonia may be lost for want of such a number for the present as I mention. As for Portugal expect nothing from thence but the loss of the troops you send. This is so difficult a point that I can't tell what to say upon it, for if you send none they may take that pretence of making peace with France, but be assured that if they dare do it with safety and to their own advantage nothing that you can send them will hinder it. I hope let what will happen I shall have your protection, for I can safely say you don't wish yourself more happiness and better success than, &c.

*Copy in Lord Rivers' handwriting.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, June 27. Windsor.—Comte Briançon having acquainted me yesterday that the Palatine recruits going to Italy had been detained by the Governor of Bavaria as needing them there, I desired him to speak to you of it, looking upon it indeed to be a matter of fresh occasion of complaint, and that Sir Philip

Meadows ought to have directions upon it by this post. These Palatines are the troops which, after the Duke of Savoy's expedition, I find the Duke of Marlborough thinks the most proper to be sent to Spain. When does Zinzeling go?

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, July 4. Windsor.—I hear the wind so strong in my windows here that I have no hope you can have any foreign letters at London, unless from Lisbon, which will not bring much when they do come. However I believe the Queen will expect you here on Sunday, and that before that time there will be some business to be done.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1707, August 7. Windsor.—I have the favour of yours with the enclosed from D[e] F[oe], in which he tells me he will write more fully to you by the next post, so I think it will be best not to make any answer till you have that letter and I have seen you, as I hope I shall upon Sunday.

I have read to the Queen what passed betwixt you and Mr. Schultz relating to Mr. Sc[ott].

What you write of Mr. Stepney gives me a great deal of concern. I think he ought to have immediate leave to come over, if his strength will allow him to make use of it; but how to supply his station I own myself wholly at a loss.

After all the care that was taken of the outward bound Russia fleet, I am sorry to hear so ill news of them, their being taken at so very great a distance gives shrewd suspicions they had intelligence of our intentions.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1707, August 14. Windsor.—I return the letters you sent by the messenger yesterday.

By those from the Duke of Marlborough the French have escaped his hand very narrowly; and now, I doubt they will come no more in his reach.

Whatever the French brag of their preparations to drive home the Duke of Savoy I cannot but hope and think that affair will succeed; and I am very glad to find by Sir Ph. Meadows there is some hopes of troops from Naples for the strengthening of his arms, which is of as much use to us as if they were in Catalonia.

The news from Leipzig is not so bad as I expected, for since the negotiations are still continued hostilities will hardly be begun on that side before winter, which is a great point if it be gained.

The Queen sees no reason to refuse the French prisoners any of their requests mentioned in yours. I shall send Mr. Taylour to you for your directions concerning their plate.



I don't like D[e] F[oe]'s letter, but I have often observed that he gives you the worst side of the picture.

My Lord Peterborough has written to my Lord Sunderland for a convoy. Before that be sent for him the Queen thinks the Cabinet council ought to consider and agree in what manner he is to be treated at his arrival.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, August [18-]29.—I am obliged to you for the copy of the Electress's letter, it does not become me to contradict what her Electoral Highness says, but I hope her Majesty will let Monsieur de Shutes have for answer, that till she has satisfaction of the dispute concerning Monsieur Blanzac, and other French officers, she has taken a resolution of giving no further leaves; besides Sieur de Lassey has been two years in France.

I shall take care to exchange Macartney as soon as possible, but it must not be for Plessis Chatillon, for we must break the French of that arbitrary way of imposing upon us, in all the exchanges they make. I am afraid neither the business of Toulon, nor that of the King of Sweden, goes as were to be wished.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, August 21. Windsor.—I am sorry I can't look upon the French news of retaking St. Catherine's as a slight thing; I am afraid of the consequences of it, though I find the Hague letters don't set much weight upon it.

The news from Vienna is very good, and from Leipzie not so bad as I think might have been expected.

In case my Lord Peterborough comes to you in my Lord Sunderland's absence, the Queen would have him told it is expected he should attend her Majesty and the Cabinet council, with the reasons which induced him to quit the army in Spain and go to the Duke of Savoy, without order or leave upon that occasion, though in case any forces had been sent thither he had indeed leave to command those forces.

As to Mr. Scott, her Majesty approves of your speaking upon that matter to Monsieur Schultz, as you propose in your letter.

H. ST. JOHN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1707, August 27. Whitehall.—I have received your letter of this day's date, intimating the consternation the people of Harwich have been in upon an appearance of some French ships, together with a postscript of the Mayor's letter concerning the ill condition that Landguard Fort is in, there being but one company of foot there, and the walls down and not capable of defence. In answer to which I am to acquaint you that the large detachments that have been made from the forces in England for service abroad have reduced all the garrisons to the lowest complement of men; and till the six regiments which were lately reduced in Spain and are returned home have recruited again

it is not practicable to reinforce any of the garrisons, which will be done as soon as possible. And as for the condition which the walls of Landguard Fort are in for defence, the Board of Ordnance have the care of those matters. *Signed.*

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707 [August] 27, Wednesday. Winchendon.—The news of Toulon is extremely dejecting, and I dread the consequences of it, abroad immediately and at home in the winter, if we do not heartily unite ourselves to struggle with the difficulties of both. I will do my part for one.

I do not trouble you with what I wish might be written by Friday's post, because I design to see you at London before it goes, and to return this night to Windsor; and I will carry the letters with me to the Queen.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, September [1-]12, N.S.—I do entirely agree that something more should have been done then only sending Mr. Scott back to Hanover, for I think his proceeding ought to have been more publicly known, to have been disavowed by the Elector. You will certainly do good service to the Queen in finding the agent you mention, who solicits a pension; they live so much within their own revenue, that I think it must appear extravagant, to expect a pension from England, when we are at so vast an expense for this war. Now that the King of Sweden is agreed with the Emperor, I beg for the service of her Majesty, and the common cause, that you will be watchful, that nothing be done with the Moscovite Ambassador that may give offence to the Swedes.

I believe one of the reasons of the French having taken the the resolution of venturing nothing in this country, proceeds from the encouragement they have from some of their friends in Holland that there may be a peace before the next campaign, which I think is not possible, if we will have a good one.

[ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1707, September 2.—I desire your lordship will permit me to trouble you in this letter with what I did intend to have spoken to your lordship more at large if I had met with a proper opportunity at Windsor. I am very sensible of the difficulties which, for one reason and for another, are like to attend public affairs next winter, it would be very impertinent in me to trouble your lordship with my poor thought of the true occasions of them, I am sanguine enough to think I see beyond them, but that is not my business. I desire only to assure your lordship most sincerely, that I am resolved to do everything to the utmost of my power (if required) to make the Queen's service and her ministers' easy, and I will be under your lordship's directions and be active or passive, to do anything or nothing, to meddle with business or to let it alone, as your lordship shall think best and shall be pleased to let me know your pleasure.

*Copy.*



## LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, September 4. Windsor.—I return your letters from Mr. Morice and Sir Tho. Frankland. We can expect nothing good from Portugal, however we must try to keep up their hearts and preserve them in our alliance. Mr. Morice's observation is right that though our expense has been great in Portugal, the advantage to our trade from thence does overbalance it.

The French ships mentioned in Sir Tho. Frankland's letter must be those outward bound to the South Sea; 'tis much too late for anything from hence to intercept them. Sir Thomas Hardy has a chance for meeting with them, but 'tis ten thousand to one. I hope you will not find Mr. Stepney irrecoverable, he will be wanted now every day more than ever.

## [LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, September 9. Windsor.—I beg the favour of you to send my letter to Mr. Methuen by this night's post to Lisbon. 'Tis in answer to a very reasonable one which I received from him since I saw you, and goes herewith enclosed.

I don't think my Lord Galway will care to stay in Portugal, though I much wish it as best for the service.

I can't forbear adding upon this occasion that if we who have the honour to serve the best Queen in the world can't agree upon the proper measures for her service at home, whatever we do abroad will signify very little.

## [ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1707, September 10.—As to the last paragraph of your lordship's letter, I crave leave to profess to you most solemnly, that I have made it my study to serve the Queen upon an honest principle, that I have no attachment to any other person in the world but your lordship and the Duke of Marlborough. I know of no enemies I have but such as either have expressed themselves with equal bitterness against both your lordships upon many occasions, or are so to me because of my adherence to you. I am too well acquainted with the practices of a sort of people who wound those they do not like in the dark, and by whispers and secret misrepresentations would ruin the reputation of any one they do not fancy. I know your lordship is too just to admit any insinuations of that kind, and I am so little fond of standing in any one's way, that any endeavours of that sort give me no disquiet, because I depend upon your lordship's goodness to let me know when I am thought a burden to the service, or uneasy to anyone, and the least hint of that nature shall meet with a very ready and cheerful compliance in me by a willing retreat.

As to joining in measures, it has been my endeavour to give demonstrations that I have been very far from being pertinacious in my own opinion. I am not fond of giving it, and am no ways concerned if it do not take. I had much rather be

directed than, not, and shall never be inquisitive to know anything but how to do my duty. It has been always my temper to go along with the company and not to give them uneasiness; if they should say Harrow on the Hill or by Maidenhead were the nearest way to Windsor, I would go with them and never dispute it if that would give content, and that I might not be forced to swear it was so.

I am very sincere, and find in what I told your lordship in my former upon this subject that I had been and would be entirely under your direction, and whatever is insinuated to the contrary, I never have acted upon any other foot. I am satisfied to a demonstration there can be no other centre of union but the Queen, by the ministration of your lordship and the Duke of Marlborough; and there the bulk of the nation will fix themselves if they may be suffered, all other expedients are very wretched things and will end but very ill; and I dread the thoughts of running from the extreme of one faction to another which is the natural consequence of party tyranny, and renders the government like a door which turns both ways upon its hinges to let in each party as it grows triumphant, and in truth this is the real parent and nurse of our factions here. It is time to relieve your lordship's patience and beg pardon for this tedious letter and withal to desire leave to assure your lordship that you have not a more faithful servant nor a truer nor more zealous friend in the world than myself, to the utmost of my capacity.

*Copy.*

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, September [11-] 22, N.S.—You know better than anybody the great advantage it must give France if any pretence whatsoever should bring the King of Sweden again into Germany, and you may be sure the Moscovite will print the Queen's answer, as they have already the Czar's letter.

I have writ to Lord Treasurer to know if he has anybody in his thoughts to fill Mr. Stepney's employment if he should die. I hope you will agree on such a one as may be able not only to help but direct me, for in this country all things are in great confusion. You say nothing to me of the approaching Parliament, I pray God our ill success abroad may not have an influence on the Queen's affairs at home.

LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, [September] 11, Thursday.—I ought to return you a great many thanks for the favour of your letter but have not time to do it now and must therefore beg to defer particulars till I see you, being sensible I have already detained your messenger too long.

Not coming to town this week I hope my Lord Sund[erland] and you will cause extracts to be made of the material points of Lord Peterborough's instructions which may be considered scandals at the Cabinet Council, half-an-hour before the Queen comes in, and made ready for her commands.



[ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1707, September 17.—I am now sensible how much too far my zeal for your service hath carried me formerly to trouble your lordship with tedious letters. I will offend no more in that kind. If you will please to add this fault to my other errors, for I cannot forbear just telling your lordship how uneasy I am under the charge of doing anything against your interest. I was provided against any other attacks, but this strikes me in a most sensible part, and in fact of which both friends and enemies will acquit me. However I must arm myself with patience, a little time will clear me from this aspersion; and I learn this, that it is no more in a man's power to devise the methods by which he is to be put out, than it is to foresee how he is to come on. I have done with that, but it is a justice save to myself to let your lordship know I have told you nothing but truth. I scorn to deny anything I have done, and if I had ever directly or indirectly, by myself or any other, recommended those two persons [ ], I am not so mean as to deny it, which I solemnly do.

I have no more to add but most hearty wishes for your lordship's prosperity and success. You can never have a more sincere friend and servant, though I am deemed now unprofitable and useless.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, September 18. Windsor.—I received last night the enclosed letters from Scotland, which upon reading to the Queen she commanded me to send to you that you might let my Lord Seafield know this night whether you can enable him by any informations from hence to detain Robert Murray, of which he himself seems to be in doubt, and to wish much for a speedy answer. I shall therefore write two or three words to him and put my letter into Sir David Nairne's hands, who is now here, referring him to you for such lights as you are able to give him as to the practices of Robert Murray; but I look upon John Murray, often named in Frasier's plot, to be much the more obnoxious man.

The Queen remembers her promise to the Bishop of Rochester [Sprat], that his brother in law should have the first vacant prebendary of Westminster. The death of Mr. Upman, one of the fellows of Eton College, brings that matter to bear just now.

I had written thus far before I received the favour of your letter, with the papers enclosed. The Queen being gone abroad to finish this year's hunting, I can't send you her commands upon the particulars till to-morrow. There can be no doubt but she will leave it to my Lord Lieutenant to give the orders he proposes about the horse and dragoons.

As to Mr. Vrybergh's memorial I believe the Queen will like very well that part of it which leaves the direction of the succours for Catalonia to the Duke of Marlborough; but I don't know very

well what construction to make of the latter part of it. Would he expect an account from the Queen, or a direction from her Admiral, what quantity of corn shall be put on board for the support of those troops? Her Majesty's part in this matter has been to press the Emperor and the Allies with all earnestness to send succours to the King of Spain while the fleet is in those seas to transport them. We can't well imagine that any general or admiral will embark any great number of troops without making the necessary provisions for their voyage.

I may take this wrong, and perhaps it is only my jealousy that they have a mind to create delay.

The concern you express in the close of your letter is very agreeable, and but due to what you could not but observe in me. I never had, nor ever can have, a thought of your being out of the Queen's service while I am in it; but I am as sure I neither desire nor am able to continue in it, unless we can agree upon the measures by which she is to be served both at home and abroad.

I hope therefore you will give me an opportunity of speaking thoroughly to you upon these two heads when you come hither next, which I believe the Queen will expect upon Sunday as usually, for she has made me write by this messenger to my Lord Sunderland to bring with him the extracts of Lord Peterborough's instructions, that he and you and I might collect some particulars to be sent to him.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, September [18-]29, N.S. Helchin.—I had not time by the last post to thank you for yours of 9th. I agree entirely with you, if the pension be desired, it must be disapproved by all sorts of men.

What the Pensioner has writ to Monsieur Vryberge may prove very troublesome, for Ostend is what I think no good Englishman can consent to; and if they pretend to be angry with the treaty of commerce concluded with King Charles, and at the same time pretend they are not in a condition to go on with the war, is in my opinion very near declaring they must be contented with any peace, which at this time would be fatal, for I think we have nothing left to bring France to reason, but by taking such measures this winter, as may enable us to act with vigour the next campaign. For my own part I own to you, that I am quite weary, for if the Dutch would have pleased we might have had a battle the beginning of this campaign, which we might have given with much more advantage than I am afraid we shall in the next, for I believe it is both the interest and intentions of the French to be very strong in this country this next year; their good success in Spain will enable them to do it. Though I have this service at heart, yet not so much as that of yours and Lord Treasurer's being of one mind, as to what is best for the carrying on the Queen's service.



[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, September 25. St. James's.—Yesterday at my return from Windsor, I found the favour of your letter, for which I give you a great many thanks, and have not the least doubt but that you sincerely intend all you say to me in it. But I still think, as I said to you at parting, there will be a necessity of your being here at the Duke of Marlborough's coming over, which I have very earnestly desired him may be before the meeting of the Parliament at least four or five days.

I acquainted the Queen yesterday with the substance of your foreign letters, and left with her the draught of the letter you had prepared to be written with her own hand to the Elector of Hanover.

Upon considering this afternoon at the Treasury the letter you sent me with the papers enclosed about the 4,000*l.* per annum to be paid to Prince Charles of Denmark there appears to be a difficulty in pursuing exactly the agreement made by Mr. Pulteney which imports that he should have a patent for it during his life under the great seal. Now the Queen cannot grant a pension beyond the term of her own life. Whether they will be satisfied in Denmark to have it as the Queen can grant it, or whether the Parliament when they meet will be so easy as to supply that defect of her Majesty's power, I must submit to better judgments, but I reckon this difficulty will keep the matter in suspense till you return.

There seemed hardly anything in your foreign letters worth taking notice of, except the last line in Mr. Robinson's, viz., that the Swedes had quitted Silesia. That being put together with the decyphered letters looks as if a new scene were going to open in those parts of the world, and if the Czar can slip Prince Ragotsky into King Augustus's place, they two will maintain the contest for Poland against the King of Sweden and Stanislaus. All this may be without much affecting our war, unless the Turk takes the advantage, when Muscovy and Poland can give him no diversion, to fall upon the Emperor and the Venetians.

I am sorry you have such terrible ill weather for your journey, it will make the country not pleasant to stay in, nor easy to get out of; but 'tis always your (lot?), you forbear to go into the country as long as ever you can, and then go so late that the rains force you to stay in it longer than you would. I take notice of this, that if you don't come back in time you may find some other excuse.

The two East India companies have been with me to thank me for my good offices, and to confirm their union.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707 [September 27-] October 7, n.s. Hague.—I am very much obliged to you for yours of the 16th and I beg you will do me the justice to believe I am sincerely yours, and that I am sorry from my heart that you have any reason given you to be uneasy.

The Elector of Hanover desiring to take measures with me for the next campaign, they are desirous here that I would give myself the trouble of going to Mayence or Frankfort, where the Elector offers to meet me. I shall begin my journey to-morrow se'nnight, for by that time I shall have marched the army to the camp, where I intend they shall stay till my return, which will be about the 28th of this month. In a few days after my return I shall send the troops to their several garrisons, so that I hope to have the happiness of being with you by the first week in November.

*Endorsed by Harley*:—"R[ecieved] at Brampton, Oct. 3, 7 days. Answered."

ROBERT HARLEY to [THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH].

1707, October 16. Brampton Castle.—I received at this place the honour of your Grace's letter of October 7 [N.S.], and I hope this will meet your Grace safely returned from your tedious journey into Germany, as you spare no pains nor hazard for the public, so your Grace has the advantage of a superior genius both in council and action, which has so often been auspicious to these kingdoms and the liberty of Europe.

As to what your Grace is pleased to express relating to myself, I own it as a very great favour, and I can most sincerely assure your Grace that I value myself upon my attachment to your Grace, and being your servant, I am very far from being uneasy upon my own account, nothing makes me so but to see those persons uneasy, to whose quiet I would sacrifice all I have, and for whose service I would do the utmost in my power, and yet to be misrepresented to them is very hard for flesh and blood to bear. But I was provided for it, for your Grace will remember that I did foretell all this a year ago, and it was natural to expect to be misrepresented by those who had no other way of doing me a mischief, and I have not wanted sufficient warning that I was to be torn from Lord Treasurer. When your Grace comes over I doubt not but you will be truly informed of things and persons, because it is of the last consequence to know the true state of the factions here, and the humours which are prevalent, for the thread seems to be run out to the bottom, and a few months hence will unavoidably require some more your usual care to be taken. I have so far foreseen the storm as to myself that I have used the greatest caution not to converse with any one either at home or abroad who are not entirely believed to be in the modern measures, and in the little time I have to last I shall omit nothing to make every one easy, and to do my utmost to serve them in their own way. I humbly beseech your Grace to pardon the freedom in me.\*

*Copy.*

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\* The copy preserved of this letter is bound up in Vol. X. of the Harley or Portland series of papers at Longleat, which contains miscellaneous correspondence of the Harley family; but in Vol. V. of that series, which contains copies chiefly of



## [THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN] to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1707, October 23. Thursday night.—When I sent to you to-day to desire I might speak with you at my house to-morrow in the afternoon, I did not reflect that it was post day, and shall be glad therefore, if you please, that I may have leave to come to you in the evening at your office, because I have some things to say which relate chiefly to your foreign letters. 'Tis true, the affairs at home would require a good deal to be said upon them, if talking would mend them; but I find they must go as they will, and I can do no more than I have done.

*At back of this letter Harley has written what seems to be a copy of part of his reply to it. It runs:—*“As to home affairs the little experience I have had inclines me to think that they never succeed so well as when they are directed. The people will follow somebody, and if your lordship will not think fit to explain your own thoughts, others will make use of your authority. It may not be much to your satisfaction whenever your lordship thinks fit to let me know anything of what you judge proper to be done. I will not be wanting in my duty to tell your lordship my poor opinion, and to act according to the best of my understanding.”

## THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, [October 29-] November 8. Hague.—I have had the favour of yours of the 24th and am extreme glad to find you are returned to London, where I am sure your presence must be of use to her Majesty. I was in hopes to have been at sea this night, but it blows so very hard, and the wind so contrary, that there is no

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Harley's letters to Marlborough, is a paper in Harley's handwriting, and endorsed by him:—“Draught to D. of M., Oct. 3, 1707, never sent.” The letter printed in the text was apparently written in the place of it some days afterwards, but this draught is worth printing in illustration of the writer's character. It runs:—

1707, October 3-14. Bampton.—I received at this place this morning the honour of your Grace's letter from the Hague of October 7. I am extremely obliged to your Grace that you think me worth casting away so much concern upon as you are pleased to express: I can only say this, I have endeavoured to improve every opportunity to show myself zealous for your service, and that this is true all sides know, who also will not be ignorant of the reason of my persecution.

I would not trouble your Grace again upon so impertinent a subject as myself, but that I must understand your Grace's letter, that you thought I was uneasy. I beg your Grace not to believe it, for the scope of my letter was to show your Grace that the uneasiness of other persons would not, could not, should not, make me uneasy; I have no (other?) aims but to do my duty. I have nothing to get, and am not willing to lose the being a friend and servant to your Grace and Lord Treasurer. I have not intermeddled with anything. I have not solicited for nor against any person, I know nothing wherein I am a grievance but that I have two eyes, and yet I wink as hard as anybody. But the uneasinesses proceed from another cause, though I am to bear the burden, but as soon as I am gone depend upon it, my Lord, the stream will run too high to be stemmed, and there are not (whatever may be pretended) heads of either party who are able to govern them.

I heartily desire you would take care to have a true account of the temper of all sorts in England, and the opinions and notions they have fixed both as to affairs at home and abroad: and I wish that it do not prove that embracing some persons close and making others desperate do not end in truth in holding a handful of sand, the harder it is squeezed, the less it is and slips through your fingers.

getting to sea, but my servants are on board the yachts, so that I shall make use of the first favourable minute, being very desirous of being with you, for I long to have one hour in which I may speak freely to you.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE (*signed* "Jean Gassion") to [SECRETARY HARLEY].

1707, November 25.—I writ to you last post so I shall say little at this time only to put you in mind of what I writ in my last, for I am uneasy here. I find you have set Robert Moray at liberty and that the Marquis of Tweeddale obtained it from you. I wonder you was persuaded, it is true he might have had liberty from this Government to have gone for France, and was perhaps employed by Mr. James Seton and Drumelaer to bring over my Lord Wynton; but he positively stayed at St. Germain thirteen weeks and at Paris incognito, and I am told his table book mentioned that he was at St. Germain. Now if you could but 'a keched' him on that score, to have saved himself he would have made a net discovery of the whole affair of what Colonel Huck (Hooke) and his brother John came over for. You may believe me, he is privy to the whole affair and is at the bottom of it all, and this some of the nobility that is above knows well, but believe me the hand of Job is in it. It is true the Court party believe they are pretty sure of the Duke of Hamilton, and the Jacobite party does not trust him, but his Grace would not willingly for a great deal that the Court should know all that Robert Moray knows of his Grace. I believe you do not know the relation betwixt the Marquis of Tweeddale and Duke Hamilton, the Marquis's son is married to the Duke's sister, but he was not apprehended as he ought to have been. You may believe me that you will never be obeyed in Scotland nor your orders executed as they should be unless you take other measures, for the one half of them dares [not?] to meddle with the other; but to all this I shall give satisfaction when I come up.

It is talked here that it was the Duke of Hamilton set the Court on this fellow Carsland (Ker of Kersland) to 'debosh' him, and the reason was this Carsland told publicly that the Duke of Hamilton was dogged at night where he was seen go into the Duke of Queensberry's chamber and stay there the most of the night. The Duke was 'divlisly' afraid to be brought in suspicion with the Jacobites, so he not only set the Court party on Carsland, but was the first published to the world he was a rogue to his party, and had been above and got a hundred and fifty pounds to betray all. And in this case matters stand. The French troops were promised to be here at Martinmas, as they call it in this country. I pray you do not fail to send me a little money that I may come up; the sooner I am with you it will be the more to your satisfaction, but I pray keep all close till I come up, and then you shall have better grounds to speak than I can give you by writing at present.



[THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1707, December 3,] Wednesday noon.—I return the letter [Capt. Ogilvie's, Nov. 25] you did me the favour to send me. I believe most of what it says is true, and more than what he says relating to Kersland is, to my knowledge, true.

I incline to think as you do that to-morrow will require so much of your time in the House of Commons as to make it reasonable that the Council should be put off till next week. I will go presently to Kensington to mention it to the Queen.

[THE SAME to THE SAME.]

1707, December 5, Friday evening.—I should be extremely sorry if I were capable of giving to anybody living, and much more to you, to write me a letter in so very extraordinary a style as yours seems to me. However if you have any commands for me I will be at home between eight and nine this night to receive them, and send to the Duke of Marlborough to meet you there.

*At foot of this letter Harley has written :—*"See the copy of the letter to which this was an answer on the other side."

*The copy bears the same date and runs thus :—*"I humbly beg that I may have leave to wait upon your Lordship this evening at your house at eight, having some account to give your Lordship which I think in duty to your service I ought to acquaint you with; and I should be very glad my Lord Duke of Marlborough would be present. I hope your Lordship will this once pardon the trouble I give you."

[ROBERT HARLEY to THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN.]

1707, December 17.—For fear I may not find your Lordship at home, I write this to leave it at your house with your Lordship's draught enclosed, which I have copied as it is. But I take the liberty humbly to propose to your Lordship some little alteration in the words I have drawn lines under, viz. :—

In the first paragraph, "of this Session" seems not necessary and the word occurs after.

In the next paragraph, "Public," "imaginable," may they not be left out?

In the second page, I have transferred Lord Chancellor's amendment, and also as your Lordship first drew it; and I humbly propose it should stand as it was first drawn, because the words "my opinion" are not acceptable words to a Parliament, and being once used caused great sourness, and the next amendment is not so agreeable to the following lines (*sic*).

In the third page, "still," will not the omitting this word make the paragraph more acceptable as well as more extensive, which the word "still" confines and overthrows.

[EARL OF GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1707, December 17]. St. James's at 3.—I beg leave to tell you, upon the backside of your own letter, that I think the

paragraph we talked of just now at the House of Lords might begin thus:—"I told you at the opening of this Parliament that I did hope you would look upon the services relating to Portugal, Spain and Italy to be of so much importance in the prosecution of this war, as that they might deserve an augmentation.

"I cannot but think it would be of the greatest use," &c.

#### H. ST. JOHN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1707-8, January 14. Whitehall.—Have received your letter of yesterday's date, with a copy of the address of the House of Commons to her Majesty for an account of the effective men of the Portuguese troops yearly since the treaty with Portugal, and of the number of them present at the battle of Almanza, or at that time in other parts of Spain or Portugal. Having never received any account, either from her Majesty's ministers or from the general officers serving abroad with those forces, of the condition or strength thereof, I am not able to make any return of what is required, unless I can receive information from any of the officers now in Britain who have served in Portugal and Spain, which I will endeavour to get. *Signed.*

#### QUEEN ANNE to SECRETARY HARLEY.

[1707-8, January 21, *dated by Harley*]. "Wensday night.—Not being sure when I shall have an opportunity of speaking with you, I writt this to desire you would com to me to morrow morning at eleven o'clock, or the next day at the same hour, as it is most convenient to yourself. I am with all sincerity.

Your very affectionett friend,

ANNE R."

"For Mr. Secretary Harley."

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1707-8, January 27, *endorsed by Harley*.] "Teusday night.—I give you this trouble to desire when you speak with St. Johns about laying an account before the Lords of what regiments can be spared that you would take care that would not be named I have soe often mentioned to you, because, besides the reason you know, if it should be ordered anywhere before theire is a new Lieutenant-Colonel named, it would bring an inconvenience upon me, but this must be known to none but yourself.

Your very affectionett friend,

ANNE R."

*Postscript.*—I hope I shall see you to-morrow in the evening.

"For Mr. Secretary Harley."

#### [ROBERT HARLEY to THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN.]

1707-8, January 30, Friday.—Last night Mr. Attorney acquainted me that I was fallen under your Lordship's displeasure; he would not tell me any particulars. This I could



not but receive with the utmost grief, and had it not been so late I had given your Lordship the trouble of a letter to desire leave to wait upon you, to clear myself. This morning my Lord Duke of Marlborough gave me permission to attend him upon a like occasion, and his Grace was pleased to tell me the particulars. I know it is impossible to ward against misrepresentations or misconstructions, or the application of things said generally to a particular purpose which was never thought of; for I do solemnly protest I never entertained the least thought derogating from your Lordship or prejudicial to your interest. I am confident in my own innocency, and I know no better way to clear myself than to desire your Lordship will let me by my actions demonstrate the uprightness of my intentions, and my zeal and duty for your Lordship's person and service.

*Draft in Harley's handwriting.*

[THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1707-8, January 30.]—I have received your letter, and am very sorry for what has happened to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you, but I cannot help seeing and hearing, nor believing my senses. I am very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you!

*Endorsed by Harley* :—"Delivered me at the Cockpit by the Lord Treasurer, Jan. 30, 1707-8."

HENRY ST. JOHN to ROBERT HARLEY.

1708, May 1. Bucklebury.—Mr. Long is now with me, and the account he gives me is that there are three candidates at Cricklade, Mr. Dunch, Mr. Vernon, and one Mr. Goddard. The two former have engaged all the votes but fifty, which are thirty short of the number necessary, so that if the latter should resign to me still it is impossible for me to succeed. Mr. Long and another gentleman of my friends have talked with the bailiff and others whom they can trust, and you may depend on this as a true state of the matter.

I have seen Mr. Child's letter to Mr. Long from the Devises wherein he owns it is impossible to do any good there, and in short the intention was only to have drawn me in to a share of the expense.

Mr. Long is clearly of opinion that Mr. Rob. Bertie does not care to stand, and that I might be chose at Westbury if my Lord Arlington pleased, which I am far from thinking he will. I neither have omitted, nor would omit, any trouble, care or expense in my power since my friends think I might be of some little use to them and to my country, but know not which way to turn myself.

My father makes a scandalous figure, neglected by all the gentlemen, and sure of miscarrying where his family always were revered. 'Tis late at night. I am ever yours most faithfully.

*Postscript*.—You will acquaint Harcourt with these matters.

[THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT] HARLEY.

1708, May 6, at night.—I intend to go on Saturday next to wait on the same person I attended on Saturday last. I hope I shall have some opportunity of discoursing you before that time when it is least inconvenient to you.

The last time I saw you I think I told you I was ready to meet Sir S. Har[court] whenever you thought proper and would give me notice.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1708, July 29. Heathrop (Heythrop).—I shall be extreme glad at all times to see you and especially at this. It would look too much like mystery if we should meet at any third place, and think the most natural and unexceptionable way would be that you would either dine here or lie here one night, as will be most convenient to you, and am sorry you did not think of doing it on your way from London to Stow, for my house does not lie a mile out of that road, and Stow is seven miles beyond me almost towards Tewkesbury. But I hope, since your horses are at Oxford, you will be there this evening, and I will send a servant on purpose with another letter. I shall dine at home every day this week and the beginning of the next, and am, &c.

[HENRY ST. JOHN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1708, October 11.—I got home without any misfortune but that of being wet twice a day to the skin. You was very happy in nicking the time for your return so as to escape the almost uninterrupted storm. But 'tis in your fate to do so. You have before now been in dangers of this kind and have yet been so prudent and so lucky both, as to receive only some sprinkling drops and to gain shelter before the whole tempest could overtake you.

I have thought a good while that you could expect from one quarter nothing but that you have met with, and this prepossession used to make me very uneasy when we were building up the power of a faction which it was plain we should find it necessary in a short time to pull down, and when we entered into some engagements which would prove clogs and fetters upon us whenever we came in our own defence to play a contrary game.

This has been, and this is, our case, and what can redeem us from more than Egyptian bondage? There is one person who with a fiat resolutely pronounced might do it; but when I recollect all I heard and saw last winter I despair of any salvation from thence. There is no hope I am fully convinced but in the Church of England party, nor in that neither on the foot it now stands, and without more confidence than is yet re-established between them and us. Why do you not gain Bromley entirely? The task is not difficult, and by governing him without seeming



to do so, you will influence them. Your friends, I mean such of them as are in Parliament, will I dare say take their parts and do everything which they possibly can without direct contradiction to themselves.

You broke the party, unite it again, their sufferings have made them wise, and whatever piques or jealousies they may entertain at present, as they feel the success of better conduct these will wear off, and you will have it in your power by reasonable measures to lead them to reasonable ends.

If they are not at first strong enough to conquer they will be too strong to be broken. This hollow square will defend you who seem to be singled out for destruction, and will be in condition whenever the propitious day comes to lodge power where it naturally should be, with property.

I ask your pardon for being so tedious but for my part till I see something done I shall have no hopes of any employment in London which can make me amends for leaving this retreat, and some of the most valuable of our friends whom I have seen this summer seem to be of the same mind.

Frank [his wife Frances] is extremely your servant and I am unalterably what I have ever endeavoured to show myself.

G[eorge] G[ranville] who is now with me assures you of his faithful service.

ROBERT HARLEY to SIR SIMON HARCOURT.

1708, October 16.—I take it for granted this will find you returned to London, and very deep in Chancery. If you have a spare minute for an old friend to peep upon you, let this paper tell you how wholly I am yours, and now the 16th of November drawing near it puts me in mind to whisper to you how easy and light I find myself that I have nothing to answer for but my own faults, and that nothing of the miscarriages of others, or their misfortunes, will call for any apology from us, but like the day of doom they must be judged by their own works.

Our military prowess and conduct is now famous, and the Dutch will rely upon it, and as for our economy it is very good, as long as money flowed and funds would run, who but we—we sucked till the blood came, and no regard to what was to come after; now everything is run out of breath, the mines are worked out, we have a necessity created of a long war, and that is now to be made an argument for most extravagant burdens this next year. It is ridiculous for me to send news to London, but I cannot forbear letting you know what is the report of our country, they say that there is a bargain made that Sir R. Onslow shall again be made a lord, to qualify his son to marry a vast fortune, this and some other considerations will oblige him to be Speaker, that Sir P. K[ing] hath upon some promise declined his solicitations, others think after all it will be devolved on Sir J. K., for it is plain Sir William will do his utmost to bring in that relation, though he knows they rail at him and hate him, may be he thinks their extravagance will make him wished for again.

We have it also current here that at a meeting in the City where were divers of our rulers yesterday se'nnight it was agreed to raise six millions, and that it was impossible to do it by loans, but it must be by Exchequer Bills, and those to be secured by the Malt Tax granted for perpetuity, but they will condescend to let there be a clause of redemption. Is there any need of Parliament meeting? Put it? Put it?

*Jam vacui capita populum Phœacæ putabant.*

I hear also that the great men of Scotland are also to be dropped as a sacrifice to the Junto, methinks some care should be taken to show them their condition, not only that of their country but of their own persons, and sure you cannot think for any quarter from the Junto who have taken the 'Squadron' into their own bosoms.

What attacks have been made upon——, and that hitherto they have received only denial you are nearer to hear than I am.

But give me leave to acquaint you that I received a letter last post from a friend of yours and mine that Mr. B[romley] would be a candidate for the chair, in case you and I would approve of it, and that they had hopes to carry it. I immediately returned an answer that after what had passed by discourse and also letters I could not think there was any room left to doubt of my serving him heartily, that I wished they might succeed, that I judged it would be requisite to lose no time in summoning up all friends, though I did believe it ought only to be in generals, and that the more it were kept secret, the name of the person who is to be set up, the greater amazement it would be to the adversaries. I think if it be well conducted it may be brought very near, I am sure it will have this one good effect it will bring people together, who I doubt not but will be sufficient to prevent a great deal of mischief, for I find the deadness and want of spirit in some emboldens ill persons to undertake many things they would not else venture upon.

I have not heard any thing of the Thracian, but I hope George Granville has fixed his matter and that it appears clear to you. I wish you would speak to George to write to all his friends to be in town the first day.

Adieu, my best friend. I think Mr. B. has no need of more testimonies of your sincerity and mine than what we have already given him. I heartily kiss the young gentleman's hands.

*Copy.*

[HENRY ST. JOHN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1708, November 6.—I am as much convinced as it is possible to be that going out of employment at the time and in the manner we did was equally honest and prudent. No man's opinion can add any weight to confirm me in this thought.

I must say further that the merit of this action depends, according to my apprehension, on the use which you and your friends make of that state of freedom which they placed themselves in by laying down their employments.

No one living is able to do so much as you towards removing our present evils, and towards averting those which a very short-sighted man may perceive to impend over us. But you are the



mark at which every dart of faction is levelled, and it is impossible either that you should be safe from daily insults, or that the least progress should be made towards those views which you propose, unless a number of gentlemen be satisfied of their danger, unless they be convinced that to preserve themselves they must follow you, unless you inspire your party with industry and courage, which at present seem only to be possessed by the factions, and with as much of that virtuous love of the country as this vile generation is capable of receiving and which at present seems not to have the least share in the guidance of any side. The fiery trial of affliction has made the gentlemen of the Church of England more prepared to form such a party than from their former conduct it might have been expected, and you seem to be with regard to them in the case of *Plautius nam alteros sibi jam placatos esse intelligo, alteros nunquam iratos fuisse.*

A thorough conviction that these propositions are true has given occasions to long letters for which I can make no excuse so good, and therefore will borrow one from Tully—" *Nunc tantum significandum putari, ut potius amorem tibi ostenderem meum, quam ostentarem prudentiam.*"

What you mention concerning Sir William [Wyndham]'s submissive protestations, and the scorn with which Wh[arton?] received them surprises me not. But that they should think of raising sixteen regiments more, and of mortgaging either land or malt, is to my apprehension downright infatuation and what I am glad of. They hasten things to a decision, and our slavery and their empire are put upon that issue. For God's sake let us be once out of Spain!

The Cardinal [Auditor Harley?] tells me what you have done to gain Mr. B[romley], and how well you have succeeded. I make no question but you will unite and govern the whole body of gentlemen to their own and to your good. G[eorge] G[ranville] will not let me conclude without adding a few lines of an epistle of Tully to Plancus. I have told him that Tully is not in your favour, and that before you come thus far you will be tired of my Latin and English too. 'Tis to no purpose, he will have them sent and here they are—" *Scis profecto nihil enim te fugere potuit fuisse quoddam tempus, quum homines existimarent te nimis servire temporibus. Quod ego quoque existimarem si te, ea quae patiebare, probasse etiam arbitrarer. Nunc alia ratio est omnium rerum, tuum judicium est, idque liberam. Incumbe per deos immortales in eam curam et cogitationem quae tibi summam dignitatem et gloriam afferat.*"

In contributing to which you may depend on me as a man, how pleased soever I am with the life I now lead, ready to take any part I may be thought able to discharge.

They are in great uneasiness about the close of the campaign in Flanders; the fault is to be laid on the Dutch.

Shall you not be forthwith in London?

The death of the Prince gives me thoughts which I will not trouble you with.

I shall be in London to look a little about me at the end of this month. G.G. [Granville], who is much your servant, will be there very soon.

H. ST. J[OHN] to THOMAS [HARLEY?].

1708, November 15. Bucklebury.—Dear Tom, I never was more vexed in my life than when I rose this morning to find the servants I had ordered to attend you in the morning had been drunk all night and neglected to wait on you. I have sent them a grazing, and I ask your pardon for the ill-usage you had.

I forgot to speak to Mr. Harley at Oxford in a matter which concerns me very nearly, and which I desire you to mention to him. A kinsman of mine, and as honest a good man as ever was, is put on the list of sheriffs for Wilts. I would never solicit to have him excused, nor would Mr. Pleydell desire it, was it possible for him to discharge the office; but his health is so extremely ruined by sickness, and his mind so broken by misfortunes, that it would be an act of barbarity to force him into this employment.

If Mr. Harley could prevail on the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Poulett, or any other privy councillor to appear for him, it would be a never to be forgotten obligation; and I pawn my word and honour the excuses are true in fact.

Dice (?) is your very humble servant. [*These concluding words are in Mrs. St. John's handwriting.*]

[HENRY ST. JOHN TO ROBERT HARLEY.]

1708-9, January 26.—I obeyed your orders last night, but our friend at the Temple [Harcourt] was so busy that he was forced to neglect answering even your summons, and my company would have been of no great moment in your council.

I am just now told that the motion made to-day by Lord W. P[oulett] is by direction, and that there is to be the same stress laid upon the proceedings in consequence of it against you as was on the election [for Abingdon] against Har[court]. I mention this to you because I fancy my information comes from one who has been already very plainly spoke to.

[THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY] to [ROBERT] HARLEY.

1708-9, March 2.—I am sorry we have so often missed one another, when I have been at your house and you have sent hither. If you could be at home any time to-night between seven and ten or to-morrow night, I would endeavour to wait on you.

H. ST. JOHN to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1709, August 14. Astrop.—Hearing by Dr. Stratford that you have married your daughter the last week, I look upon myself as entituled by the part I take in everything which relates to you, to trouble you with a letter on this occasion. Do me therefore the justice to believe that I wish the young couple happy in each other, and you so in both of 'em.

It is great satisfaction to me to consider that this happiness must needs attend a match, where you have brought into your family one who by his good sense, his knowledge, his probity, and his modesty seemed to be akin to you even before his marriage.



[HENRY ST. JOHN TO ROBERT HARLEY.]

1709, September 17. Bucklebury.—I send this note to express my concern that I am not able to wait upon you at Oxford as Mr. Granville and I had proposed to do.

You can have nothing to communicate to me which will not be so far welcome that it comes from you. But I begin to expect neither peace abroad nor good order at home. I wish you perfect health and good weather, two articles of no small importance to the satisfaction and joy of life.

In three weeks time I intend to go to Lavington, my hounds and horses are already there, my books will soon follow. In that retreat if I may hear sometimes that you and the few friends which I have in the world are well, all will be well with me. I am ever, &c.

*Postscript.*—I beg leave to assure my Lord Dupplin of my most humble service. Frank is extremely yours.

[THE SAME TO THE SAME.]

1709, September 21. Bucklebury.—Having an opportunity of sending a letter safely to Oxford, and Stratford having formerly told me that he had a very sure way of conveying anything to you, I transmit this to him.

I should have been very glad to have known the particulars of this noble project, since it's hard to imagine what air of probability could be given to any story calculated for such a purpose. But there is an ill nature in the world which makes men incapable of submitting to the laws of friendship themselves, and of patiently seeing it prevail among others.

I thank you for those kind comprehensive wishes which you bestow upon me. In this obscure and private life I am perfectly easy, and shall with the same ease return to the noise and business of an active public life, whenever the service of my country or of my friends calls me forth.

Since you are so indifferent as not to trouble yourself either about the peace or about the measures which our governors at home will pursue, my indifference will increase upon me, and I will likewise wait with patience for that something which is not much expected.

Adieu, dear Sir, may you still continue involved in your virtue and shielded by your innocence, safe from every dart of malice. May all your designs for the good of your country prosper, and every other blessing light upon you.

*Sic voret H. S.*

*Postscript.*—I am my Lord Dupplin's most faithful humble servant. My wife desires you to accept of her respects.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO [ROBERT HARLEY].

1709, September 3. [Heathrop.]—Though I was not at home when your servant called yet I had your letter very safe, and return you thanks for it. If this house should be in your road to Herefordshire and you would be pleased to take a bed or a dinner, or both, nobody would be more welcome to me.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1709, September 18. Heathrop.—I have been very apprehensive that the great change in the north might give such an over-balance one way as might create more difficulties than can presently occur to one's thoughts, but they may either tend to the deferring or hastening a peace as they are made use of.

Having company at present with me at dinner I have not time to say much, but I should be glad if you could let me know what time the Parliament will sit, when you intend to be in London, and whether there will be anything of moment, so that one need be there early in the Sessions.

The master of the "Crown" in Worcester, I think, is called Glynn, and is postmaster; if so, he was my servant and can send any letter directed to me safely hither.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1709, November 3. Heathrop.—I am very sensible how far I am from being able to act any considerable part in the good you mention, but shall always be ready to concur with you in everything may be for the interest of the public, being convinced nobody can wish better to it nor judge better of it than yourself.

I do not doubt but the generality of the nation long for a peace, and the majority of those who represent it, when discoursed singly in the country, agree in that opinion. But how they may change their minds when they come to London and submit to their leaders, I will not take upon me to determine. However it is evident so many circumstances from at home as well as from abroad make peace desirable, that if the nation could see how they might have a good one it is my opinion they would be very uneasy till they had it. Some opportunities have already been lost; if more of the same nature should offer it would be for the service of her Majesty and the public that they might not be slipped over in silence as the others have been; and how reasonable or practicable it may be to look back, and enquire into what has already passed in that affair, I shall defer mentioning till I am so fortunate to see you.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1709, December 1.—I am truly concerned at the cause of your deferring your journey, and agree it is too just as well as too melancholy a reason to any man of good nature; and whoever is without that best of qualities can, in my opinion, never deserve so entire an esteem as I shall always have for you. But I hope your son is in a way of recovery and will soon set you at liberty to be in town, where you cannot but know you are much wanted. I begin my journey to-morrow, designing to be in London on Saturday.

If this war in the north has been begun or encouraged by any contrivance of ours it is certain they know not what they have done, nor how bad the consequence may be, not so much at present as hereafter; if all the naval stores should get into one



hand it might prove the unhappiest monopoly that ever Englan saw. But I am entirely a stranger to what has been transacted in this affair, and hoping it will not be long before I shall have an opportunity to be more fully informed from you I now conclude.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.

[1709-1710,] Thursday morning.—I found Lord H[alifax?] very flaming on the subject you two had discoursed, expressing great friendship to you and me and desirous we three might debate the matter together, but he was so possessed of the ruin such a resolution would bring on everybody concerned in the advice that he very near declared that he could not accept if that were not cleared. It will be worth while to endeavour to convince him, and if that cannot be, it should be considered what should be said to him here, in case he presses for some declaration; what strengthens my suspicion is that he has desired the Secretary that no step may be made towards it in the office, and that it may be kept private till he is able to come hither.

On the other side the D[uke] of S[omerset] is much out of humour, talks very despairingly—as if he sees nothing would be done—and sometimes doubtfully, of the above-mentioned council. I wish he and Lord Rivers and you and I might talk together soon, and if the motion came from you it were the better. I doubt he was nothing more out of humour because you and I were together yesterday, but for that I have but slight ground.

Since I writ so far I have seen the D[uke] of S[omerset]. He is in better humour but not quite as I wish.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

[1710, July 22, *endorsed*.] Saturday.—If any real satisfaction can be given her Majesty upon what we are to discover to-morrow morning I believe she will soon come to a resolution, and, as it will be necessary in the first place to resolve upon the persons to succeed, so I find an obstruction to any determination from a thought that I should be employed in that post. I have ten reasons, every one strong enough to hinder my doing it, but that of engaging in an employment I do not in the least understand and have not a head turned for ought to convince everybody else as well as myself that I am in the right, so that I make it my request to you to convince her Majesty that I am so, and that she, you, and everybody will turn your thoughts to the filling that Commission. In my mind you should be at the head, because you then come naturally into the Cabinet Council, where you are so much wanted; and every one of the other Commissioners should be persons able to serve not only at that Board but in one of the Houses of Parliament.

I hope you will be very particular in your instructions to Mr. Cressett, as well for Holland as Hanover, where I hope he may be very useful. I have just now yours of last night. I have no objection to either of them, but wish it may not remind the world, if Lord Je[rsey] should go, of that step in his conduct which I think is most exceptional: but of this we will talk more.

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1710, October 14.—Her Majesty has given Mr. Secretary directions to prepare a commission for my Lord Peterborough to be General of the Marines ; I presume if you see him it may not be improper to let him know it, and that as to the other pretension there remain yet some difficulties.

I do not find that she has as yet given any orders about the two bishops [Bristol and St. David's], which should not be much longer delayed.

Her Majesty was so pleased with the good weather yesterday and the day before, and makes so much more use of it here at Windsor than she does at Hampton Court, that she seems resolved to return hither Tuesday se'nnight for the rest of that week.

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1710, October 20.—I send you here enclosed a letter for the King of Hanover. I have this morning as well as last night been with the Queen, and discoursed her about the D[uke of] Ar[gyll]. Last night she resolved to tell him when she saw him that she was sorry her circumstances would not allow her to do what she understood he desired. I told her that answer would certainly disoblige, and this morning I find her a little softened, but yet not resolved to grant. For my part I see no medium, and wish you would write to her upon the subject ; I have said what I can, and will do so again before the D[uke] comes to-morrow.

The D[uke] of Som[erset] came hither last night, but as yet has not been with her Majesty.

Lord [Rochester] President, having left with me the City address, I read it to the Queen last night. She immediately took exception to the expression that "her right was Divine," and this morning told me that, having thought often of it, she could by no means like it, and thought it so unfit to be given to anybody that she wished it might be left out ; if it can be I find she would like it much better. Pray talk with my Lord President upon this ; he will be, I suppose, at the Cockpit, and dines at the Duke of Queensberry's, and if it can be omit that expression.

If you resolve to go into the country there are very many things to be settled first ; the state of the House of Lords is bad, and a great prospect that Argyll, Rivers, Peterborough, Jersey, and Haversham will be dissatisfied, and Nottingham and Guernsey cool, unless her Majesty use some means to please them, which nobody can so much contribute to persuade her to-as yourself. If something be not done for Lord Fitzwalter that will lose him and disgust Lord Rivers, who engaged for it.

Some resolution should be taken what to do with the troops embarked from the Isle of Wight, if they are not to do the service they have so long waited for ; and Lord Peter[borough] will be distracted, and not without reason, if you go and leave his concerns undetermined.



The Sessions comes on so fast I wish you can be back before it be necessary to think of the Speech.

I hear the Bank is in great disorder, and I know not how the Board of Treasury can spare you long.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1710, November 10.—This morning I have had a long discourse with her Majesty about the Admiralty. You know the objections she has to Lord Jer[sey], which are no ways to be overcome but by the sad reflection how few there are capable of that post. It is now plain by the late orders sent that Lord Raby can hardly be here in time, for it would be unjustifiable not to settle that Commission before the Parliament meets. Lord Rivers was thought on, but I believe he would not care for a place of so great attendance. She ordered me to write to you if you could propose anybody, for she seems in haste the Commission should be passed; and willing Lord Mohun should be one, though not the first. I hope in your answer you will propose somebody better than has yet been thought on, or, if you cannot, you will have no ill occasion to press for Lord Jer[sey], or whoever you like best.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1711, [February 28-] March 10. Hague.—You will have seen by my letter the last post to Mr. Secretary St. John the situation I found affairs in upon my arrival here, and I shall desire to refer you to him from time to time without giving you the trouble of my letters, unless it be where anything may deserve your particular care; and I must now pray that—as you will observe by mine to him by this post how uneasy I am at the great diminution of our army to what it was the last year, whereas, considering the great efforts of the enemy, we ought rather to be stronger.—you will give your assistance in my desire of her Majesty's orders to replace the five regiments to be sent from hence, by foreign troops where they may be had, at the same time I receive her Majesty's direction for shipping off those regiments.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to — TRAVERS.

1711, April [3-] 14. Hague.—I had the favour of yours of the 29th of the last month by the last post. I believe the reason of the monies not being ordered for Blenheim is occasioned by Mr. Harley's indisposition. I hope by this time he is abroad and the necessary orders have been given. If he lets the payments begin from the first of March the work may be carried on the faster. I shall be glad sometimes at your leisure to hear from you.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1711, April 17.—An express arrived to-night brings the news of the Emperor's death, the 17th n.s., upon which her Majesty

has resolved to call an extraordinary Cabinet to-morrow in the evening. I doubt your health will not permit you to be there; but as this is an affair of the last importance I hope you will communicate your thoughts to somebody concerning the most material points to be first resolved on and despatched.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1711, April 25.—Before I see Mr. Vanhulst I should be glad to concert with you what should be said to him, and agree whether the matter we meet upon to-night should be put into his management.

I cannot help thinking the letter from “Schaffouse” is a cheat and intended to lay the foundation of a future reward; however, it is upon a subject of such importance and relating to a life so necessary and precious to us all that all imaginable care should be taken of it, and I think a particular consideration should be had in what manner to propose to her Majesty not to be so exposed to attempts, as she certainly is, for want of attendance, and by her back stairs every where in all her houses being made the common way to come to her as well for strangers as her nearest domestics. I have lived in four Courts, and this is the first where I have ever seen anybody go up the back stairs unless such as the Prince would have come to him unobserved.

As to your own concern I think you believe I wish both you and the public well, and I hope you will do what is best for both, and upon that foot I am sure you never can be greater than I sincerely wish you; but at the same time that is done I conceive other alterations should be made, upon which it is impossible to give an opinion unless one knew how far the Queen would go, and cut our coat according to our cloth.

[THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1711, *endorsed*.] April 26.—Upon consideration of our debate last night I am of opinion it will be impracticable that Mr. Vanhulst should go into Holland, and all who were at the meeting last night not immediately guess he is the man entrusted. I am also of opinion it will be impossible to keep this much longer a secret, nor do I think it very safe for us to do it; both French and Dutch will speak of it if it do not go on, and if it do it must soon be communicated to many. Upon the whole I could wish the Queen would speak of it to-night to the Cabinet, as a paper come to her hands without saying how, and in the Cabinet let them debate in what manner it should be sent to the Pensioner, either by Lord Raby or otherwise, as they think best; and at the same time Vanhulst might go over privately instructed by the Queen's order to say what she thinks proper to the Pensioner.

Take what method you please, I dare engage the secret will be none in fifteen days, and by attempting to keep it among ourselves we shall anger the rest of the Cabinet, Lord Raby, and even those entrusted with you and me, if without their knowledge we send a man to negotiate privately.



I have a little touch of the gout and in bed, which makes me write so that I doubt you cannot read it. If it be not too much trouble I should be glad to know your thoughts, and that you will excuse mine not so well digested as they should be.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.

[Same date.] Thursday night.—The paper has been communicated to-night as was resolved, Lord Pre[sident] was not of that opinion, but he submitted it; I find some of the lords who refine (*sic*) the whole is concluded. I wish they were in the right.

I shall be ready to see Mr. Vanhuls to-morrow morning between nine and ten; I have not asked the Queen's leave, but suppose one may recommend particularly to him to talk freely to the Pensioner upon the paper the Queen sends him. I name between nine and ten because you said the morning, but I shall have nothing to do all day, and could as well see him at any other time as at that.

The gentleman I begged an employment for in the Customs at Dover or Deal, I have forgot which—his name was Power—died two days ago, and has left a numerous family, who must now all starve. The sons are so young that I will not propose one of them to succeed him, nor no other expedient to help them.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1711, end of April.] Friday.—The paper having been laid last night before the Cabinet Council and Mr. Secretary received his orders to write to Lord Raby to communicate it to the Pensioner, I conclude he will do it to-night, and, supposing Mr. Vanhuls will not go by this packet, hope you will take care at least that he write to the Pensioner upon the subject, as also to acquaint him he will be with him as soon as the next letters, desiring no resolution may be taken till he can discourse him.

Mr. Secretary was asking whether this should not be communicated to Drummond and he instructed to talk with the Pensioner upon; it is hard for us to say no without telling him Vanhuls has that commission which the Queen would have nobody know, so that if Mr. Secretary ask me I will tell him he ought to receive her Majesty's directions, and that nobody should be entrusted in an affair of this nature without her leave, and her Majesty might be prepared to say she thinks as few as is possible should know the secret for the present, and forbid him to write it to anybody. I trouble you with this because perhaps you may go to the Queen. I am too lame to appear, and apprehend that if I should force my knee I might be laid up for a longer time.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, May [17.] 28.—I should have written oftener to you but that I know Mr. St. John acquaints you with my private letters to him. Mine by this post will let you see the difficulties I meet with; and as I shall always be ready to take measures with you for the carrying on the service with success, so I must beg your

friendship and assistance. Upon my word and honour I am no ways ambitious of power, but if it be not made visible to the officers that I have the Queen's protection it will make it very difficult for me to preserve that discipline in this army which is for her service, which I have very much at my heart. I am very sensible of the hurry of business you have on your hands, so that I do not expect letters often from you, but this bearer, Mr. Craggs, on whose friendship I rely, you may freely give him your commands and he will be exact in acquainting me with them.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1711, May 22. Tuesday.—According to my judgment, which, without affectation, is very mean, especially in Latin compositions, the enclosed\* is very well done. The subject is noble, and I think what is writ upon it very handsome.

I shall be ready to attend you, Mr. Secretary, and the M. del Borgo. I wish we might first have considered what we should have said to him, it might have saved time and another meeting; but I am of opinion what he says must at last be put in writing and communicated to the Cabinet Council. I know not whether you design to be at the Cockpit this morning: it is certain we want your help, and that there are now four things relating to foreign affairs to be considered of as great consequence as can be—this of the Duke of Savoy; the answer to the Pensioner about the project we sent over; the affair of Portugal; and the demand of the King of Sweden, with the whole consideration of that northern war, and the treaties and engagements the Queen is in to those different interests. I am confident when you reflect on the importance of these affairs you will be of opinion they should be well considered.

I observed in Vanhulst's letter that the Pensioner imagined I had a more than ordinary intimacy with Lord Raby. I cannot conceive what ground he has for that. My acquaintance with him was as little as can be with one who was always in the late King's Court, and I never had any correspondence in my life with him till he writ to me upon my coming last year into her Majesty's service; and can assure you I have never named Vanhulst, the errand he went upon, or your correspondence with the Pensioner, to him. The last I did recommend to Lord Albemarle, and perceive he had taken pains in it, and with some success.

Surely it is time the Queen began to make such removes as she is resolved upon. I heard Lord Privy Seal [Bishop of Bristol] talks of going out of town for a few days this week. Would not that be a great inconvenience and delay to all business?

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, [May 29-] June 8.—I received your favour of the 18-29 past with great satisfaction, and do heartily congratulate your having recovered your strength to such a degree as to be able to attend

\* The preamble to Harley's patent creating him Earl of Oxford.



the public service again, and I hope the business of the House of Commons, in which you have so great a share, and have hitherto succeeded so much to the advantage of the nation as well as to your own honour, will soon be happily ended, that you may be more at liberty to attend at the Council and the Treasury, on which the Queen's service at home and that of the public abroad do so much depend. I am very sensible of the obligation I have to you that the army here has been hitherto so regularly subsisted, and I am persuaded we are so much in your thoughts that I need not pray the continuance of your care of us.

I am extremely obliged to you for the assurance you give me, that the building of Blenheim shall not be neglected. I cannot dissemble the desire I have to see that monument of her Majesty's goodness, and the nation's acceptance of my service, brought to some degree of perfection, I hope I shall give no just reason for posterity to reproach you for having been the finisher of it, and if I have the good fortune to spend any part of my life there I shall always have in my view a remembrancer of the obligations I owe you on this account.

M[ARGARET, COUNTESS OF] MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, June 7.—Though I have not the happiness to be personally known to you, yet my grievous circumstances and present extremity will, I hope, plead my excuse for troubling you in this manner, being unable to wait on you myself, and indeed destitute of any friend—except the gentleman that brings you this—to solicit my affair, which is humbly to desire that you will please to take into your consideration the prayer of my petition now lodged in the Treasury, and that some immediate relief may be ordered me, for I am now reduced to the last extremity.

My Lord, for God's sake let not the multitude of your weighty affairs make you forget the deplorable condition of, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, June [11-]22.—I am just now favoured with your Lordship's obliging letters of the 25th and 29th past; each of them gives me occasion to congratulate you upon the fresh marks you have received of the Queen's favour.

After the kind assurances you give me of your friendship, I should be very much wanting both in my public and private capacity if I neglected anything within the compass of my knowledge or power that might contribute to the making the discharge of your high trust as easy and agreeable to you as may be. I am very sensible how necessary good husbandry is in the vast expense we are at. I have hitherto heartily endeavoured to put an end to it, and assure you that while the nation is obliged to bear that heavy burden, it shall be my constant study to manage that part of the war I am concerned in with the utmost frugality. I pray I may hereafter have your commands without reserve, which I would not ask if I were not resolved you shall always find my returns such as may really convince you it cannot be more my interest than it is my inclination to approve myself with the greatest truth, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, July [5-]16.—I give your Lordship many thanks for the honour of your letter of the <sup>26 June</sup><sub>7 July</sub> and pray you will believe it shall always be my endeavour to make all possible returns for your friendship and good offices, of which you continue to give me such convincing proofs, as well by the provision you make for the public service, in which I have my lot, as for that part of my private concerns. Upon the former of these points I gave you my thoughts in my letter of the 4th instant, with the freedom which you encourage me to make use of, and her Majesty's service requires. I must expect your Lordship's answer before I can say any more upon that subject, or send over the person I proposed to you, so that I shall at this time trouble you no further than to repeat a truth which all my actions shall confirm: I mean that of the just value I have for your friendship, and the sincerity wherewith I am, &c.

*Postscript.* I fear the conduct of the King of Poland, as to the corps of neutrality, may prove very troublesome to the Allies.

THE SAME to- [THE SAME].

1711, July [15-]26.—I have let a post pass without returning your Lordship thanks for the honour of your letter of the  $\frac{6}{17}$  instant, choosing rather to do it by Lord Stair himself: his private affairs on your side have been long known to require his presence there. I am persuaded his voyage will give no other umbrage amongus, and I will take all possible care the secret do not get vent in Holland.

I cannot expect, neither can you give me, greater assurances and proofs of your friendship than you have done, and I flatter myself you will not question the sincerity of my endeavours to merit the continuance of it, when I tell you I am entirely sensible that without the Queen's favour, and your confidence, it will be impossible for me to carry on the service with any advantage to the public, or satisfaction to myself. The latter depends wholly upon the former, and it is to the promoting of that I shall most heartily employ all the means in my power, but I shall shorten this letter, and pray leave to refer you for the rest to my Lord Stair, who will fully explain to you every article of the project, and better express than I can write my true sentiments in regard to yourself. I know his Lordship cannot have a more powerful recommendation to you than his own merit, and shall therefore only add, that as I have always had great reason to be satisfied with the good service he has done the public, and his continual friendship to myself in particular, so I now assure him he can do me none so great as that of confirming your Lordship in the opinion you do me the justice to entertain, of my being with the greatest truth, &c.

*Postscript.*—Having just now received a piece of the Duke of Bavaria's new coin, I send it to your Lordship that you may see the titles he takes.



## THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, [July 27-] August 6.—It is with great pleasure I now give an account by Brigadier Sutton of our having passed the enemy's lines, the importance of which may best be judged of by the precautions the enemy have been taking as well last year as this to prevent it. You will have heard of our late motions towards the lines between Arras and Hedin, which, having had the effect I proposed in drawing the Marechal de Villars with all his troops that way, we made a march on Tuesday night with so much diligence that our advanced troops got over the Sensett at Harleux yesterday morning by break of day, before the enemy could come to make any opposition. Monsieur de Villars, with the head of his line of horse, appeared near Oissy at eleven in the morning, but finding by the number of troops we had then passed over he was not in a condition to attack us he retired, and we encamped between the Sensett and the Schelde. I cannot express the zeal and resolution all the troops showed on this occasion, good part of them having marched twenty-four hours without halting, but I must refer your Lordship for the further particulars of this fortunate enterprise to Brigadier Sutton whom I am very glad to send to give the Queen an account of it, being persuaded her Majesty will be no less satisfied to hear of an event which may hereafter be of great advantage, and will at present give a just reputation to her arms in all parts, though I ought not to conceal from you that by reason of the enemy's superiority our future operations must be attended with great difficulties. The most effectual means to remove them at once will be to bring the enemy to a battle, which I shall endeavour to do as far as lies in me, having all reason to hope that by the blessing of God the success will be as happy and glorious as it is necessary for us. A very little time will show whether the enemy are disposed to come to a general action or not: if they decline it I doubt not but we shall be able to make the siege of Bouchain, which place will be of great use to us in the execution of the project which has been laid before you; and if it be possible to prevent it by bringing the enemy to reason sooner, nothing in my power shall be omitted which may promote that great end. I desire the continuance of her Majesty's favour on no other conditions than the continuing to discharge my duty in such manner as may be most agreeable to her service. I am sure I shall by the same means preserve your friendship, and pray you will believe that I shall with great pleasure embrace all opportunities of convincing you that I am, with truth, &c.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1711, August [2-] 13.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 24th of July, and must own the share I have of obligation to you for the kind reception my Lord Stairs has met with. I shall expect his return with some impatience, as well upon account of the orders he will bring as for the satisfaction I propose from the report of his conferences with your Lordship, and till he arrives I shall not be able to add anything to what you will have heard from Brigadier Sutton of our further

views here; but I cannot conclude this without returning you thanks for a favour which I am to esteem the greater because you take no notice of it. It is from other hands that I am informed your Lordship has been so kind as to remove the difficulties that obstructed the signing the warrant for the building at Blenheim. I can have no other hopes than from your Lordship's friendship to see that work finished in my time, and your past good offices on that account lay me under the greatest obligations to endeavour by all means possible to deserve the continuance of them.

*Postscript.*—You will see by my letter to Mr. Secretary our present circumstances.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1711, August 8. Heathrop.—I have this moment received your letter by the messenger, and not having horses laid on the road cannot easily come in one day, but will be at Windsor Friday by ten in the morning, and if I find neither your Lordship nor Mr. Secretary there, I will only wait on her Majesty, and be at London the same evening between seven and eight, ready to receive any commands you have to lay upon me and attend you where you will direct me. If your Lordship should think it more proper I remained at Windsor and did not come to town, I hope you will send me your commands in time to Windsor. I shall say nothing more till I have the honour to see you.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] August 21.—I have bin in soe much paine all the last night and this day that it is not easy to me now to writt, and therefore I hope you will excuse me for only thanking you for your letter and assureing you I do not at all doubt of the sincerity of your friendship for her that is, with all sincerity,

Your very affectionett freind,

ANNE R.

*Postscript.*—If it please God to send me a tolerable good night I intend to writt to you againe to-morrow morning.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, August 27. Heathrop.—The news your Lordship sends of her Majesty's good health is very welcome, but that of the death of Lord Jersey very surprising and melancholy.

The Bishop of Bristol's abilities and knowledge in foreign affairs make her Majesty's intentions for him very reasonable, and the only objection I can form to myself against it is that, being a man who has passed most of his life abroad, and having (I suppose) not many relations of much figure at home, the bringing him into such a post adds no interest in either House towards carrying on her Majesty's business in Parliament; and so many of our friends in the Lords' House being dead, and many more soured or at least become luke-warm by disappointments in their expectations, I apprehend matters in that House at least will meet with difficulties.



## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] August 30.—I give you many thanks for your kind enquiry after my health, which I thank God is soe much mended within these two days that I hope, with the help of a stick, to be able to walk to Council a Munday. I have just now signed the warrant for the Scots signet and several other pappers Lord Dartmouth brought me, and am too lazy to writt to the Duke of Marlborough to-night, therefore must desire the fayvour of you to let Lord Stairs know I can not get my letter ready to go by him, but will send it time enough to overtake him before he can get to the Army; which is all I have to trouble you with at present, but that I am, &c.,

For the Lord Treasurer.

## THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, [August 24-] September 3.—I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  August, and shall have the greater desire to see my Lord Stairs here because he will be so fully instructed in your sentiments, by which I shall be entirely guided. I am not very apprehensive this siege will give the enemy any light into the intended project; they must be sensible we could not well undertake anything else, and it is most probable they think of securing their frontier by new lines, which I hope may be of as little use to them as their old ones have hitherto proved; besides, I think nothing can be a greater inducement to oblige them to think seriously of a peace than their being sensible of our vigorous and early preparations for carrying on the war. I am very sensible, and so are all her Majesty's troops, of the benefit we have of your early remittances. The alteration that has been lately made in the hands through which the money is afterwards distributed is what I thought Mr. Bridges had satisfied you in, and therefore as I never concerned myself otherwise in that matter so I did not think it necessary to trouble your Lordship with it. I cannot but take extremely kind the indulgence you express for me in consideration of the business I have here. I must confess to you the last six weeks have given me frequent and sensible remembrances of my growing old; the conscience of my doing my utmost for the Queen's service, the hopes of her Majesty's acceptance and the assurance of your friendship are my chief consolation, and whatever employment I may have upon my hands I shall always esteem it a pleasure rather than an increase of trouble if I can any way contribute towards the putting the war in Spain or any other part of the service on a better foot. You will please to remember I explained myself pretty fully to you on that subject before I left England; if anything I can do or say more may be of use to you I pray you will not spare me. The affairs in Portugal have at present no very promising aspect. We might with reason have expected some advantage from the campaign on that side, but I fear there is too much ground for the reflection Lord Portmore makes upon it. Your Lordship will see by what I write to Mr. Secretary that

the enemy have made a vigorous effort to succour Bouchain; as we had the good fortune to disappoint them, I hope we shall have the like success in the further uneasinesses he will be every day giving us.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, [August 30.] September 9.—I cannot omit returning my hearty thanks to your Lordship for the kind advice you have been pleased to give me by Mr. Craggs, relating to the money issued from the Exchequer for the building of Blenheim. I was always of the same opinion that the application of it should be examined with the strictest scrutiny, not only for my own sake but that her Majesty and the public might be satisfied the works had been carried on with the best economy. I have given Mr. Craggs the names of five persons to be employed in examining and auditing the accounts from the beginning, and should take it as a particular obligation if your Lordship would name two proper persons more to be joined to them in this service.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1711, September [3-]14.—I am persuaded I cannot write with greater satisfaction than your Lordship will receive the account I have now the honour to send you of our having brought the siege of Bouchain to a happy conclusion. The Governor beat the chamade on Saturday about noon, and sent out a good number of articles. I returned a short answer that the garrison must expect no other conditions than to be prisoners of war, to which they at first refused to submit and we began to fire upon them again in the evening, which lasted till midnight, when they desired another parley, and after some dispute agreed to accept our terms. I heartily congratulate your Lordship on this happy success, which, considering the difficulties the siege has been attended with, and the continual attempts of a superior army in sight of us to disturb it, may well be looked upon as an instance of the blessing of heaven upon the justice of our cause. I hope the enemy will consider it as such, and that they will at last seriously think of putting an end to the destructions they have so long caused in Europe. It is very evident they do not put so much confidence in their superiority as they seemed to do in the beginning of the campaign. You will see by my former letters to Mr. Secretary that out of apprehension of our designing to undertake something further on this side, they have destroyed a good part of their own country to make it difficult for us to subsist in it, and it will be no easy matter to find forage during the time we shall be obliged to continue here, to put the town into a posture of defence. Several gentlemen of the army have solicited me to be the bearer of this good news, and I should have thought it important enough to have gratified one of them, but as I am unwilling on any occasion to add to the expense of the Government I choose rather to send Collins



the messenger. Your Lordship will see by the papers I sent to Mr. Secretary the difficulties they make at the Hague in furnishing their part of what will be necessary for the execution of the project transmitted by Lord Stairs, on which, in my opinion, so much depends, that I have prevailed upon my Lord Albemarle to make a turn to the Hague to induce the States to a compliance. As to her Majesty's share, my immediate aim is to manage it with all the frugality that is possible, and I doubt not but you will be satisfied I endeavour to do the same in every part of the war I am concerned in, but I shall at this time give you no further trouble than to assure you of my sincere desire to give you the most convincing proofs of the truth, wherewith I am, &c.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] September 6.—If Lord Stairs is gon I desire you would send the enclosed by to-morrow's post. I have not said anything in it concerning Mr. Charters for a reason I will tell you when I have the satisfaction of seeing you. I desired Mr. Secretary to acquaint you with a part of a letter he received by the last post concerning the Electoral Prince of Saxe, that you might have time to consider before you come hither what would be proper for me to do in that matter. Something I think I should do on several accounts, especially on that of my neare relation to him, but it is a thing of that nice nature that I cannot determine anything in my own thoughts, and therefore shall give no orders to the Secretary till I can know your opinion.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] September 13. Windsor.—I thank you for the draught of the letter you sent me for the Electres of Saxe, which I like very well, and have only altered a few words. I shall send it to Mr. Secretary to enclose to Mr. Scot by to-morrow's post; hoping for the satisfaction of seeing [you] on Saturday I will trouble you with nothing more now but my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] September 19, Wensday night.—I received your letter this morning, and you may be assured I will not show the enclosed you sent me to any body. I am very willing to receive the compliment you mention if you can contrive a very private way to do it.

Since I saw you, Lord Chamberlain (Shrewsbury) has talked a good deale to me about the Peace, and I hope he will act very hartily in it, tho' he seems a little fearfull. I desired to speake to Mr. Secretary St. Johns to draw the commission himself that I am to give to the Lords of the Cabinet, for it can be no secret if it

goes thorow the clerk's hands, and I wish you would give yourself the trouble to read it to see that it is as it should be before it is brought to me to signe. I conclude I shall have an account from you to-morrow or next day of the particulars of the Instructions that are come over, and am, &c.

*Postscript.*—I hope you will excuse the blots of this letter, for I am in hast and can not writt it over againe.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

[1711,] September 20.—I give you many thanks for the account you send me of the conversation you had last night, and am very glad the great affair is in soe good a way. I pray God send a happy conclusion to it. You are very much in the right to desire Lord Privy Seal [Bishop Robinson] should be joyned with the Secretaries in drawing this Convention. I have yet heard nothing of the warrant Mr. Secretary is to prepare. I think if he has not yet given my Lord Stafford orders to hasten away it is high time that should be done.

I received a letter from Lord Dartmouth this evening in which he tells me Mr. Methuen says 'tis impossible for him to begin his journey till the end of November, which will be a great disappointment to the Duke of Savoy. If you have interest with Mr. Methuen I hope you will writt to him to lett him know the necessity there is of his hastening away, and I will order Lord Dartmouth to do the same.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, September 21.—I received this afternoon the honour of your Lordship's letter of the  $\frac{5}{18}$  instant from the hands of Lord Stairs, and had so much satisfaction in discoursing with him upon the several points you mention, that I have scarce time left to return you my thanks, however I cannot let the post go without giving you this fresh assurance that I am too well convinced of the sincerity of your friendship, and care to promote every thing I am concerned in, to neglect any opportunity that may offer of demonstrating to you how heartily I desire and endeavour to merit the continuance of them. By the account you are pleased to give me of the Queen's health, I am in hopes the gout, though it some times keep her Majesty under a little confinement, may the same effect it has been observed to have elsewhere and lengthen her days, which is the greatest blessing than can befall her people. I must pray leave to refer your Lordship to what I write to Mr. Secretary, as well in relation to the progress Lord Albemarle makes in his solicitations at the Hague, as to the troops the Elector of Hanover desires may winter in his own country, the former gives me hopes the States will come into the measures concerted for the execution of the project, and the latter may have reasonable satisfaction, and at



the same time contribute his quota here. My Lord Stairs has brought me a letter from my Lord Chamberlain of the 22nd of August, but his Grace does not give me any opinion in it upon the project. I am very much obliged to your Lordship for your further explanation upon the overtures of peace, and shall be very glad to do every thing that lies in my power towards the promoting that great work.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] September 24.—I have this buisnes of the Peace soe much at hart, that I cannot help giving you this trouble to ask if it may not be proper to order Mr. Secretary, in case he finds M. Menager very averse to the new propossition, not to insist upon it, and if you think it right I hope you will take care Mr. Secretary has such an order in my name, for I think there is nothing soe much to be feard as the letting the Treaty goe out of our hands. I desire you would not lett Mr. Gray have any money till I can speake with you againe.

*Postscript.*—I forgot this morning to speake to you about Mr. Framton, who I promised two months ago that he should have half a yeare of his salary against the next Newmarket meeting, which is now very neare; and he desiring the money might be sent him by the Duke of Somerset, if you should see him in town, pray lett him know I have given you order for it.

For the Lord Treasurer.

[THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY] to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, September 27.—Some business obliging me to go this morning to Windsor, I shall be forced to deny myself the satisfaction of waiting upon your Lordship; besides, having a very great cold, I believe the country air is better for me than so good a dinner.

I think it was once resolved that the Article of acknowledging the Pro[testant] succession, and that of Dunkirk, should be put into the paper Lord Strafford carries to Holland, and since Menager himself seemed to make no scruple of it, I am of opinion those two Articles would mend that paper, which of itself will I fear appear dry. Besides in the 20th Article of the Barrier treaty England and Holland do engage to enter upon no negotiation till the Queen's title and the Protestant succession have been acknowledged. It is indeed added that France shall promise also to remove the Pretender, of which I hope effectual care will be taken in time, though it has been judged improper to insist on it just now; but having already been too troublesome on these heads, I shall submit them, and am most faithfully, &c.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711, September,] Wensday morning. Windsor.—I give you many thanks for your letter and do not all doubt of the assurances you give me of your having no veiw but for my service, and

acting therein as it is most agreeable to me. I think the D. of Marlborough shews plainer than ever, by this new project his unwillingness for a peace, but I hope our negotiations will succeed and then it will not be in his power to prevent it. It is certainly very right of the D. of Shrewsbury should see the enclosed, but I cannot think it so, that Lord Keeper [Harcourt] should be a vicount, and therefore I desire you would endeavour to make him easy in that matter.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] October 12.—I should not have troubled you with a letter now, but having heard by Masham how greived Sir Frances is at Mr. Bear's being to be removed from the Victualling Office, and thinking it very hard if a man who is honest and harmless, and has had hopes given him he should continue, should have a worse place given him, to gratefy other people, I cannot help writting this to let you know I will have Mr. Bear continue in the same office, lett there be never soe much fault found with it.

I have several other things to say to you but shall deferr them till I have the satisfaction of seeing you.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] October 19. Windsor.—I received your letter too late last night to thank you for it then. I am very glad to find things are in soe good a way abroad for the Peace, but I am exstream sorry to heare you have bin out of order since I saw you, and therefore I desire you would not think of going any journey till you are perfectly well. I intend, an it please God, to be at Hampton Court Teusday or Wensday next which will be nearer to you; however I desire you would not com thither till you are easy, which I hope will be soon, and in the mean time be soe kind to your freinds as to give them an account of your health, and be assured of my being sincerely your very affectionate freind.

*Postscript.*—I keep the letter you sent me that I may return it safe to your own hand.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] October 22. Windsor.—I had yesterday a long harangue from Msr. Buys much to the same purpose as his conversation with you and Mr. Secretary, and I answered him in those words you proposed. It is certainly very right to dispatch him as soon as it is possible, and therefore I have ordered Lord Dartmouth to summon the Lords and Msr. Buys to meet at the Cockpit or at your house to-morrow, as it is most convenient for your health. I have endeavoured to perswaid one that is heare



to go to London to-morrow, but whether they (*sic*) will or no I am not yet sure.

I beg you would never make any more excuses for long letters, for I do assure you it is always a great satisfaction to me to heare from you.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] October 26.—I must thank you now for your last letter, and should have don it sooner but for feare of troubleing you to often when you are not well, and I beg if it is not easy to you to writt not to give me any answer to this till it is.

I hope everything is now soe well seteld with Msr. Buys that he will be ready to go in a few days, tho' the Parliament should not meet soe soon as we now intend, and I fancy it cannot, for something must be said in my speech of the Peace, and I question whether in Holland they will make any hast to make any answer to what M. Buys is to say to them; but you are a better judge of this.

I wish there could be money enough found to pay the Prince's servants two quarters of the five they are in arrears, some of them being in very bad circumstances.

I am very sorry to find by those that came from London yesterday that you continue still very much indisposed. I pray God send you your health and preserve your life for the good of your country and all your faithfull friends; none I am sure is more soe then

Your very affectionate freind,

ANNE R.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, October 28, Sunday night.—I think it will be very right to endeavour by Gau[tier?] to get from Fr[ance] such proposals as might secure the Dutch they shall have a reasonable Barrier and treaty for Commerce, and Savoy a reasonable Barrier. I proposed at the Cockpit that care should be taken of acknowledging the King of Prussia, and the ninth Electorate in the King of Hanover, which last are points I believe will create no difficulty; but the Lords there thought these two last should not be mentioned. I desisted then submitting my sense to theirs, but backed by seeing it your Lordship's opinion, I begin to think it is right.

I agree all possible means should be used to keep Buys in good humour, and if the defensive Alliance can be despatched without too long delaying his return it would certainly be a very proper time to conclude it.

Mrs. Masham tells me your Lordship continues to mend. Pray God give you perfect and long health, no humble servant you have wishes it more heartily than I do, or thinks it of more importance to the public. What should we do without your help?

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] November 3.—I give you many thanks for your letter and am very much obliged to you for the kind concern you express in it for my health. I am exstream sorry yours mends soe slowly, and shall continue my prayers for the perfect recovery and confirmation of it, being truly sensible how much the welfare of our poor country depends on you.

I will be sure to order Lord Dartmouth to send to the Lords of the Admiralty to prepare the new commission you sent me for the Victualling office. I will take care Lord James Murray shall have Charter[i]'s company in the Guards; and orders shall be given to have Msr. Buyses re-credentials and present in a readiness; but as to the Parliament I cannot tell yet when I shall be able to open it, for tho' I thank God I am much better then I was, I am not out of paine and the weaknes always continues a good while after. However I believe it will be necessary to come to some resolution at the next Cabinet Council, which I have appointed on Teusday and I think it would be best to have the Parliament prorouged to that day four weeks, and by that time I hope both you and I may be in a condition to go to the House. If you do not think this a proper day, lett me know before Teusday; and give me leave to beg you to be carefull of yourself and not to fatigue yourself with buisnes till you are better able to beare it, and that you may soon be soe and enjoy a long state of health nobody I am sure prays more hartely for then

Your very affectionate friend,

ANNE R.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] November 6.—Not knowing whether Mr. Secretary has consulted you about the enclosed I send it for your approbation before I would copy it. Mr. St. Johns knows nothing of the little alteration there is made in the letter, therefore take no notice of it to him. He proposes the Secretary of the Embassy that is now at the Hauge (Hague) should cary this letter to the Emperour, I should be glad to know whether you think him a proper person to do it. I intend very soon to trouble you with a longer letter and therfore shall add no more to this but that I am &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] November 9.—I must now return you my thanks for yours of the 5th and am convinced that what you say about the prorouging of the Parliament is very right. I have not yet given any orders to the two Secretaries concerning the Speech thinking it will be time enough next week, and I hope you will have your thoughts on it too, when you can do it without prejudice to your health, which I pray God Almighty with all my hart to confirm to you.



Since we cannot depend upon the Duke of Montrose to go to Viena, why should not Lord Haddo be offered it. I beleieve Lord Jersey might do very well, but I think at this juncture we cannot part with one vote out of the House of Lords.

When the Duke of Marlborough com's I should think it will be best for me just to begin to open the matter of the Peace to him and to reffer him to you and Mr. Secretary for a fuller account of all that is passed.

I cannot emagin what Lord Sunderland proposes to himself in making you a vissit, but I am very easy about it, not doubting but you will manage him as is best for my service.

If some care is not taken to prevent Duke Hamilton from going to the House a Teusday he will sertinly then be introduced, which in my oppinion would be very wrong. I spoke to Lord Chamberlain (Shrewsbury) to use his interest to hinder it, but his Grace has got the gout, so cannot go to London. When I shall be able to undertake the journey I cannot tell for though I am, God be thanked, out of pain I can't yet walk, but I hope by that time the publick buisnes requires my being in town I shall get strength enough to beare the jolting of a coach.

I was very glad to heare by the Cofferer that you weare better, and wish this may find you perfectly well. However I would not have you think of coming to this place for feare of catching cold, but be carefull of your self that nothing may happen to hinder you from being able to lett me have the satisfaction of seeing you when I com to St. James's.

I am most sincerely,

Your very affectionaté freind,

ANNE R.

#### QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] November 15.—I have just now received yours of to-day, and am very much ashamed I had not thanked you for your last before, but I hope you will excuse that fault. The news you sent me in your former concerning the Duke of Marlborough is something prodigious, and the account you give me in your last of his proceedings since I think is very extraordinary.

I am sorry the Duke of Shrewsbury should make complaints of me, I am sure I do not deserve them, for I speak to him of everything, and advise with him on all occasions and will continue doing soe, thinking it very right to keep him in good humour; but I cannot see how I can say anything to soften him, for I suppose I am not to know he complains of me.

I have several things to say to you but is it now too late to begin on any other subject, and therfore I shall trouble you with a longer letter to-morrow.

Give me leave to wish you joy of your grandson and that you may live to see him an old man. Pray be very carefull of yourself that you may get no more relapses before the meeting of the Parliament, and be assured of my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711,] November 19.—I beleieve you wonder'd to receive my letter that was dated the 16th not till yesterday. The reason of it was I begun it on Fryday and did not finish it till Saturday evening to late to send it. The Duke of Marlborough came to me yesterday as soon as I had dined, made a great many of his usiall proffessions of duty and affection to me. He seemed dejected and very uneasy about this matter of the publick accounts, stayed neare an hour and saw nobody heare but my self. When I have the satisfaction of seeing you I will give you a more particular account of all that passed between us.

I have no objection to Mr. Prior then what I mentioned in my last, for I always thought it very wrong to send people abroad of meane extraction; but since you think Mr. Prior will be very usefull at this time, I will comply with your desire.

I look upon it as a great happynes that the mob was disappointed of their meeting, for God knows of what fatal consequence it might have proved. Should not the person that made the discovery be rewarded? I have not yet heard anything of the letter you mention from the Emperor, but I received one yesterd (*sic*) from the Duke of Savoy of which I suppose Lord Dartmouth has by this time given you an account. I shall not trouble you with any more at present but the assurances of being &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, November 19.—I am very sorry I was from home when you intended me the honour of a visit this morning, had you not been otherwise engaged I should not have failed waiting on your Lordship this afternoon. I shall be obliged to go to-morrow morning early to Hamton Court, and am very desirous you will let me know what may be a convenient hour to yourself for me to come to your own house.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

[1711, November 23, *endorsed*] Friday.—I do without flattery assure you that I am perfectly pleased with the enclosed draughts. There are some few and very small alterations I shall mention when I attend your Lordship; I am only fearful lest the most shining sentences be blotted out when it comes to be corrected.

I wish you and your company good success in what you are about, but as I apprehend our House to be the place our enemies have most hopes to prevail in, so I recommend to you tō take the requisite care that our friends come to town in time. Lord Cardigan has promised me to be here about this day sevensnight. I heard to-day from Lord Poulett that Lords Denbigh and Leigh stayed in the country, ready to attend if sent for but not unless they had notice.



## THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711 ?] Wednesday morning.—My giving you the trouble of this letter is occasioned by the illness of poor Mr. Manwayring, and the desire I have of waiting upon your Lordship this evening, or to-morrow night, which may be most convenient to yourself, if you please to send two lines to Mr. Manwayring, I shall be sure to have it.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711, .] Windsor, Wensday morning.—I give you this trouble to desire you would order two hundred pound to be given to Lady Sylvies, and one hundred to Mrs. Foil ; the first of these has had a pention of a hundred pounds for some yeares past, but has not bin payde the two last, Masham can let you know where she lives, and I desire you would lett her have it as soon as you can conveniently, for she stays in town for it. I desire to that you would settle the Vice-Chamberlaine's buissnes and lett his additional allowance begin from Midsummer, 1710.

For the Lord Treasurer.

*Endorsed by Lord Oxford:—"Wendsday-Mony, Lady Silvies, Mrs. Foyle, Vice-Chamberlaine."*

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1712, March 29.—Having no opportunity to speak to your Lordship at your own house, and remembering you desired I would come to some resolution about Ireland to-day at farthest, since you are so kind to command me to speak my mind without reserve, upon the best consideration I am capable of I shall freely confess my inclination leads me rather not to go, though I shall always retain a just sense of your Lordship's favour in having me in your thoughts for an employment of such advantage, trust, and honour.

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, May 1.—I remember last year the gentlemen of Worcestershire at first were only concerned that the Receiver for the Land Tax should be chosen out of their own county, and in that I joined, afterwards my Lord Plymouth and some others recommended the present Receiver who is altogether a stranger to me, but I did a little espouse his cause because I understood there was an endeavour from some neighbouring gentlemen, to get a Receiver out of another county. If the present Receiver has misbehaved himself I am sure I have no objection to his being changed, and nobody to recommend in his place, only hope

his successor may be a Worcestershire man, else I foresee the gentlemen will again complain that a hardship is put upon the county, as they suspected was intended last year; as to Shropshire I know nothing of the last, and have nobody to recommend for this year, if the old one be removed.

Her Majesty has hitherto been so extreme punctual in giving me half yearly what she was pleased to promise me at my first coming into her service, that your Lordship will pardon me if I take the liberty to acquaint you that the 14th of the last month half a year was due, I having had the honour then to serve two years.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

[1712, June,] Monday.—It seems to me highly necessary that Lord Strafford were immediately dispatched with instructions what to say in Holland upon this plan her Majesty has now so publicly laid before the Parliament. Port Mahon and especially Gibraltar should be secured, the last by sending a new governor.

If your Lordship thinks there will be any difficulty in electing a peer in Scotland in her Majesty's interest to fill Lord Marshal's [Marischal's] place you will think to get as many proxies as can be from the Scots peers in England, and remember Earls of Orkney, Dunmore, Dundonald, and perhaps others, are abroad and should be writ to.

If Sir William Windham removes from his employment to a better, I have found a way to discover that that place will entirely please Lord Cardigan, and I am really of opinion he would fill it very creditably. Therefore if your Lordship can get the Queen to bestow it upon him you may depend upon his being gratefully your servant, and I shall take it as an obligation to myself as well from her Majesty as your Lordship.

I believe your Lordship will resolve to adjourn the Parliament for about three weeks; if there be any truth in the advices Lord Privy Seal [the Bishop of London] sends from Holland, it will be highly necessary to have the Parliament at hand, and however one adjournment at least will be convenient to give you a little time.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, August 6. Windsor.—You having told me you believed you should have some money this day I cannot help giving you this trouble to desire if you have any that you would send me a bill for Coll. Desney, he being very impatient to be gone. Pray remember that care be taken to send to the Scots peers who are in Flanders for their proxies, and be assured of my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.



## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, August 20.—I give you many thanks for your letter and am very glad the election was carryed soe unanimous. I am very much obliged to Lord Mar and Lord Kinnoul for the pains they have taken, and when you writ I desire you would return them my thanks. I wish you would turn it in your thoughts against you com hither who it will be prosperest to give Lord Rivers's employments to. Duke Hamilton must sertainly have one, if it be General of the Ordnance I feare he may claime being of the Cabinet, and if he should I doubt one can't well refuse him becaus formerly those in that post have bin of it; but I will take no resolution in these matters till I see you.

I should be glad as soon as it can conveniently be done that you would order the arrears that are due to Prince Charles of Denmark to be payde, or at least half, for I know he is but in very indifferent circumstances.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 4, Saturday. Windsor.—I am hartely sorry for your indisposition, but hope in God it will be soon over and that you will take more care for the future of your health, which is of soe great consequence to all your friends, and to none more then myself you may be sure.

I will turn my thoughts the best I can in case the Bishop of London should dye that his place may be well filled. My Lord Chamberlain writt to you by my order to send for Lord Strafford, but till one knows when he will be hear I cannot apoint a chapter [of the Garter]; therfore I desire my intentions may yet be kept a secret.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 8, Wensday. Windsor.—I was very glad to find by your letter yesterday you weare soe much mended in your health; I pray God perfect it, and tho' I should be very glad to see you hear I hope you will not com till you can venture the journey without any hazard.

I have seen several letters from Lord Peterborow both to Lord Dartmouth and Lord Bolingbroke, but by them one can't guesse what humour he is in; I hope his Lordship will com right at last. Mr. Compton shewed me a Munday an order he had received from the Commissioners of accounts which I think a very unreasonable thing, and they may as well send for an account of the Secret Service or the Privy Purse as these charity pensions; besides to have an account of what money the poor Prince call'd for, for his own private use, layd before the Parliament would be very shocking to me, and in my poor oppinion very improper. Therfore I hope you will think of some answer to be sent to these

gentlemen that they may not expect their commands should be complied with in this particular. I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but that I am, &c.

*Postscript.*—I am a little tormented with the gout in my elbow at this time, but els I thank God I am very well.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1712, October,] Monday night.—When I attended her Majesty this evening she commanded me to acquaint your Lordship that she intended very soon a promotion of Knights of the Garter, and did desire you would immediately let Lord Strafford know he should be here as soon as could be in order to be elected. Lord Bullingbrook tells me a messenger goes to-morrow night for Holland so that I hope you will take that opportunity of writing to Lord Strafford, to hasten him over that he may be back again at Utrecht before the returns from Lord Lexington arrive, for then in all probability the Plenipotentiaries will have more to do there, than they have now.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 11, Saturday.—I am very glad you are better, and hope this fine weather will contribute to the perfecting your health. I thank God my pain begins to abate but I have had a great deal since I writt to you last, and am still far from being easy.

I must thank you for the trouble you have taken in making the Commissioners of accounts reasonable, for I beleieve without your interposition they would not have bin soe. I desire you would lett Lord Ballandin have two hundred pound as soon as you can conveniently, for I am assured by others as well as his mother that he is starving.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 17, Fryday. Windsor.—The occasion of my giving you this trouble is that Lord Dartmouth told me last night Lord Strafford had desired him to writt to the Lords of the Admiralty that they should pay him the same respect as they did to Lord Orford which I think is not right, and therefore I wish you could hinder Lord Strafford from going to the board till I have spoke with him againe, for feare of any misunderstanding between them at there first acquaintance. Hoping for the satisfaction of seeing you to-morrow I will not trouble you with any more but assure you that I am, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.



## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 21, Tuesday. Windsor.—Last night Lord Dartmouth was with me to desire I would give him leave to go into the country for a little while. He made no complaints but seem'd very uneasy. I said all I could to perswaid him from going and desired him to consider of it againe, and to com to no resolution till he came to London. I fear he is determined not only in this but to quit, which I should be very sorry for, for I beleev him an honest man and I think it would be prejudicial to my service; therfore I hope you and his other freinds will endeavour to perswaid him out of these thoughts.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1712, November 1. Windsor.—I believe it will be right to send both Lord Strafford and Mr. Prior away as soon as may be, but know not how either can return till the Queen has taken her resolutions about the proposal Mr. Prior came over with. I fear it will not be approved nor thought agreeable to her Majesty's speech to let the Elector of Bavaria remain master of a great part of the Netherlands.

I have been confined to my chamber ever since Tuesday morning, I am now lame but out of pain, much obliged by your Lordship's kind enquiry, and more than anybody your sincere, faithful, and affectionate humble servant.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, November 5. Windsor.—Tho' it is three days since I heard from you I hope you will accept of my thanks for your letter and kind wishes for my health, which I thank God is in a pretty good state considering the badness of the weather. I hope yours has not suffered by that nor nothing els.

I had a vissit from Mr. Hamden on Sunday, who made very great proffessions, but I beleeve some thing must be thought on to do for him to keep him right. The Duke of Ormond was hear yesterday, I fancy'd at first he seem'd a litle uneasy, but after talking some time he came into good humour; he coms of a solicitous famely, therefore care must be taken that he makes no unreasonable requests. The living that is vacant in Yorkshire is what I promised the Archbishop of York last spring to give to Mr. Drake whenever it should fall. Hoping for the satisfaction of seeing you in a few days I will not trouble you with any more, only desire you would be soe just as to beleeve me, &c.

*Postscript.*—Pray enquire about the other hundred pound that you ordered for Lord Ballandin, for he sertainly had not received it last week.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, November 13. Windsor.—I received yours this morning with a draught of a letter to the King of France which shall be ready to-morrow, and that I hope will be time enough since my Lord Strafford, who is to go at the same [time] Mr. Prior does, has not yet taken leave of me. Should not Duke Hamilton be hasten again, when I saw him last he talked as if he wanted several things for his journey; if that be soe care should be taken that he has no just pretence for staying. I am very glad the form of the renunciation is over in Spain. I think one may reasonable hope now the great work of the Peace is in a faire way of coming to a happy conclusion. When you com next pray order it soe that you may be hear by day light, and take more care of yourself, and be assured of my being most sincerely your very affectionate friend.

*Postscript.*—I wish you would give some orders before you com from London that Lord Abingdon may be payed for as yet he has received nothing.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, November 21, Fryday. Windsor.—I give you many thanks for your letter and the kind consern you express for me in it. These accounts that are com of a designe against my person dos not give me any uneasynes knowing God Almighty's protection is above all things, and as he has hitherto bin infinitely gracious to me I hope he will continue being soe.

Since you tell me you intend to be heare to-morrow it is not necessary for me to say any more to your letter, and being going presently to take the air I must desire you to make my excuse to the two Secretaries that I do not answer theirs.

*Postscript.*—I wish you joy of your new cousin.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1712,] November 27, Thursday night. Windsor.—I have just now received your letter for which I give you many thanks, and am very sory anything I said on Teusday morning should make you think I was displeased with you. I told you my thoughts freely as I have always and ever will continue to do on all occasions. You cannot wonder that I who have bin ill used soe many yeares should desire to keep myself from being againe enslaved; and if I must always comply and not be complied with, is (*sic*) I think very hard and what I cannot submit to, and what I beleve you would not have me. I am very unwilling to put off the buisnes of the sheriffs till I com to London, but I hope if the roads will give you leave I shall have the satisfaction of



seeing you hear on Saturday, till when I shall trouble you nothing more.

*Postscript.*—I am sory the Duke of Ritchmond behaves himself soe strangely.

#### THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1712, November,] Thursday.—I give your Lordship many thanks for the so quick despatch of your orders for my money, the sum being 1,500*l.* for equipage, and 1,300*l.* advance for my first quarter. Your Lordship will forgive me if I put you in mind that when first I resigned myself to her Majesty's pleasure in this particular, I told you as I desired never to be a gainer so I presumed it would not be expected I should be a loser by this employment. But my Lord I have now before me a melancholy prospect, an exact account of my Lord Jersey's expenses for eight months that he was at Paris—for he continued no longer—and they amount to above 10,000*l.* sterling whilst there, besides 2,000*l.* spent here in necessaries to carry with him; nor must it be computed that if he spent 12,000*l.* in eight months, I need spend only 6,000*l.* in four months, for much the greatest part of the charge is in the first setting out. Your Lordship will consider that my Lord Jersey was not sent on any particular occasion, was a very good manager, and upon many accounts would certainly save where it was consistent with his honour to do it, and it cannot be imagined that I can do less than he did. I do not send the particulars for fear they should be too tedious, but if for your information you have a mind to see them I have them ready. I know not what to offer on this subject, but submit it and my interest to her Majesty's generosity, and to your Lordship's goodness and friendship always showed to the most faithful of your humble servants.

#### QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, December 2. Windsor.—I desired my Lord Dartmouth to tell you I did not thank you for your last letter becaus by what you said I thought you intended to be hear the midle of the week, but since he went I have heard soe much of the waters being higher than ever, that I can't help writting to-night to desire you would not com any time this week unless there should be occasion for a Cabinet Council, for I intend, an it please God, if the roads are passable, to be at St. James's next Teusday or Wensday.

If it be necessary that I should writt a letter of *cachet* besides that of credence by the Duke of Shrewsbury, I desire you would do me the fayvour to prepare a draught and send it time enough for me to copy it before it goes.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1712, December 4. Antwerp.—I am got safe to this place, having avoided going to Bridges and Gant (*sic*). When I had the honour of seeing you last, I then told you the disappointment of Mr. Cadogan's company would hinder my going to Italy this season. Your Lordship's friendship in then promising me your assistance in getting him leave, makes me thus early beg that you will give my humble duty to the Queen, and that I may have this mark of her goodness towards me of giving him leave to be with me, which will be a great ease to me in my retirement. Finding myself very much out of order, I have written to Lady Marlborough to lose no time in coming to Aix-le-Chapel, by which I shall have the advantage of one month of the hot baths, which are as I am told as good in this season as in any time of the year, and from thence I shall go into Germany, and in the spring go to the Lake of Geneva, where I will take the best house I can get, in order to live as much retired as is possible. It will be a pleasure if I may sometimes hear from you, and particularly that you are so much master of your own actions that I may depend upon being easy and quiet at Woodstock, which I recommend to your friendship and care.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712-13, January 3, Saturday.—I am very sorry your indisposition still continues, and therefore not knowing when I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you, I must desire you this way to send me a few words that you think may be proper for me to say to the Duc d'Aumont when he comes to me. It is time now to come to some resolution about the Parliament, therefore pray let me know your thoughts on that subject; and give me leave to put you in mind of sending the proxies of the Scots peers to Scotland.

*Postscript.*—My Lady Masham told me she heard one of the chaises that are come out of France was intended to be given to her, do not take any notice of it to her but find out if it be soe and endeavour to prevent it; for I think it would not be right. I should not have troubled you with such a little thing but for fear I might forget it when I saw you.

For the Lord Treasurer.

CHARACTERS of the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712-13, January 1.—A paper in Swift's handwriting and endorsed by him:—

"The Countess of ———'s Character of Lord Treasurer."

The character of the man whom the Queen delighteth to honour.

Ambitious to serve his country, and yet knows its faults.

He never will tear up his own bowels from despair, but will ever act and shew he expects a blessing from a superior Power for every wise action.



He appears to be dilatory not from want of the satisfaction to serve all, but to search out those with the fewest faults.

Proud only by disregarding his own greatness.

Forgives, and unmindful if his enemy repents.

He is civil to all, without an illjudged respect.

Careful of the public money, watchful to have that managed with faithfulness.

Concerned for its honour proved by weighing how to pay the debts rather by advancing its interest the ..... the whole.

Dutifully admires his sovereign, and if things go amiss, he would rather have it thought his mistake or anybody's than her's.

He adores God, he submits his doubts, endeavours to be perfect without presuming to hope for perfection.

He hates being commended, but must know he deserves it, reflecting his superiority cannot last without humility, ever, suspecting he may err.

Lives without fear and will die with true honour.

*Comment by Dr. Swift.*

1712-13, January 1.—The lady who drew the above character (of Lord Treasurer Oxford) is a person of as much good natural sense and judgment as I have ever known, and hath received all the improvements that Court and conversations of princes and other great persons could give her. Her advice hath many years been asked and followed in the most important affairs of state. Accordingly you see in this draft of hers an endeavour at something that is very judicious and uncommon; but her great misfortune was, that in her education she fell short even of that little share of reading which belongs to her sex, so that she has neither orthography, grammar, nor choice of proper words, which last never fails her in conversation, and in subjects she is conversant with. Besides there is a stiffness and affectation of something beyond her reach in what she writes. I think ladies thus qualified should never hold a pen but upon occasions of perfect necessity, or that when they do, they should employ some other hand to correct and put into English what they have to say.

Another paper in Swift's handwriting, annexed to the above, but without any heading or other explanation, runs thus:—"In this oppressed and entangled state was the kingdom with relation to its debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of Godolphin from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This person had been chosen Speaker successively to three Parliaments, was afterwards Secretary of State, and always in great esteem with the Queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late Ministry about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her Majesty much against her inclination to dismiss him from her service, for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more

extraordinary that he should succeed in the the same attempt a second time, against those very adversaries who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he has once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience that a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast. That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation offers to him as his first thought, so that he decides immediately what is best to be done, and is therefore never at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, avarice, cruelty and pride are wholly strangers to his nature, but he is not without ambition. His detractors who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character. For, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonstrate; very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the Government; to find out means for paying such immense debts as this nation is involved in, and reduce it to better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortress of his kingdom as a pledge; and this against all the oppositions mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies; such performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of understanding or of candour puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind which themselves do neither possess nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this Minister, seems at distance to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too, which I number among his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of Power, to which he hath been heard to answer that he seldom did otherwise without cause to repent. However so undistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be altogether justified; by which the owner loses many advantages, and whereof all men who are really honest may with some reason complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature has her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great Ministers, who like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free. For time



is often gained as well as lost by delay, which at worst is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this Minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon this article. His endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons, which renders him less amiable than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his nature, and his agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependents. Yet some allowance may be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he has, since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of public affairs. And I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age of the world, of a person who hath passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with so great a share, both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person who in the space of . . . years hath been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and hath deserved so well of his own Prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts which I have above described, this Minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer, &c."

#### JONATHAN SWIFT to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712-13, January 5.—I most humbly take leave to inform your Lordship that the Dean of Wells died this morning at one o'clock. I entirely submit my poor fortunes to your Lordship.

#### THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, January [8-] 19, n.s. Paris.—Upon my arrival here on the 13th I found the state of that affair which was more particularly recommended to me to negotiate altered from what I understood when I left London. Her Majesty by her last instructions tied me up strictly from allowing the French either to fish or to dry their fish upon any part of Newfoundland, in consideration of which she consented they should possess and fortify Cape Breton. Mr. Prior, upon several conferences he had with your Lordship and Lord Bolingbroke, as well as papers from those skilled in trade, was instructed to offer some expedients upon that Article, which he has done and sent them to London; so that till he has an answer to them it is evident what I propose or can agree to will not be regarded.

However in three conferences I have had with M. de Torcy, the same day and the day after I arrived, and the 17th at Marly, I used the best arguments of all kinds I could think on, and must own I found in him more stiffness than I imagined not to go beyond what Mr. Prior sent over on that head, alleging that to

quit entirely the fishery of Newfoundland would beggar three of their Provinces, and that they expect a loud clamour from those parts for the restraint they put on themselves by this last offer.

Your Lordship knows I have always confessed my ignorance in these matters, but shall give you my opinion. If the insisting on this article in the manner I am instructed be of great consequence to the British trade, it must be adhered to in the most resolute manner, and this Court given to understand they can have no peace without it, in which case your Lordship must write to Monsieur de Torcy in that positive style, but if the expedient you have from Mr. Prior, may be accepted without prejudice to our commerce, let us receive her Majesty's orders, and in either case let them be despatched without delay.

As to the heads of commerce Mr. Prior has also sent new papers, and writ now at large to Lord Bolingbroke, upon which nothing can be done till he receives an answer, I shall only repeat what I have said oftener than once, that if any very material point remains—as I doubt there does in the main article—the only way to get over it is to send immediately, to Utrecht or hither, some person well versed in trade, who can debate, and knows something of the state of their commerce as well as ours, for to one so ignorant as I am they affirm some facts and deny others that defeat all the arguments I could be master of in the small time I had to be informed upon a subject I had never thought on before in my life.\*

I must not conclude without acquainting your Lordship that the 17th I was at Marly to wait on the King, and having given him her Majesty's letter, and made the properest compliment I was able, he expressed himself in the most handsome and respectful manner was possible to the Queen, earnestly desiring a perfect friendship with her, that it might be concluded speedily and last long, being sure that that was the interest of both nations. He seemed to value himself upon his punctuality in everything he had promised during this negotiation, and his submission to the Queen, especially in the affair of Tournay; he wished the rest of the allies would come into a peace, but if they stood out he hoped there would be no delay in concluding one with her Majesty. He then desired I would go speak with Monsieur de Torcy and recommended to me despatch.

All in this country, great and small, desire the peace and want it, the officers of the army I think as much or more than any.

Give me leave to conclude this long letter, with few words, but true, that I am, &c.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON to the LORD TREASURER.

1712-13, January 29. Mint Office.—The Assaymaster of the Mint, Mr. Daniel Brattel, died yesterday about noon, and the place requires a man well qualified for skill and experience to

\* At the end of this paragraph in the original letter is written in Bolingbroke's hand:—"Odd confession for a Secretary of State who was in office at the treaty of Ryswick."



carry on the assays of the gold and silver with a steady hand. Of this sort few persons are to be met with, and I do not know one better qualified than Mr. Charles Brattel, the brother of the deceased. In his brother's absence he has frequently acted for him in this service to the satisfaction of the officers of the Mint, so that we know his ability by experience. We are now in the middle of a coinage of gold, and for carrying on the service without interruption it would be convenient that a new Assaymaster were speedily appointed. It is a patent place with a salary of 200*l.* per annum, and 20*l.* per annum for a clerk.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL of OXFORD.

1713, [February 26-] March 8.—I cannot forbear troubling your Lordship with a few lines to desire you will take the pains yourself to examine the justice and nature of our demand of the *Bona Immobilia*. If I understand the case right, I take it to be unprecedented, and such that if at any time her Majesty should yield or exchange a country, property is so concerned that it would not be in her power to do, without saving the rights of the particular subjects, and your Lordship will see when King Charles II. by the treaty of Breda—ever esteemed disadvantageous to England—gave up Acadie to France, he got such a saving clause as the French now ask. The decision, my Lord, is left entirely to her Majesty, and by what this King said to me I must do him the justice to declare, he submitted it in so handsome and respectful a manner, that I think the Queen's honour the more concerned to have the justice of the case well examined before it be finally determined. However, one way or other, I think I may congratulate your Lordship that the peace is made, in which if by good fortune I have any share, I must do Mr. Prior the justice to inform you, that I have been in so particular a manner assisted by his zeal, diligence and ability that I hope he will be immediately encouraged and countenanced by some mark of your Lordship's favour.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1712-13, February?] Munday morning.—This is to acquaint you that I have bin in soe much pain all night with the gout in both my feet that it is wholly impossible I can goe to the House to-day, therfore I must desire you to send emediately to Lord Keeper to prepare a commission for opening the Parliament, and when he brings it for me to signe I will give him my speech. I will speake the Dutchesse of Somerset as soon as I can conveniently, and have my letter ready to send to the Duke some time in the evening. If you have anything more to say to me on this subject or any other I desire you would send me an answer presently, and be assured of my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1713, [March 27-] April 6, N.S. Paris.—I understand Mr. "Vanbrugg" is fallen so much under her Majesty's displeasure that it is supposed he will be removed from his employment in the Works. I think myself obliged as much in respect to her Majesty's service as in justice to Mr. Thomas Archer to acquaint you that, impartially speaking according to my skill, he is the most able and has the best genius for building of anybody we have, and by my own experience dare assure you he is so perfectly honest that I am certain the Queen would save considerably if he were in that employment.

I mention this in case only that Mr. "Vanbrugg" be removed, and give me leave to add that this is a matter in which I will say with Sir Positive, if I do not understand it, I understand nothing, and as I can guess at all his competitors, viz. Mr. Talman, Mr. Wren, Hawksmere (Hawksmoor), &c. if I were with your Lordship I could give such objections to every one as would, I am confident, have some weight. At present I shall only say that if this be done for Mr. Tho. Archer it will be an obligation to your &c.

## ASSAYMASTER OF THE MINT.

1713, April 10.—Report signed by Cra. Peyton, Sir Isaac Newton and E. Phelipps on the qualifications of Mr. Catesby Oadham, Mr. Charles Brattel and other petitioners for the post of Assaymaster. They have caused trial to be made before them, and they consider that Mr. Brattel is the more expert and fitter person for that employment. Annexed is the Memorial of Brattel and copy of a recommendation of him signed by twenty-eight persons "having great concerns in the importation of bullion in her Majesty's Mint, and in buying and selling the same for foreign markets by the Tower assays," including Robert, Stephen and Francis Child and Richard Hoare.

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, [April 21-] May 1, N.S. Paris.—Your Lordship having given me a letter of credit upon Mr. Cantillon, and there being due to me upon the 14th of April o.s. 1500*l.* upon the pension her Majesty is pleased to allow me, I shall in a few days take the liberty to receive that sum of 1,500*l.* here of Mr. Cantillon, and desire it may be understood that I design this as half a year of my pension, which with what I am able to spend out of my own estate and what else I receive of her Majesty as Ambassador or Chamberlain I am ready to lay out in this employment, and for what this falls short, I am not in pain about it, having both her Majesty's and your Lordship's [word?] it shall be made good to me.

In this busy time I expect no answer, and have only to add that I hope soon to have my audience of ceremony and make my compliments, and that then you will not leave me long in this country, where I confess myself heartily tired.



## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, May [2-] 13, N.S. Paris.—It is with the greatest satisfaction imaginable that I receive assurances from your Lordship that both her Majesty and yourself are satisfied with my services in this place, that one reflection is more than sufficient to recompense all I suffer by being in a station I am conscious to myself to be many ways unfit for.

Your Lordship knows I have in England often commiserated the deplorable condition of the poor Protestants in the galleys, and am glad this King has promised that they shall be released. If I had had any notice I should have endeavoured at this Court to have got that promise as extensive as might be, and doubt not but those who have transacted this affair have had that care, and will take good information in order to see that promise fully performed. As to the *Bona Immobilia*, Lord Bolingbroke tells me I may assure these ministers that the subjects of France may expect the treatment they desire in that respect.

The Court is now at Marly, and remains there till a few days before Whitsuntide, so that opportunities of speaking with the ministers are now rare. But I am to meet Monsieur de Torcy next Wednesday at Versailles, where in the King's absence I design to spend two or three days to see that place at leisure, and will take that occasion to discourse Monsieur de Torcy as well upon the galley slaves, as the *Bona Immobilia*.

Your Lordship will find I do not so much deserve your praise as you thought, having drawn a bill upon you for 1,500*l.* sterling, the value of which I am to receive of Mr. Cantillon, but at the same time I acquainted your Lordship that I understood that sum was to satisfy half a year of the pension her Majesty is pleased to allow me, which half-year was due the 14th of April o.s., so that I count this money puts her Majesty to no extraordinary charge. Your Lordship will likewise be solicited for my bill of extraordinaries, my journey as usual, included with the transport of my goods, makes it so large, though not more than Lord Jersey's was. I suppose it is your Lordship's meaning that that and my allowance as Ambassador should be paid as customary in the Treasury, which if discharged punctually, I hope I shall not so much exceed, as I apprehended; but if I am not regularly paid there, I shall then be obliged to draw upon your Lordship to avoid the disgrace of running in debt here.

If Abbé Gaultier had cause to apprehend this Court was unsatisfied with him, he ought now to be convinced of the contrary, by the good abbaye they have lately given him. I have always observed Monsieur de Torcy speak very kindly of him, and as often as it lay in my way I have endeavoured to represent his services according to your Lordship's expressions of them, and agreeable to what I really thought they deserved.

I beg you, my Lord, to give my duty to her Majesty and most humble thanks for the leave she gives me to return. I hope to make my entry and have my public audience the week before

Whitsuntide, after which several visits of ceremony are to be made by me and returned to me; then I must take my leave, and the same visits are again repeated.

I heartily rejoice that her Majesty recovered her health in the bad season, the weather now growing warm I hope will perfect her recovery. To wish her life and health and happiness is no compliment, for all our happiness I am sure, if not lives, depend upon hers. After this prayer the next natural thought and my most sincere wish is long life and prosperity to yourself.

*Postscript.*—The Duchess of Shrewsbury is very sensible of the honour your Lordship does her in your most obliging remembrance, and is your very humble servant. She has never had a week's health in this country, and therefore joins with me in thanks for leave to come home.

#### THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, May [11-]22[N.S.]. Paris.—I understand by a letter from my Lord Dartmouth that there is some difficulty about allowing my bill of extraordinaries, the rule being not to exceed 400*l.* a quarter; I thought the custom had been to make allowances for journeys and other charges mentioned in my bill, and was confirmed in that opinion by one now with me, who attended on Lord Jersey in his Embassy here, and affirms to me that that Lord had those allowances, and has the particulars now by him as well of his expense upon his own journey, as of the transport of his goods, horses, &c., which amounts to about the same I have laid out, and he is positive it was allowed to Lord Jersey. Nevertheless if he mistakes, or if any new order has been made, I do not in the least press that a rule should be broken upon my account, but only desire that your Lordship will pass what is regular, and direct the payment of that sum as soon as conveniently you can.

My cousins the two Middletons having always had hopes given them that at the peace they might be entirely at liberty, grow, I believe, impatient, but are so sensible of her Majesty's goodness to them that they would press nothing might be disagreeable to her.

*Postscript.*—Your Lordship is pleased to tell me you will not forget Mrs. Bathurst, but give me leave, my Lord, to say, that I have lived in a Court too long not to know that if there were not some obstacle more than you own this trifle would not have stuck so long as it has. I flatter myself your friendship for me would have done it long before this, so that if there be an objection—I neither desire your Lordship to trouble yourself to remove it, nor to be told from whom or whence it comes—let me know only there is a difficulty and your Lordship shall have no further trouble in the matter. But to be kept on in these promises is their absolute ruin, therefore I earnestly entreat your Lordship to put an end to this affair one way or other.



## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, [June 29-] July 9 [N.S.]. Versailles.—A courier passing by from Barcelona to London, I would not omit this opportunity of observing to your Lordship that by the votes I see the Bill to make the 9th Article of Commerce effectual has stopped in the House of Commons; neither Mr. Prior nor I having the least intimation from anybody in what manner this affair has been transacted, we may be at a loss what to say upon it at this Court, where at present I do not find they are informed of the fact; but when they are, though I foresee they will be surprised at your being outvoted, I think they will not be much concerned at the loss of that Article, which I am confident was thought here very advantageous to England, but if the majority of the nation judges otherwise no hurt is done, provided the difference of opinion upon this point creates no heats that may have an ill influence for the future. I depend on your Lordship's good temper and judgment to prevent that fatal consequence.

The Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti having made cross matches, and this day married each other's sister here at Versailles, these marriages have retarded my visits of ceremony to the Princes and ministers, which I hope now soon to dispatch, and then to have my audience of leave, which will be a private one at Marly, whither this King will go next Thursday and return no more hither till after his journey to Fountainbleau. I desire your Lordship to give order that what is due upon my last quarter as Ambassador may be paid to my agent, for till I have seen how far her Majesty's ordinary allowance will go, I am unwilling to draw upon you extraordinarily, and flatter myself I shall not be so expensive to her Majesty as I apprehended when I left England.

July 10th. When I had writ so far, understanding a courier was arrived from the Duke d'Aumont, I stopped our messenger till this morning that I might hear from Monsieur de Torcy what news their express brought, and what effect it would have upon their minds here. I am confirmed I was not mistaken in my guess. The chief thing they are alarmed at is the division in the party, and the apprehension that those who oppose this trade with France may object to the whole treaties of commerce and peace likewise. We endeavour to show them how one is no necessary consequence of the other, that the treaties in general may be approved, and yet the Parliament not be willing to make the 9th Article effectual upon the conditions mentioned in it. I hope it will not be long before we shall receive satisfactory information upon this subject, since some particulars which have happened of late may be supposed to give not only curiosity but uneasiness.

Upon the whole allow me, my Lord, to observe that mankind is so changeable a creature that if this session you find the Parliament disposed to give a sanction to the peace never defer it to another, for though to unbiassed men this will always appear the

most advantageous and necessary peace England ever concluded yet no man can foresee what turn faction, interest, malice, envy &c. may at one time give to the best of actions.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1713, July 5,] Sunday morning.—I am very sorry you continue soe much indisposed and therefore concludeing I shall not have the satisfaction of seeing you to-day I give you this trouble to enquire after your health and to lett you know that I find myself soe much tyerd with the litle fatigue of yesterday that it will be impossible for one to undertake that of going to St. Paul's; but however I think both Houses should go thither and I will perform my devotions at St. James's and be contented without a sermon. It is really very uneasy to me that I cannot go, which I hope all my friends beleeeve. I think it will be best to declare this to-night, but would not make it publick till I had first acquainted you with it. If you think it necessary for me to send any other message to the two Houses lett me know some time this evening that I may give Lord Dartmouth orders about it. I must desire you to think of an answer for me to give to the House of Commons' address about the Pretender, which is to be brought to me to-morrow in the evening.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, July [7-] 18, n.s. Paris.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter by Mr. Robarts, and shall serve him here in what lies in my power. I was glad to find he is not wanted in the House of Commons, having at this time so easily got leave to travel.

I have by this post sent to Lord Dartmouth my bill of extraordinaries for the second quarter, it amounts to near 550*l.*, but your Lordship will please to direct payment of as much only as is agreeable to the methods of the Treasury; I must repeat that if you immediately order me to be paid what is due to me as Ambassador, I shall have the less occasion to draw upon you out of course, according as your Lordship gave me leave, but it is a permission I will use as sparingly and as late as I can.

I suppose the Duke d'Aumont will have spoke to your Lordship in relation to what has passed upon the 9<sup>th</sup> Article of Commerce, in the manner I told you in my last. This Court seems disposed to behave themselves in that particular as they think will be most agreeable to her Majesty.

If your Lordship intends Mr. Prior should stay here any time as her Majesty's minister it is fit he should know it, and have money advanced to put himself in an equipage becoming his character. He lives now in hired lodgings dearer than a house, and not decent if he remains, but in the uncertainty he is left he can do no otherwise.



The Duchess of Shrewsbury is your Lordship's most humble servant and much obliged by your kind remembrance. She has never had a week's health at Paris.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1713, July 20, *endorsed by Lord Oxford.*] Munday.—I was very sorry to hear by Lord Masham yesterday that you continued soe much out of order. I hope this will find you better and able to read without hurting your eyes. I wish you could speake with Lord Dartmouth some time to-day, for it will be impossible to deffer sending all my orders to the Bishop of Salisbury longer then to-night, he going out of town to-morrow morning. I beleeve Lord President will be very angry with me for letting the Bishop go out of town before the Chapter, but I think it is better not to be troubled with him there. I find Mr. Benson is very uneasy at his patents being deffered, therefore I think it would [be] better to stop it no longer, rather than disoblidge him at the same time I intend him a kindnes; but talk with Lord Dartmouth about this too.

I am very uneasy to trouble with a letter at a time when your eyes are so sore, but I thought it would not be soe proper to say these things any other way, and therfore I hope you will excuse your very affectionate friend.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1713, July 21, *endorsed by Lord Oxford.*] Teusday.—I am very sorry you weare soe much out of order yesterday as to be confined to your bed. I feare you will not be able to beare the fatigue of the Enstalment next week, therefore I think it will be much better to putt it off till to-morrow seven night, and then there will be no hast of sending my orders to the Bishop of Salisbury. However, the sooner you can speake with Lord Dartmouth the better.

I signed Mr. Benson's bill last night, but did not think it proper to acquaint the Lords with it, becaus in my oppinion it would have given them a handle to pretend (*sic*) for the future to give me there advice what peers to make, everybody being too apt to encroch upon my right. I hope I shall have the satisfaction of hearing you are better to-day.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, August [1-] 11, N.S. Paris.—Though what has passed of late on your side the water has given me much curiosity, concern and surprise, yet being wholly ignorant of the causes of it, and despairing to be better informed till I wait on your Lordship, I shall say no more at present, but that the election of a new

Parliament being very near, I hope all care will be taken to promote the interest of such who sincerely wish the good of their country, preferable to party and faction.

My stay here being short, and nobody named to relieve me, I imagine Mr. Prior is designed to be left, in which case I cannot forbear putting your Lordship in mind again that he ought to be upon some fixed establishment, and not upon the uncertainty he now is, which is expensive and not creditable for her Majesty. The handsome rewards the Abbé, who will deliver you this, has received from the Courts of France and Spain for his pains in the peace makes Prior, I believe, hope he shall not be forgotten. I understand Abbé Gautier carries over some plate and other goods for his own use, and hopes the Custom House officers will be civil to him. I do not doubt but your Lordship will give directions that they be as far so as is consistent with the duty of their employments.

Letters arrived this morning bring me the melancholy news of your Lordship's indisposition, for which I am heartily sorry, and ask your excuse for this unnecessary trouble.

#### QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, August 21. Windsor.—I was very much surprised to find by your letter that, though I had told you the last time you weare hear I entended to give the Treasurer of the Chamber to Lord De Laware, you will bring me a warrant in blank. I desire you would not have see ill an oppinion of me as to think when I have determined anything in my mind I will alter it. I have told Lord De Laware I will give him this office and he has kissed my hand upon it. Therefore when you com hither bring the warrant with his name.

As to what you mention concerning Lord Clarendon, Sir David Nairn, and the Councill of Trade, it will be tinf enough to take any resolution about them when I see you, and being in hast to take the air I can say no more of any other subject but that I am your very affectionate friend.

#### THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, August [12-]23, N.S. Paris.—I received the enclosed letter from the Marshal de Villars, I send you an extract of it, and have not made any mention of it to the Secretary. It seems to me as if that Lord were looking towards England, but of that—as I would advise you of everything that comes to my knowledge—I doubt not but you have a particular information.

I need not tell your Lordship that in this, as in most Courts, there are two parties; those who were least desirous of the peace, and in the making of it, at least, more biassed to the Dutch, are very busy in raising jealousies upon the delays in demolishing of Dunkirk. I have mentioned this already to Lord Dartmouth, and leave it more particularly to your Lordship's consideration,



Mr. Gillenghem goes home very well satisfied with what he has adjusted here, of which he will give your Lordship a more particular account.

Mr. Prior being, I suppose, to stay here some time longer, will, I believe, want some fresh powers, those which he has already relating only to the making the peace. I shall be at Calais about ten days hence, being impatient till I have the honour of seeing you, and assuring you how sincerely I am, &c.

*Enclosure :—*

Extract—

MARSHAL DE VILLARS to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Au Camp de Spire, le 13 Aoust 1713.—J'ay receu une lettre de M. le Duc de Marlborough, par laquelle il me demande des passeports, et pour retourner en Hollande, et pour voyager seurement avec des escortes, j'ay crû luy devoir repondre, que la Paix étant signée, ratifiée et publiée entre nos Maistres, les Ambassadeurs des deux Couronnes receus magnifiquement dans toutes nos Cours, je ne pouvois m'imaginer, que M. de Marlborough et M. de Cadogan peussent avoir quelque chose a craindre de nos partys : mais dans le tems que M. de Marlborough et M. de Cadogan desirent la protection du Roy pour voyager seurement, les nouvelles publiques nous apprennent, que le Roy et la Reine vostre maistresse n'ont pas d'ennemis plus animez, je n'ay pas crû devoir leur accorder ce qu'ils desirent bienque la consequence ne m'en paroisse pas bien importante.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, August [18-]29, N.S. Paris.—I have been obliged to draw upon your Lordship for the sum of 2,000*l.*, one thousand to be paid at fifteen, the other at twenty days' sight. Bills came in faster at my leaving Paris than I expected, but at my waiting on your Lordship in London, which I hope will be in eight days, I shall give you a particular account of what I have spent, which as it will not exceed what I expected, I hope it will not dissatisfy you. The whole shall be submitted to your examination and pleasure, depending ever upon your friendship to one who is with great truth and respect &c.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1713, August 24, in the morning. Dover.—I received the honour of your Lordship's letter on Saturday the day before I embarked; this moment I landed here, after a very smooth passage which lasted about seven hours. I am just taking coach and hope to be at London on Tuesday.

## DR. JOHN ARBUTHNOT to LORD HARLEY.

1713, September 2. Windsor.—I hope your Lordship will excuse my presumption in taking the opportunity of this messenger to wish your Lordship much joy. If it were possible to enjoy so great a blessing as my Lady Harriott without the envy, and with the good will of mankind, I believe your Lordship does so, as for my own part I can say with truth, that I should not have had a much more sensible pleasure, if my own son had been the happy man. I have still another subject of joy which is that my Lady Harriot has eased my royal mistress of one of her cares, and that my Lord Treasurer's friends and humble servants will have the pleasure to see his posterity enjoy a plentiful fortune not erected upon the spoils of the public. On that score I declare my Lady Harriott our sister being a true *rewarder of merit*. But I ought to beg pardon of a young bridegroom for interrupting his more solid joys with such worldly reflections, as also for my long letter, and therefore I beg leave to wish the continuance of your present happiness.

It is a question amongst the learned at this time which is more happy your Lordship or my Lord De la War in his new place. Happiness depending upon opinion one would think it impossible to be more so than my Lord De la War is.

## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1713, September 2] Wednesday.—I cannot let the messenger return without heartily congratulating with your Lordship, and with the young Lord and Lady, upon the conclusion of the match, wishing to all much and long happiness.

The enclosed was brought me from Lord Rivers, as I was told. If it be to the same effect with mine your Lordship will find something very unreasonable and impossible.

I long to see your Lordship, and think myself unfortunate to have been so long in England without that happiness.

## QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, October 6. Windsor.—I am very sorry to find by your letter I received on Saturday last that your indisposition (*sic*) continued soe much as to hinder your coming hither, but I hope you are better now and will be able to bear a journey by the end of the week, and that the good weather coming again will complet your recovery. I have felt the sharp weather a litle in one of my feet, but I thank God it is prety well again now. There are several things I should speake to you about, but I think it is better to deffer them till I can see you, and therfore shall trouble you with nothing more at present but the assurance of my being &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.



## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, October 8. Windsor.—Understanding from her Majesty that your Lordship does not design to be here to-day, I take the liberty to put you in mind that my journey is so fixed for next Monday early in the morning in order to reach my own house the same night, that it would be extreme inconvenient for me to defer it. At the same time it will be absolutely necessary I should see the papers I mentioned to your Lordship and have some opportunity to discourse you upon them. If in order to this my coming to London to-morrow will be of use, your Lordship will be pleased to let me know it, and your own hour, if it could be such a one as I might return the same evening, it would be more convenient, but I shall comply with any time you appoint. If at the same time I receive your Lordship's answer the papers should be so ready that they might be sent me, I should have leisure to look them over and come better prepared to receive your Lordship's directions. I humbly entreat your answer to &c.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1713, October 9, Windsor.—I have received the letter and book your Lordship did me the honour to send me, and find the last contains two establishments, one of the civil, the other of the military, payments, both settled in my Lord Wharton's government in 1709, without any new directions accommodated to the present time. The list of the officers upon half-pay is the same that was then, of which undoubtedly some are dead and others provided for; I have no list of the officers now to be kept on half-pay, or of those disbanded regiments whose officers it is expected should be maintained upon the Irish establishment, till they can be provided in that army, nor do I understand by this paper what number of horse, foot and dragoons are designed to be kept up in Ireland.

I shall want your directions about the pensions, of which I find no mention here, but hope when I have the honour to see your Lordship you will give me a list of them as now settled, and your orders thereupon, as also relating to the French Protestant pensioners.

The disposition of the Concordatum has been in some disorder, and, as I am informed, several small pensions charged upon it. I cannot think that fund by any means proper for annual settled pensions, and hope your Lordship will give me instructions in that and the other particulars before Monday.

I am truly sorry, my Lord, to hear the pain hangs so long upon you, and uneasy to give you any trouble at this time; yet I cannot forbear being impertinent out of my way, and telling you I heartily wish you would bring yourself into a method of keeping better hours. I know by experience that nothing is more prejudicial to a strong constitution, and more destructive to a weak one, than late hours of eating and sleeping.

Forgive this digression, which proceeds from my friendship to your person, and my sincere wishes for the welfare of England so much concerned in your health.

PAUL FOLEY to the DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE.

1713, October 20.—Since I can be no longer serviceable it is the greatest satisfaction to receive the favour of your assurance that I shall have your good wishes and any kindness in your power to do for me.

I cannot think anything your Grace does a slight to me when I reflect on the many favours you have been pleased to oblige me with, which shall always be remembered with a grateful acknowledgment.

As for what your Grace is pleased to mention in relation to Aldborough, I doubt not but you have been informed that Mr. Downey is chosen at Pontefract and at Aldborough, that he will make his election for the former, being a family interest, which will occasion another election at Aldborough. By the management of what your Grace gave me when I went out of town, with a considerable addition of my own, being a very expensive election on all sides, I have fixed the interest there in my own power for so long as I keep the notes which some are so sensible of that it is believed I can and your Grace cannot blame me if I do make the utmost advantage of it for my own benefit, and since your Grace has no other occasion for them but to be a voucher, you may assure yourself that and everything else in my power shall be ready for your service when wanting.

Give me leave to pray for your health and a happy deliverance from all your afflictions. I never served your Grace for the lucre of gain, but purely flowing from affection, and therefore hope it may be excused if out of the way of my profession I take all opportunities to serve you, and intend for the future to exclude myself from having anything to do in the cause on one side or another.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1713, November 3. Dublin.—I did not intend to trouble your Lordship so soon, but that I find in this place a disposition more obstinate than I expected. The Council who have made such steps in the dispute about the Mayor, as your Lordship knows, have been little approved by her Majesty or her Council in England, are prevailed on here by some warm and leading men among them to think their honour is so concerned in supporting this matter that they will hearken to no expedient but that the Aldermen should accept one of the three they have already refused, and if they do not, supported by the opinion of most of these Judges, think the Mayor ought to hold over. The City who, to avoid confusion have not yet questioned the legality of the mayor and sheriffs continuing to preserve order for some



time, have now presented a petition to me desiring I would give some directions, for that their Courts stand adjourned, and they dare not proceed to the trial of criminals nor of actions of *meum* and *tuum* in the Courts whilst it is disputable in law whether the mayor can hold over or no. This difficulty seems weighty to me, who have heard both Lord Harcourt and Sir Ed. Northey assert that unless there be express words in the charter to give a Mayor such a power by law he cannot do it. But though I have told this to several of the Privy Councillors I cannot perceive it has any weight with them; they think the dignity of their board highly concerned to oblige the City to submit, which I heartily wish it were in my power to persuade them to.

I had laboured an expedient which I take to be the same her Majesty recommended, that the mayor should be prevailed on to go to a new election, propose two of his former men and another the City would accept; I added that he should be none of the seventeen the Council had made a vote against. This expedient was at first approved by the Chancellor [Phipps], but when I had brought the City with some difficulty to consent to let their seventeen be laid aside for this time the Chancellor went back, and told me the Lords of the Council were so averse to this as derogatory to their dignity (though I profess I cannot see in what) that he must plainly tell me he could not be for it, and was confident the Council would never consent to it. I believe there never was a case like mine, condemned already as in a Whig interest for following the orders of her Majesty and her present ministry.

It is certain that if this ridiculous dispute were adjusted we have the appearance of the easiest session for her Majesty's affairs that ever was, so that it can be nothing but the excess of folly, heat, or malice, for any of her Majesty's servants to keep up this dispute, which if not settled before the Parliament meets will embroil all.

I must deal plainly with your Lordship, and desire this may be communicated to her Majesty only. All in power here are so confederated and engaged upon this trifling point that there is not one of them I can open myself to, and I cannot help suspecting a design is laid to put all imaginable difficulties upon my Government to make it as uneasy as the last was, in which they had so considerable a share.

I have been very ill since I came, and the vexation of this usage has made me worse. I wish some of Lord Chancellor's friends would write to him her Majesty's commands plainly, for at present he seems to think nothing so valuable as the carrying this dispute against the City, by which he makes himself popular with the Lords of this Council puffed up with the same conceit.

Yesterday the Archbishop of Armagh died. It is of great importance not to dispose of this preferment before the end of the Session of Parliament, so I hope her Majesty will not be prevailed on to do it sooner; and in the meantime will be well informed who is the properest person to fill that see,

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1713, November 19. Dublin.—I return you my most sincere and grateful acknowledgments for your Lordship's of the 10th, and for the other letters you procured to be writ hither so speedily and strongly concerning the affair I applied to you upon. Your Lordship will, I doubt not, be surprised when I assure you they have not had the least effect here. This Council does not doubt but they are in the right, and that her Majesty and her ministers in England will be convinced they are so. In the meantime the Parliament which should have met to-morrow I have prorogued to the 25th by advice of the Privy Council. Then they must meet, the Whigs angry with me for not settling this dispute, though it is not in my power, but so outrageous against those they think the authors of it that if they have strength they will show their resentment.

It would have been in my power to have prevented all this, and brought them together in good temper, if I had had credit enough to have got her Majesty's and her ministers' directions executed; but as it stands I want words to describe the uneasiness of my condition, exposed to the censure of everybody if the business in Parliament miscarry, and yet without authority (unless in conjunction with the Council) to make those steps that would prevent it. But it is unnecessary to say more at this time. When I see in what humour the Parliament meets I shall trouble your Lordship further.

QUEEN ANNE to the [EARL OF OXFORD].

1713, December 8. Windsor.—Whenever I see you I have soe many subjects to speak to you upon that I often forget something or other, as I did yesterday to desire you to order Mr. Darcy and Feilding some money on the account of my stables; and at this time that I am going to make liveries and new coaches you can not lett them have less than three thousand pound, and the sooner they have it the better it will be for my service.

Now that I have a pen in my hand I can not help desiring you againe when you com next, to speake plainly, lay everything open and hide nothing from me, or els how is it possible I can judg of anything. I spoke very freely and sincerely to you yesterday, and I expect you should do the same to her that is sincerely your very affectionate friend.

For the Lord Treasurer.

[THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.]

1713, December 22. Dublin Castle.—The state of our affairs here is so dismal that, having given some account of it in my letters to my Lord Bolingbroke, I have neither inclination nor health to repeat the same to your Lordship. I shall only say that the heats on both sides are such that little is to be expected from this session, nor at present from this Parliament; and



what is worse, if a new one were chosen I am confident the humour of the House of Commons would not mend.

My temper is so unfit to join with either of these parties that I hope her Majesty will recall me, and name some other Governor more fitly qualified for this tempestuous station, and who will reside here so as to make himself obeyed better than I have been able to do, even when I signified her Majesty's commands; for it being known I was only to stay here a few months I have made the figure rather of a Viceroy in a Play than of one who had the honour of her Majesty's patent.

I have so little prospect that more money will be given than the three months' impositions passed to-day that I hope your Lordship will be thinking how to reduce the Establishment so as to subsist on the revenue. There is no more probable way of bringing these people to some calmness than to show that the Queen can support her Government without them, and that if she asks more money from them it is for their own good and security.

I entreat your Lordship to give my most humble duty to the Queen, and assure her I am truly afflicted that I have not been able to serve her better. I flatter myself she will have the goodness to think I have not wanted good-will, whatever other defects I have had. I am ever most faithfully your &c.

DR. JOHN RADCLIFFE to ——— MORLEY.

1713[-14], January.—If you are at leisure I should be glad to have the favour of your company this night, being all alone, but I hope you will not fail according to your promise to be here to-morrow at dinner between three and four, and a friend or two of yours will be here to wait upon you to remember the Phenix, for I find there is but one of the kind. I hope nothing will prevent us of enjoying your good company, which is so very esteemed and desired by him who is &c.

"These to Mr. Morley present."

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to the [EARL OF OXFORD].

1714, January 29. Antwerp.—I know not by what accident, but I had not the favour of your Lordship's letter of the 25th of the last month, old style, till last Friday, so that it was three weeks coming hither. I have taken the first opportunity of returning you my thanks for the orders you have given, as also for your obliging assurances, and as I have resolved to do it in a more particular manner by Mr. Cadogan I shall end this with the assurances of my being &c.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713-14, February 2. Dublin Castle.—Yours of the 14 January, which I received last night, has much surprised me, to find that two of your Lordship's letters to me should miscarry. Would

it not be worth enquiring where such a failure has lain, which I much suspect not to be accidental twice together, because I have not observed since I have been here to have wanted any other letter ; and I believe it is new that two letters together from a Lord Treasurer of Great Britain to a Chief Governor of this kingdom should miscarry when every private man's letter is safely delivered.

It never was my thought, much less my intention, to attempt putting the administration of this kingdom into other hands than of Tories. But as I was and am now more convinced the Whigs have the majority in the House of Commons I apprehended there needed greater management with them here than in England, where the case is different.

If in that unlucky dispute about this City I had prevailed at my first coming with the Council to have come to any expedient—even to that which this Chancellor first proposed, and employed Sir Jo. Stanley to negotiate, but retracted after it was accepted by the City—if this point only could have been settled, many of the Whigs promised me their vote for the Speaker, which would have been a good beginning of the Session, and showed them I had some interest to protect them from the hardships they pretend to fear from a man they have incensed. But instead of that the Privy Counsellors met in numbers, as I am informed, and entered into engagements not to depart from a tittle of what they had determined. And from that time it was the public discourse here that it signified little what opinion I was of, since little regard would be had to it in England ; that I was to stay but some weeks, and then the government return into the Chancellor's hands, who had the secret of the ministers. All this has been confirmed by that very Bishop [Lindsay] being made Primate which Lord Chancellor's intimates reported was to be several posts before the letter arrived ; though I had proposed one should be sent from England, and named the Bishops of Hereford or Chester, or Dr. Smalridge. This opinion was again confirmed by the Council in England altering their mind in the dispute with this City and is now so fixed in everybody of both parties that, as none think I am able to serve them, none apply to me, and I am incapable of doing any service, under the opinion the two parties have conceived of my small credit at Court.

I am glad I mistook and that there have been no thoughts of taxing this kingdom from England. It then remains to consider whether the savings your Lordship shall direct shall be such as might be proper if you had a prospect of a Parliament soon to sit, and pay off the debt contracted, or such as must reduce the establishment to the revenue, so as the Government may subsist some time without a Parliament. I shall soon lay before your Lordship my thoughts upon that subject when I have made some necessary enquiries.

I believe everybody begins to be now of opinion that if a new Parliament were called it would not be of a temper (especially



about Lord Chancellor) different from this present House of Commons. The wisest of the Whigs confess they have gone too far and too fast, and know not how to go back, and flatter themselves the Queen will not make her own business and (as they term it) the greatest part of the kingdom uneasy for one man, whom she can easily remove to his advantage, and place another in his room, a Church man by principle, with whom they pretend not to doubt they should agree. I have shown them how their own proceedings have made this less probable to succeed.

WILLIAM JACKSON to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1713-14, February 12.—With this I send your Lordship's arms engraved with a coronet prospective, and all different from what is usual. I have left a vacancy for the motto and the inscription.

I have had the misfortune of having some time ago a boil under my eye, which turning to an incurable humour it is judged by several able physicians and surgeons, and even by Mr. Serjeant Dickings, to be the King's Evil; but it being too difficult to have the royal touch, I humbly implore your Lordship's recommendation to Mr. Serjeant Dickings to grant me a ticket, her Majesty being to touch next Monday at Windsor.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713-14, March 2. Dublin Castle.—Sir Richard Leving being obliged to go into England upon some business relating to his own family I take the liberty to give your Lordship this trouble by his hands, and as he is well informed of the state of our affairs here, hope you will at your best leisure give him an opportunity of acquainting you with some particulars and circumstances which can much better be explained in discourse than in letters; I think it a justice due to his behaviour to testify for him that, to the best of my observation, he has acted with great duty to her Majesty, and, in the station he is, with ability in her service.

Hoping it will not be long before I shall wait on your Lordship in England, and, having no letter from you since the 26th of January, which I answered the 2nd of February, I shall at present give you no further trouble than to assure you that I am &c.

ADE[LHIDA], DUCHESS OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

[1714, July 30. Kensington.]—The Duke of Shrewsbury being at Council I have obeyed your Lordship's command in opening your letter and can assure you I never in my life saw my Lord in so much concern as the other unfortunate day. The Queen is as ill as she can be, and the physicians have but little hopes. I don't doubt my Lord will want both your counsel and assistance, and has been prevailed upon, I imagine, with this hope, but I would with all my heart you was in still. About coming or

not I cannot pretend to say what is better, only I shall let your Lordship know that almost everybody comes to enquire how the poor Queen does, but I imagin the Duke of Shrewsbury will as soon as he can answer your kind letter.

My Lord, in my particular, nobody is more your servant and very good friend than &c.

*Endorsed by Lord Oxford as received* "July 30, 1714, past nine at night."

JOHN PLUMPTRE to the DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE.

1714, September 3. [Nottingham.]—I humbly hope your Grace will pardon this manner of address which I have chosen at present rather than to wait on your Grace in person, because my business being a petition, the grant of which I dare not presume to depend upon, I think it most becoming the respect and regard due to your Grace, that, in case I cannot have your Grace's favour, I should spare you the disturbance which great and generous minds feel when they are forced to deny a petitioner to his face.

I am so importunately pressed by my friends here to offer myself again as a candidate for this town at the approaching elections for a new Parliament, that I cannot refuse them without incurring the reproach of abandoning them and giving them up. 'Tis a great honour I receive by their pitching upon me, but very incomplete, if I must labour under the discountenance of your Grace, to avoid which, as much as in me lies, I here humbly apply myself to you. I confess I have just cause from other reasons, as well as my own want of merit, to apprehend a denial, but the fear of that is nothing in comparison with the dread I am under on the other hand of doing anything slighting or disrespectful to your Grace, which my not applying to you at all upon this occasion would have the appearance of. I beg therefore that your Grace would please to put a favourable construction upon this letter.

[THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.]

1714, December 3.—Some business has happened which will make it impossible for me to attend your Lordship upon my Lord Rivers's concerns today or tomorrow, any other time you will appoint I shall be ready either morning or evening.

I should always have been ready to have seen your Lordship whenever I had thought it convenient, notwithstanding what you mention. If you should appoint Sunday in the evening I desire it may be at your house, mine being that day crowded with company to the Duchess of Shrewsbury, who is your humble servant, as I most sincerely.

THE BARONESS KIELMENEGGE to the [EARL OF OXFORD].

[1714, December 22.]—"Vous seres surpris que sans avoir l'honneur de vous connoître, je prenne la liberté de vous faire une priere. Vous avez une cour proche de ma maison qui m'enpeche



la communication dans le jardin de St. James, ou mon mari et moi voudrions bien quelquefois prendre l'air. Je vous demande donc en grace de vouloir permettre que j'y fasse faire un passage. Vous vendrés ce terrain lá sans doute avec la maison, mais comme cela ne sera pas fait si tot vous m'obligerés fort de me permettre d'avance de faire faire ledit passage. Si vous voulés avoir la bonté d'envoyer quelqu'un de vos gents, je leur montrerai l'endroit, et ils pouront vous expliquer plus clairement le fait que je ne puis le faire par lettre. Si vous voulies vous defaire de ce petit terrain je l'achetterois volontiers."

[*Endorsed by Oxford*:—"Madam de Kielmensegge, Dec. 22, 1714. Answered that evening."]

#### THE DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE TO ART. COLCLOUGH.

1715, March 28.—My great thanks for the favour of your letter by Sir Garvis, my health was so bad that I could not go more than twice to London, though business brought me so near by my enemies' means, they hoping to shorten my life, which is now their whole design.

In answer to that you write, if I know myself, I am determined to get my right if justice be not out of England, therefore will try to the last. You have heard me often declare I valued my honour far beyond my interest, therefore shall never own my right to be another's, which I must do by that you propose making good their pretended agreement by which Harley takes from Pelham my estate as a gift from Pelham, which estate I will defend to the last coat on my back. That above mentioned the Harleys hath endeavoured ever since the wicked marriage. The proceedings of that crew shall never be mine, nay, the more they appear in such shapes, the further off they shall find their design they pretend to take effect. Their treatment of me is every day more and more notorious, visible to all persons that will see and hear as well as I that feels their unjust brutishness. Therefore must beg all that will be my friends never to name the Harleys nor their allies to me, they giving me hourly reason to abhor them.

#### THE DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE TO ——— GACE.

1715, April 9. Welbeck.—I received your letter of the 2nd instant directed to my house at London, whereby I know you had neither my letter from Welbeck when I went towards London, and another I sent to you to inform you of [my] return to Welbeck, where I have been above three weeks. I never doubted your justice, therefore had no uneasiness when I did not hear from you, believing you had not time from other business; to hear it was from want of health I will assure you is a great trouble to me who wishes you, &c., all health and happiness; as to the tenants, as you told the tenants, I shall do nothing more than give wood if upon the premises, which if not satisfactory, I desire you will provide such as will. You know I have no pretence in that estate but my life, though in the rest in that county

I have, therefore shall be at no expense, by reason both Harleys and Pelham are such as I shall not be concerned, for whoever have the right neither thereof having yet made out any title but does all in their power to keep off all hearings of matter of fact, both believing they may tire me, in which they may find their politic will prove abortive. I doubt not but you hear I am like to be "least" from one of my enemies, which is almost death to the other, hoping to be able to torment me when they both joined, though in so childish a way that makes all reasonable people laugh. The gold stand and kettle given by both is no news to you, being known and discoursed of in all this nation.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, Lord Chamberlain, to the  
EARL OF OXFORD.

1717, July 2.—I am commanded by his Majesty, in as civil a manner as I could, to acquaint your Lordship that it is his Majesty's pleasure that your Lordship should not come to Court till you have his Majesty's leave. I hope your Lordship will do me the justice to think that what I have done is in obedience to the orders I have received from his Majesty, being with great truth &c.

THE EARL OF OXFORD to the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

1717, July 2.—I have this moment received the honour of your Grace's letter, containing his Majesty's commands that I should not come to Court. I do assure your Grace that I will obey with the utmost duty and punctuality.

I am extremely sensible of your Grace's great civility, and am with the greatest respect &c.

*Draft in Lord Oxford's handwriting.*

JONATHAN SWIFT to ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

1717, July 9. Dublin.—Since I am sure no event can have any power upon your mind, I cannot help believing that during this glorious scene of your life (I do not mean your discharge, but your two years' imprisonment) you have sometimes found a minute to remember an inconsiderable man who ever loved you above all things. I write to you from an imagination I have always had, that as soon as you were freed from your jailers, you would retire for some months to Herefordshire, and that I should be a companion in your retirement. Therefore if you have any such thoughts, I beg you will command me to attend, for I have many things to say to you, and to enquire of you, as you may easily imagine. You will forgive me if I talk ignorantly, for perhaps you intend to live in town, or pass the summer with my Lord Harley, or perhaps (as some refiners say) you are again to be a minister. In any of these cases, all I have said I desire may go for nothing, and I will wait your leisure. However, pray let me know as soon as you can by a line from yourself. I will trouble you no more at present.



## THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1717, August.—Some business has happened, since I had the honour to see your Lordship, so unluckily that I cannot possibly come to London before Wednesday, upon which day I shall be ready to attend your Lordship at my own house at five, and endeavour to get my Lord Rochfort to meet you, unless I hear from your Lordship or Lord Barrymore to the contrary. Pray, my Lord, be punctual to the hour, and let Mr. Dixon know this alteration.

## THE EARL OF OXFORD to his granddaughter, LADY MARGARET HARLEY.

1723, October 21.—My dearest grandchild. A little indisposition hindered me from thanking my dearest Peggy for your kind letter of the 13 instant. My love to you may inform you how acceptable any expression of your kindness is; the oftener I hear from you my pleasure will be the greater, because I shall find every time proofs of your improvement. I choose to write to you upon this day, it being the birthday of my father and your great grandfather, that it may put you in mind never to do anything unworthy the stock you are descended from in your whole life, which I pray God may be long. I will tell you that my father had the courage and firmness of my Lord Vere, your excellent mother's great grandfather and my father's uncle. To this may be added, he had the sweetness, gentleness, and piety of my Lady Vere, his aunt, godmother, and your mother's great grandmother. This I mention to you, my dearest child, for your information, but for your instruction you have the example of your excellent mother and father, who are shining patterns for you, which I hope you will imitate and copy. This is the best wish can be put up to God for you by

Dearest Grandchild

Yours, &c.

## JONATHAN SWIFT to EDWARD, Second EARL OF OXFORD.

1724, November 27. Dublin.—I am very happy in the honour of your Lordship's remembrance, and the many marks I have had of your favour, neither was I at all uneasy at your Lordship's delaying to let me hear from you, because I learnt from others that you and my lady were in good health, and I knew your silence did not proceed from any change in your good disposition towards me. I never knew any person more hardly drawn to write letters of no consequence than my late lord your father. It was very seldom I got a scrip from him, and yet I never lost the least ground in his favour and kindness.

What I had intended in relation to my late Lord Oxford was both some memoirs of his life and ministry and likewise to make him have a great part in a History which I wrote in England, and which his Lordship and the rest of the ministers had read, but by some accidents was not printed, and I propose to make in it several alterations and additions.

I have many years frequently resolved to go for England, but was discouraged by considering what a scene I must expect to find by the death and exile of my friends, and a thousand other disgusting circumstances; and after all to return back again into this enslaved country to which I am condemned during existence (for I cannot call it life) would be a mortification hard to support.

However that kind invitation your Lordship hath pleased to give will I hope rouse up my spirits; but there is another inconvenience from which I ensure your Lordship for forty years to come, and then you must look to yourself. I mean the want of health. I have the honour to be afflicted with the same disease with your Lordship's father, frequent fits of deafness, and at present I labour under one which hath confined me two months, and hath worn out my patience, fearing I shall never recover it; in such a case I must confine myself to my deanery house and garden, converse only with treble and counter-tenor voices, and turn a speculative monk. I should not have troubled your Lordship with relating my own infirmities, if they were not an excuse for not immediately obeying your Lordship's commands to attend you.

I return you my most humble thanks for your promise of my late Lord Oxford's picture, but that alone will hardly serve your turn, if ever I have the honour to see you again. In the meantime, since your Lordship pleases to ask me the question, I desire it may be a three-quarter length, I mean below the knees.

I must be so bold to return my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford, and my sincerest thanks for the honour of being remembered by her Ladyship.

My unconvertible disorder hath hindered me from seeing my old friend the Lord Lieutenant, from whom I never received since his arrival any more than one dry message. He hath half frightened the people here out of their no understandings. There is a fellow in London, one Wood, who got a patent for coining half-pence for this kingdom, which hath so terrified us, that if it were not for some pamphlets against these half-pence, we must have submitted. Against these pamphlets the Lieutenant hath put out a proclamation, and is acting the most unpopular part I ever knew, though I warned him against it by a letter before he came over, and thought by his answer that he would have taken my opinions. This is just of as much consequence to your Lordship as the news of a skirmish between two petty states in Greece was to Alexander, while he was conquering Persia, but even a knot of beggars are of importance among themselves.

I doubt Mr. Pope's voyage into Homer-land will bring more profit than reputation, and I wish his fortunes could afford him to employ his own genius. I have been told this voyage is to supply what he lost by a former into the South Sea.

I have tired your Lordship, and will abruptly conclude by professing myself with the truest and greatest respect etc.

*P.S.*—I shall desire a gentleman to attend your Lordship for the ring, which I value more than if it was from the greatest prince in Europe.



DR. JOHN ARBUTHNOT to EDWARD HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

1726, November 16. London.—I am sorry the bad weather allows your Lordship so much time for study in the country, though I reckon that even in the most serene day one can hardly leave *Guliver* (*sic*). There has been a vast demand for *Guliver*, the first impression was sold off in a moment, everybody has been mightily delighted with him. I had the honour to wait on her Royal Highness when she had just come to that passage of the hobbling prince, which her Highness laughed at. Ministerial folks say the book is a pleasant humourous book and it was pity he descended so low, as some little satire, that is too particular; some folks that I know went immediately to their maps to look for Lillypott and reckoned it a fault in their maps not to have set down. Lord Scarborough met with a sea captain that knew *Guliver*, but he said the bookseller was mistaken in placing his habitation at Rotherith for he was sure he lived at Wapping. In short the book has made very good diversion to all the town. It was not possible for me at this time to send the Ballad, but your Lordship shall have it; there are a hundred incorrect copies of it about town. I have just now transcribed the substance of the paper of Quadrille. I fancy there will be some comical papers about *Guliver*. I have seen a pretty good epistle from *Guliver's* wife to him in the style of Ovid. I happen to be so unlucky as to have twenty things to do this moment, else your Lordship should have had the Ballad, and for the same reason I hope you will be so good as to forgive this hasty and hardly legible scrawl.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1726, November 23. London.—I am come home so late that I have only time to thank your Lordship for the honour of yours, and to keep my promise by enclosing the Ballad, the only copy that I have. I hope your Lordship will see some copies of verses with the next edition of '*Guliver*.' This with my wishes for your Lordship's health and prosperity and your speedy return to town is from yours, &c.

J. GAY to THE SAME.

[1727-8, February 12.]—I was last night to pay my duty to your Lordship, and to thank you for interesting yourself in so kind a manner in my behalf. I had heard before that the King and Queen were to be present at "*Julius Cæsar*" on Friday, so that my intention was to acquaint your Lordship that I had fixed on Thursday. As to the boxes on that day, I fear by what I have heard about the town they are taken up already, but if your Lordship would be so good as to send a servant to the box-keeper, I hope I shall have the honour of Lady Oxford's presence in the very box she chooses, for I know Mr. Rich would upon all occasions be very glad to oblige your Lordship.

## EDWARD HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD, to DEAN SWIFT.

1728, July 27.—It is now complete two months since I received the favour of your letter, and a very great one I esteem it, and also some medals which were of use to me in my collection, please to accept my thanks for them. Mr. Clayton has been going this six weeks, which was one reason of my not writing, and I think I should not give you the trouble of two letters upon the same subject resolving to write by him whenever he went. I have heard some kind of whisper as if the Dean of St. Patrick's would be in England this winter. I wish he may, but it is too good news to be true, I fear. Mr. Pope stands by himself *Athanasius contra mundum*. There is never a newspaper comes out but he is favoured with a letter, a poem, an epigram, even to a distich, from the numerous herd of dunces and blockheads that are in and about London and the suburbs thereof. I saw him the other day, he is as to his health much the same as you left him, he has at last taken a resolution of going to the Bath this season. I hope it will be of service to him. My wife and Peggy are much your humble servants. My wife goes this next season to the Bath. I hope it will do her good for the badness of her stomach. I hope this will find you very well wherever it be, for I hear you often make excursions into the country. I shall be glad to hear that you are free from your deafness you complained of when you went out of England last.

## VOLTAIRE to [EDWARD, EARL OF OXFORD].

[1728,] In Maiden Lane at the White Wigg, Covent Garden.—Tho' I am a traveller unknown to your Lordship the name of "Harlay" has been for many centuries so glorious among us French, and the branch of your house settled in France is so proud of the honour of being nearly related to your Lordship, that you must forgive the liberty of this letter.

I have written and printed here a book called the "Henriade," in which one Harlay of your house acts a most noble part, and such a one as you should be acquainted with.

For my part, having been in some measure educated in the house of the late Achilles de Harley, the oracle and the first president of our Parliament, I should be wanting to my duty if I durst not trouble your Lordship about it, and beg the favour of waiting upon you before the book comes out.

I expect to know when I may wait upon your Lordship.

I am with much respect &c.

## JONATHAN SWIFT to EDWARD HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

1738, April 3. Dublin.—I have a long time been under a difficulty of safely sending five medals to you, two of which were of the twelve Cæsars, and the rest of those Emperors who succeeded near them, because I know your Lordship hath a curiosity in this polite part of knowledge. They were found in a



very old churchyard of this city, and as it belongs to me in some manner, the minister of the church being my chancellor (Doctor Delany), they were sent to me, gratis, although I expect fifteen pence for them. However, on account of your poverty, I will take only a shilling. You will find that we in Dublin had Roman medals as well as you. This will be at least a motive, that your old acquaintance is still alive, as well as your lady, from whom I have received more marks of friendship and condescension than from any of you all. I hourly brag of her favours, and shew them to all my visitors. A worthy gentleman of this kingdom, Mr. Richardson, a member of our Parliament, will deliver you these, and your Lordship who condescended to see Faulkner the printer, will know how to distinguish the bearer of this. You must send me an answer, and my Lady Oxford must subscribe three lines at least. I am now good for nothing, very deaf, very old, and very much out of favour with those in power. My dear Lord, I have a thousand things to say, but I can remember none of them. I will hold you no longer than while Mr. Richardson stands by you. My humble respects to the Duchess, I hope she hath not forgot me. I hope you see my friend Mr. Lewis often, he complains of age as well as myself; *tempora mutantur*. Does the Duke of Ormond come over, so it is here reported? What is become of Mr. Thomas Harley, and of Mr. Edward, and his son or sons? Are you and my Lady Oxford in full health? Pray tell me everything relating to you and your family.

E[DWARD] YOUNG\* to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, August 25. Tunbridge Wells.—“I was extremely ill when I writ my last letter, and whether it was intelligible to your Grace I cannot tell. My fever has left me under great weakness, for which I am advised to drink these waters for a fortnight longer; if it will be then convenient to your Grace to admit an invalid into so happy a society, I shall pay my duty at Bullstrode with the greatest pleasure. The inducements your Grace is pleased to mention are very great, but none is greater than the satisfaction I shall take in paying my thanks for the honour you do to one so entirely unentitled to it. Madam, I rejoice that the little innocents enjoy that health which they cannot yet have possibly forfeited by their crimes; the contrary of which is generally the sting of those that suffer in a more advanced age.

“I beg my humble duty to his Grace, and my humble service to the lady that is with you; nor must she take ill my liberty in doing so, for, whatever she may imagine, she is no stranger to me, which I shall explain when I see her.”

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, September 10. Tunbridge Wells.—“I have the unhappy advantage of very sensibly condoling with your Grace on your present complaint, labouring under the same myself, from a violent cold, which the badness of the season has made

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\* Author of *Night Thoughts*, etc.

here an almost universal complaint: the excessive rains have washed away all our company, all I mean that came for pleasure; they that came for health are still fishing for it in these waters; but the waters themselves now begin to be out of order, so that I fear I shall scarce find what I sought. But I hope your Grace's park may give what the wells deny me, for my physician tells me that steel and riding are my only cure."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, October 13. Ditchley.—"I thank your Grace for the late favours I received at Bulstrode; my health, I thank God, is much better than before, but whether it is owing to the air, or the conversation, I shall not take on me to determine.

"It is somewhat odd, Madam, that I should be better acquainted with Miss Robinson since I left her, but to unriddle, I have met a confident of one of her admirers, who tells me his wounded friend is in a very melancholy way; but as he is a soldier, he is determined to behave in character, and rather to fall than fly. Your friend, Madam, alone can tell whether 'tis advisable for him to make his will.

"I hope, Madam, the little ones are as well as you wish them, and your Grace as well as you deserve to be."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, November 7.—"I am much obliged to your Grace for the honour of your letter, and still more for your desire of a reply. If your Grace designed only a compliment by it, you are fairly bit, for I am determined to think you sincere, and to value myself upon it accordingly.

"As for Miss Robinson, I am as much surprised at her ignorance in the particular I mentioned, as I am at her knowledge in general; both, I am satisfied, are very extraordinary. However, I have taken the hint she gave about providing against accidents; and a friend has written to the gentleman at ——— that he should set his house in order with all convenient expedition.

"I am heartily sorry for Mr. Hay, and hope this will find him perfectly recovered.

"I am, Madam, much obliged to my Lord Oxford for his kind remembrance of me; and as for the little ones, your Grace loves them, but I do more; I consider children as the next order of beings to the blessed angels; spotless innocence is next in place to perfect virtue, and I shall very shortly fly to their protection."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, November 25. At The 3 Golden Lions by Temple Bar.—"Your Grace may be assured I should be glad to be out of debt, but is it possible your Grace can accept a letter from me in full for all demands? I am therefore determined not to write: for is this writing? Your Grace's correspondents give you a very different idea of it; Heaven has blessed you with excellent



accomplishments, and with a relish for them in others; inso-much that it is scarce a greater happiness than it is a reputation to be among the number of your Grace's friends.

"I know but one instance where your good nature has imposed on your understanding, and if your Grace—which would be hard—should be reproached for a single fault, you are sure of me for your advocate, who am the only gainer by it; but though, Madam, I cannot add to the brilliancy of your letter-box, I can add to the variety of it. I present your Grace with a letter, which stands eminently distinguished for\* all the rest, and defy you to show me another in the whole collection, in which it had been a merit to be short."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, December 20. Wellwyn.—"I have been above ten days at this place, where my memory is very troublesome to me, and my understanding is hard put to it to get the better of its severe impertinence. I am heartily sorry for Mrs. Elstob, and hope in God she will not add to the great number of touching admonitions Providence lately has been pleased to give me of my own mortality. But you, Madam, are her deputy; how worthily are you employed! It is being twice a parent to bring little machines into being, and then to inspire them with such an understanding as shall make that being a blessing to them. How hard is it that a poor whore, who murders her child, shall be hanged, and a rich one, who neglects the education of her children, shall escape! The first—though she designs it not—makes an angel; the last makes a legion of devils, if particular Providence does not interpose.

"I had, Madam, the honour of waiting on the Duchess of Kent, who, in truth, for a duchess, is a very odd one; she has a noble ambition of being always in the right, and either her Grace studies propriety in all things, or she is so very fortunate, as, without aiming at it, exactly to hit the mark. What I have hinted, Madam, concerning duchesses in general, is nothing to your Grace; you are only a titular duchess, and have scarce one single qualification for it. Inso-much, that if you could find in your heart to scratch the coronet out of the corner of your handkerchief, you might easily pass for a lady of as sound a mind and as good a heart as any in Christendom. As for Miss R——, her heart is hardened, and I find—by what she says—that she is determined, without any remorse, to carry her face along with her wherever she goes; but if that may seem altogether necessary, I humbly beseech her—sometimes at least—to leave her understanding behind. Many an honest gentleman—though born in Kent—has done it, even when the welfare of his country was depending. I am glad to hear Mrs. P—— is proud of her weaknesses; I shall now entertain some small hope that I may not entirely be out of her favour; but, Madam, since

\* i.e., before or above.

Mrs. P———'s natural antipathy is reenforced by her pride, as you love ingenuity, I beg you to keep some one corner in your house unviolated, lest the whole race of those admirable spinsters, who work without a wheel, may not entirely be destroyed. The flies must be very fond of Mrs. P——— for routing their grand enemies, but I am afraid she is not aware with whom she is entering into so strict an alliance, for Beelzebub—the learned say—is king of the flies; so that what I suspected before is now, I think, very plain—viz.—that Mrs. P——— hates a spider worse than the Devil, which, I fear, with the fair is no uncommon case.

“If, Madam, the gentlemen will not take it ill, that I put them in such company, I desire my humble service to them, and particularly, please, Madam, to let my Lord Duke know that I have a true and grateful sense of the honour he does me by giving me a place in his remembrance. As for the little ones, he that knows them, and does not love them, is a monster, and I wish he was a monster with six or eight hairy legs crawling on Mrs. P———'s work, that she might justly wreak her full vengeance on him. But men in the shape of men let her spare, and set Miss R——— such an example of humanity, as may incline her to spend the remainder of her days in a cloister, which is the sole expedient I can think of for her complying with it.”

*Postscript.*—“I had almost forgot to wish your Grace a happy Christmas, that is, to wish you would make others as happy as you can. For believe me, Madam, ‘they that are most social are most selfish; and but by giving happiness to others, we cannot receive it ourselves.’ I desire your Graces to accept this maxim as a new year’s gift; for I never make but one a year, and this came into my head from asking myself how ’twas possible your Grace could be so merry—as you say you are—in such weather as this. Oh, that I was a salamander, and could live in flame, as poor Captain B——— has done for two years past! and will she not relent? I fear your friend loves her flesh overroasted; it may be wholesomer, but sure, ladies, it is more palatable with the gravy in it; but I grant, meat without bread won’t do.”

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1740, December?] From The 3 Sphinxes, Temple Bar.—“I designed to have waited on your Grace, but I find myself obliged to hunt money all this day, as closely as the staunchest hound on this side Temple Bar. But what have I to do with money? Your Grace promised me what is much more valuable, the friendship of Mrs. Pendarves; I thought that long ere this I should have known her very well, but I know her no more than I know your Grace; and you, Madam, of all female riddles, are the most exquisite, and impenetrable. Why was this favour so often promised? Was it to try my philosophy, and see how well I could bear a disappointment, or was it to try my taste, and see how I could relish a jest? The jest is too poignant for my taste, the disappointment is too heavy for my philosophy.”



## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1741, January?]. Wellwyn.—“It is my duty to write, though perhaps it would be my prudence to forbear, for what shall I write? Yet I will obey your Grace, and disobey you at the same time, for pray what difference is there between not writing and writing nothing? Since your Grace has laid me under an obligation and a difficulty at the same time by your kind command, I will take my revenge by being as severe on your Grace’s letter as possibly I can. I am as ambitious to find faults in such a correspondent, as your friends, the natural philosophers, are to find spots in the sun: and I think I can do it effectually. You say, Madam, the more knowledge I have of Mrs. P——, the greater esteem I shall have for her. Madam, you are mistaken, my knowledge of her may increase, but I think my esteem for her cannot; at least I do not desire it should. Again you say, Madam, that she has all the perfections of your sex, but none of the weaknesses: this your Grace designs as an advantageous character of your friend; but how far is it from it! I wish she had a fault or two I could name, that she might be the more valuable. By perfection, Madam, in sublunary things we mean such qualities as render them most agreeable to our own purposes. Gold without alloy will not work; it is quite unfit for the mint, and I fear Mrs. P—— without a little more of the *mere mortal* in her, will hardly receive that impression I am willing to make. Was admiration our only passion, the most shining excellencies would infallibly carry the day; but, Madam, there are other passions in the heart of man, and those more importunate. But what impudence is it in me to pretend to inform your Grace of what lies hid in the human heart! You have often dissected it with the most accurate discernment, and I know but one instance that can call your judgment in question, which is your Grace’s undeserved partiality to, Madam, your Grace’s most obliged, and most obedient, humble servant.”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1741. Wellwyn.]—“Notwithstanding my late reproof, your Grace cannot forbear dwelling on the praises of your friend; you say you are happy in her conversation. Had Pope been her admirer, could he possibly have praised her more? Your Grace’s endeavour to convince me of her worth is such another attempt as if you should strive to convince me of the truth of the Christian religion; both are equally unnecessary, and equally imply your distrust of judgment; but your Grace, like some other celebrated divines, will preach eternally on a text that needs no comment, and leave quite unexplained what is truly mysterious. For instance, why has your friend, in spite of several advantageous offers, devoted herself to the criminal selfishness of a single life, when she knows that it is her duty to diffuse happiness as much as possibly she can? Why has she been wedded to music, and the pencil, when she knows there is a harmony far beyond that of sounds; and when your Grace by example

has convinced her, that there is a way of furnishing her apartments—without the expense of canvas—with a variety of beauties which a Kneller might be proud to reach? But this, Madam, is touching on too tender a point; I see your Grace is under a decent confusion, to find your friend's justly admired excellencies may be fairly turned to her reproach. Madam, I should not presume to take this liberty, had I not the greatest value for you both. How then can I see with patience one committing a great error, and the other flattering her in it? This must needs grieve any honest heart, which knows how many singular virtues you have, to be tarnished and dishonoured by this, single indeed, but heinous fault. Mend as fast as you can, and peradventure you may find pardon. Boldly, Madam, as I speak, I am well aware, that I have nothing but my *age* to recommend my advice. And indeed I shall be very glad if it can recommend that, for, alas! there is nothing else that can possibly be recommended by it. To conclude this melancholy letter with the same intrepid integrity that runs through the whole, give me leave, Madam, to say, that as well as you love your friend, and she your Grace, as much as you are charmed with each other's conversation; if your friend cannot frame to herself the idea of any conversation which she could like better, she deserves not the blessing of yours. To have a warm and elegant taste for every good thing but that which Nature designed for her chief repast is being, at best, an illustrious rebel to the schemes of Providence, which, though it may gain her the admiration of the weak, will make, on the discerning, but slight impressions in her favour."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1741, February? London.]—"Money is the devil, and ever doing mischief, but it never did me greater than now, in denying me [the] honour and pleasure of waiting on your Grace before I leave the town. But you, Madam, who can confer undeserved favours with so great facility, will, I hope, find no great difficulty in excusing involuntary faults. I had the delight and reputation yesterday morning of waiting on Mrs. Pendarves, but what followed stands candidate for a place among your Grace's mysteries."

*Postscript*.—"But your Grace is a naturalist, I will therefore talk with you in your own way. What so flowery and fragrant as the woodbine! What so luxuriant and fruitful as the vine! How they ravish our senses! How they gladden the heart of man! How divinely they inspire! Such, Madam, is your sex; but then, as you are made exquisite like these, so like these, in compassion to poor mankind, you are made feeble too. You were both designed to give a tender twine around something stronger than yourselves. The vine and woodbine were not designed for celibacy, but to mingle their branches with the rough oak, or elm, obliging, and obliged, receiving succour while they confer the most perfect ornament and delight.



"Now, Madam, a lady of genius, that abounds in arts and accomplishments, she can agreeably employ every hour, by herself; she can stand alone; she is free from that weakness which lays other ladies under the natural necessity of an embrace; and being superior to her own sex, affects an independency on ours. I wish that this is not somewhat the case of your friend.

"If your Grace does me the honour of a line, you will assist me in this nice speculation. I should be glad for the sake of mankind to find myself mistaken about her, for really, Madam, if she is made *only* to be admired, I shall value her no more than an angel. And poor angels, your Grace knows, will meet with many powerful rivals in so wicked a world as this."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1741, February-March?] Temple Bar.—"On a review of your last—for I read your Grace's letters more than once—I find you complain that dullness and illnature prevails. I shall endeavour to cure you of that displeasure it seems to give you.

"If, Madam, we have no view in company but of being diverted, or improved, our disappointments will be great, but if we have a second view, that, I mean, of paying a decent regard to society, by free, and frequent intercourse with it, a sense of discharging this duty will be like carrying our own stool with us into company, and make us sit easy in it, though Illnature in the person of Mrs. — and Dullness in the shape of Dr. —, sat, one on our right hand, and the other on our left.

"If this advice seems too severe, I'll try to go still farther, and show how this great calamity may be turned into a perfect diversion, by the help of a little imagination in us. If then, Madam, Dr. B—— and Mrs. M—— should visit us, let us suppose ourselves in the theatre, and that the parts of an oaf and a vixen were represented before us, how then should we admire the wonderful talents of the performers, and swear every word, air and action, was acted up [to] the life, and thus steal from a visit the best dramatic entertainment we ever saw, without the expense of a crown!

"If this, Madam, seems as fantastical, as the former advice severe, I will try a third expedient, which is quite obvious and natural, and which everybody, I believe, makes use of more or less. I mean, let us make use of bad company as a foil to recommend the good. We may, I think, justly compare the dullness of the doctor to the flat insipidness of oil, and the illnature of the lady to the acrimony of vinegar. Now might not these—well beat together—make excellent sauce for a Mrs. P——, might they not give us a still higher relish for the charms of her conversation?

"And now, Madam, does not your Grace think me bewitched, that I talk thus to one who could tell me this, and ten times more? Madam, I do it out of pure good husbandry; I pick your pocket in order to make you a treat; what I present to your perusal I steal from your example; while you, perhaps, Madam,

looking on the behaviour I advise, like Eve—in your beloved Milton—looking into the lake, fancy you see an angel, nor know it is yourself

“And now, Madam, can you for your soul imagine for what end and purpose I have written this long letter? I have written, as most of our wits do, purely, Madam, for a dinner, and humbly beg that on Tuesday or Wednesday next—as suits your Grace best—I may be admitted to your table, there to make an apology for the trouble I now give you. If Mrs. P—— was there, she would be so charitable as to help me out; but if she is there, I beg your Grace to remember that her conversation will go down without sauce, so that you need not be at the trouble of inviting either of the two cruets mentioned above. But that I may have the honour of being often in your thoughts, I beg that—for the future—whenever a cruet of either kind comes to visit you, you would be so good as to remember, Madam, your Grace’s most dutiful butler.”

*Postscript.*—“As, Madam, persons of the character we have been speaking of may be called *cruets*, so there are others, that may be called *salvers*, as they present us in conversation with all that is delicious to the most elegant taste. Will your Grace stand gossip to the *cruets*, or the *salvers*? If to the *last*, it will, I grant, be less trouble to you, but if to the *first*, your Grace will have the honour of being asked blessing by half the town. I beg, Madam, my respects to the *salvers* of your Grace’s acquaintance, and please to let the *cruets* know that, if they honour me with a visit, I shall provide a *sideboard* for them, that they may not come too forward in company, which they are very apt to do.”

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1741, May 10. Wellwyn.—“I beg your Grace to make my compliments to Lady Isabella, and pay her my congratulations on her conversation to Christianity, and please to let her know that, if she is as good a Christian threescore years hence, I will venture to promise her infinitely more admirers—and those worth having—than *this* world can afford her at fifteen, though she should prove the fairest of her race. Next to a *fine person*, a *fine understanding*, and a *greatness of mind*, are, generally, the two chief objects of human pride; now a *fine understanding* is an understanding of compass, that takes in all things in which we are much concerned, whether present or future, seen or unseen, in fashion or out: and a *great mind* is a mind that has power to comply with the dictates of this *extensive view* in spite of all temptations to the contrary.

“Please, Madam, to let her Ladyship know, that, as she is just come into a world where there are many very much inclined to impose upon strangers, I have taken the liberty—as I wish her well—to inform her of these particulars. And now I give her leave to be as proud as she pleases of a fine understanding, and a great mind, provided they are of the right sort. If her Ladyship says she does not perfectly understand me, as having not



yet learnt our language, tell her I desire her to copy her mama, and then 'tis no matter whether she understands me or not."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

\* 1741, July 12. Wellwyn.—"Could I have administered any consolation to your Grace, and had forborne to do it, I then indeed had been quite inexcusable; but I too well know that the first agonies of real sorrow have no ears, and that a man might as wisely talk with his friend in a fever, and desire his pulse to lie still, as to philosophize with a wounded heart. These, Madam, are the strokes of Heaven, nor will they be defeated of their effect, nor indeed is it for our interest that they should. Of God Almighty's manifold blessings to mankind His afflictions are the greatest; they will make us wise, or nothing will. We cannot bear an uninterrupted prosperity prosperously; we cannot bear it without being a little intoxicated with the delicious cup, which will make our virtue reel, if not fall. Hence an ancient said as wisely as wittily:—'No man is so unhappy as he who never knew affliction.' I therefore congratulate your Grace on what you suffer, nor let it sound cruel or harsh in your ear, for in this I am but a little beforehand with your own self; for shortly you will bless God for this great calamity, and find that the best may be bettered by the kind discipline of Heaven. Heaven suffers nothing to happen to man but what is for his temporal or eternal welfare, and our fears have as much reason to praise God as our triumphs. In what a blessed situation are we then, Madam, under such a Being who does, who will do, who can do nothing but for our good! What passion in the heart of man is half so natural as the love of God, while man is in his right senses! We have no motives of love, but either the excellence of the thing itself, or its benefit to us, and in neither view has God any rival, or shadow of it. Now why is Divine love so natural to us? and why is it enjoined as the first and great command? Because, if this is complied with, a course of duty will be a course of delight; we shall have the same pleasure in it as a fine gentleman has in obeying the commands of a favourite mistress. Love carries the whole heart with it, and when our heart is engaged, among toils and difficulties we find ease and pleasure, and nothing is too hard for the great alacrity of our attempts.

"But is not love too familiar a passion from such insects towards the King and Father of all being? It seems to be so, but I beg your Grace—for the Bible is a pretty book—to review the Gospel for Whitsunday, and to see what a familiar intimacy by that tremendous Power is indulged to men. I never read it but with astonishment, nor is it possible for any one who reads it to suspect that any of His dispensations are really severe, who speaks to us in such language as the fondest father might make use of, and who will encourage no expectations in us, that shall not be far surpassed by the event.

*\* On the death of the Earl of Oxford, the father  
of the Duchess of Portland*

“In a word, Madam, Heaven is as solicitous for our happiness here, as is consistent with Its far kinder concern for our happiness hereafter, and our afflictions—which is saying much in their favour—plainly tell us we are immortal : were we not, we should be as free from cares, but then we should be as destitute of hopes too, as the beasts that perish. May that Power *who bindeth up the broken heart, and giveth medicine to heal its sickness* be for ever your Grace’s comfort and defence.”

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1741, August 5. Tunbridge Wells.—“There are but two distempers, and those very different, that bring people to this place, either redundancy, or want of spirits. The first makes people mad, the last fools; the first, I observe in this place, like persons bit by the tarantula, dance immoderately, till the distemper flows off; the last, like poor Job’s friends, sit silent for seven days together, till the water gives them utterance. The virtue of the water is yet got no higher than my fingers’ ends, which enables me to write, but when it will arrive at my lips is uncertain; but when it does, I shall have the pleasure of conversing with your Grace’s friends, many of whom are here, but all my conversation with them has hitherto been carried on by signs only on my part, for sound to one in my state is too great an expense.

“By this time your Grace begins to guess the reason why I left the town without taking leave: that was rude, but I should have been much ruder, had I attempted it. To have made your Grace a dumb visit would have been very unpolite, and at best, like Hamlet’s ghost, I should have been able to have spoke in dismal monosyllables only, and therefore I humbly hope your Grace will pardon me for not frightening you out of your wits, for I know no lady on earth that would have lost more by such an accident.”

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1741, August. Tunbridge Wells.]—“Sir John Stanley, between the waters and a high relish of your Grace’s regard to him is so elevated, that he talks of dancing at the next ball. Mrs. Donellan, whom I have studied, I find to be of an excellent mind and heart; I had once thoughts of drawing so amiable a character at length, but I shall abridge it in one sentence which implies all. ‘She is worthy to be your Grace’s friend.’ I am heartily sorry my Lord Duke has been in pain, but I hope by this time he is reaping the advantage of it, in a quicker relish of health. There is no one here who have<sup>s</sup> so distinguished themselves either by their wisdom or folly, as to contribute to your amusement by their history. Here is a great fortune, which is followed by a pack of noble beagles, but which will be the happy dog no one yet can tell. I am much obliged to your Grace and to the Duke and Duchess of Leeds; when I recover my own country, I



shall prevent the honour of their sending to me. I proposed writing a long letter, but your Grace is reprieved from the execution of that design by the waters. I can neither stand, nor see, nor think, and if your Grace can read what I have already written, his Majesty's affairs, at this critical juncture, need not be at a stand, for want of a decipherer."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1741, September 17. Wellwyn.—"To be courted by a Duchess in my old age is a very extraordinary fate. Should I tell it to my parishioners, they would never believe one word I spoke to them from the pulpit afterwards: I lie therefore under a terrible dilemma; I must either burst by stifling this secret, or make atheists of my whole neighbourhood. Such scrapes as this should teach the world the wholesome lesson of humility, and never to covet blessings that are too great for them, which are very apt to overwhelm them, or to betray, and while they gratify their ambition, wound their virtue, or their peace.

"But, Madam, I think it is in your power to make me some amends for the injury you have done me, by standing my friend with your Grace's correspondent, Mrs. Donellan; I should be ashamed of not having the truest regard for her accomplishments; and had I not passed through London, like an arrow out of a bow, I should have paid myself the compliment of waiting on her, which I hope to do very soon.

"As for the honour of waiting on your Grace, I have a thousand arguments against it, and ten thousand wishes for it; but wishes and arguments are a very unequal match; 'tis therefore much to be feared I shall not have virtue enough to stay away.

"As for your Grace's letter which has fallen into Mr. Murray's hand, be not troubled; there were no secrets in it; had it fallen into the hands of my Lord Duke himself, it would have done no harm. I beg your Grace to be my Mr. Murray, and in your very first letter into Bond Street to turn advocate for me. This, Madam, I repeat because it is really some concern to me, for I am not only indebted to Mrs. Donellan, for the credit of her acquaintance, but to her mitred brother,\* in a very particular manner. I am now reading some of his works not yet published, and that with the greatest improvement and pleasure. He and I were rivals at Tunbridge as to a married lady, till her husband in a jealous fit came from town, and snatched her from the impending danger, but your Grace will keep the secret.

"I have heard Lady P——h's character, and therefore am not at all surprised to hear she is at Bullstrove. Her ladyship is nearly akin to your Grace by a far nobler relation than that of blood. But what is that to me? I have a general objection against conversing with ladies. When hats and hoods meet, how naturally do they fall into mutual flattery! The vice, in that case, seems to have obtained a general toleration; nay, it passes

\* i.e., her brother-in-law, Bishop Clayton.

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for an accomplishment at least, if not a virtue. But if it is an accomplishment, accomplishments can do mischief; for this reason I think for the future, I shall converse with no woman but your Grace, not that your Grace's never flatters, quite the contrary, but then you discover at the same time so good an understanding, that your flattery does no harm; though our mouths water at it, we dare not swallow it, lest, while we accept of your compliment, we should lose your esteem; for this we are sure of, we cannot do wrong under your Grace's eye, and pass undetected. Thus, Madam, is your discernment our rescue from your complaisance.

"If your Grace sees the Duchess of Kent, please to let her know that there was more virtue in her enquiring after me than she perhaps imagines; that there is an unextinguishable ambition in man which is highly gratified by such honours, shown by some sort of persons, and that I shall enter it in that short inventory of goods which Fortune allots me—'That I was remembered in absence by the Duchess of Kent.'

"And now, Madam, have I not written a very long letter? and to show myself still more generous, I have written such a one, as cannot possibly lay your Grace under the least obligation. This, Madam, is an instance of generosity, which I desire your Grace to follow, nor let this frankness give you the least disgust, for this is the only instance of generosity in which I presume on any share of competition with you. My Lord Duke, the dear little ones, and Mr. Achard—your Grace knows my meaning as well as I do, and can express it better. The sincerity of heart will appear in its birthday suit, if your Grace will vouchsafe to put it into words."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1741, October 29. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace's little letter is a great satire; it is extremely kind, and extremely severe; it pleases and pains, like a bee in a blossom; from its ambrosial entrenchment it stings me home; like my Lady B—— it bites, while it kisses. Is not your Grace tired? If not, I'll run on till tomorrow, and outposie that huge waterpot of flowers, the dropsical and facetious Lord G.—. But I forget my band, and therefore, Madam, please to observe that all the pleasures of man may be ranked under the following heads:—

1. Outward senses.
2. Imagination.
3. Honour.
4. Benevolence.
5. Esteem.
6. Self-approbation.
7. Gratification of the will.
8. Pain avoided.
9. Hope.

"You see, Madam, what a monster human pleasure is, what a hydra with a thousand heads! Which will your Grace please to



choose? That, I suppose, which is most like your own; I mean, which is most worth having of any in this, or any other assembly.

"Now, that, Madam, is *benevolence*,—as I will prove at large when I have the honour of seeing you—all the other pleasures are short or precarious, or mixed, as those of *sense*, *imagination*, *honour* and *esteem*; or else *mortal*, as that of *hope*, or some way or other inferior to the pleasure of *benevolence*, as is even *self-approbation*, which is only a consequence of *benevolence*, and the cause is always nobler than the effect.

"Whether your Grace has examined this truth as much as I have done, or no, I cannot tell; but this I know, that how little acquaintance soever your head may have made with it, it is a great intimate, and perfect crony of your heart, or your Grace could not after my behaviour be so kind to me; but I dare say you have *studied*, as well as *felt* it, else it would be quite impossible you should be so great a mistress in it. I therefore must conclude by saying that your Grace is either a perfect riddle, or a profound philosopher."

*Postscript.*—"I propose the honour and pleasure of waiting on you about the middle of next month, if your Grace permits, but I beg, before I come down you would turn the ghost out of the gallery. Mr. Goldsmith can do it in a trice, but spare the poor Red Sea, and send the Devil to the Spanish squadron, or if you had rather, send the Spanish squadron to him."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1741, November 17. [Wellwyn.]—"Your Grace in your last has brought a very severe indictment against me: I can by no means plead guilty to it. On Friday I propose rendering myself at your Grace's tribunal; I shall not be content with holding up my hand; I will hold up my heart at your bar, and if you will promise not to prick it, you shall take it [in] your hand, and see if you can find out that fault which you lay to my charge. I am very tender in this point, for I know that not only good manners, but virtue is concerned in the violation of that respect, which, I know, is your Grace's due, and especially from myself. But I think I shall not fly to your mercy, as an asylum from your justice; your justice seasoned with a little spice of good nature shall acquit me. I would not, Madam, persist in my vindication, was it not to rescue your Grace from a mistake, for a mistake in your Grace is such a novelty that for ought I know, it might fright you into a fine lady, and give your Grace an absolute palpitation. As for myself, I can easily own a fault when I really commit it, as a bankrupt is not very tender of owning a debt. Especially to your Grace I should freely make confession, for—I know not how it comes to pass—I find I could prefer a pardon from your Grace before an acknowledgment from another."

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1741, December 22. Wellwyn.—“As I write this to your Grace on horseback, you will forgive the many allusions you meet with to that animal. The first I shall saddle is Mrs. Pendarves. I look on her understanding to be very surefooted, and perfectly acquainted with the road; and though her understanding could show a good sheer pair of heels, and distance most companies it comes into, yet is it wisely content not to rob others of their good humour by seeing themselves undone; thinking it enough that it is in power to give them the spleen whenever she thinks fit. As for Miss Robinson, her understanding is of the best blood, and can carry any plate she thinks good to put in for, but it is sometimes rather pleased to prance than run, which has this advantage in it, that it is done with more grace, and less pains, and yet carries in it a demonstration at the same time, that she can leave us whenever she will. As for Mrs. Dews, my horse says he has no more similes, unless she will permit me to say, that perfect complaisance seems to be the spur of her conversation, and discretion to hold the rein. As for your Grace, your understanding has been in the manage; Art and Nature can’t adjust their rights about it; each swears in its turn, that she is your greatest benefactor, and not being able to agree, they split the difference; Nature takes all that is most amiable in your conversation, and Art all that is most prudent, yet even this does not end the dispute, for they are forced to call for grains and scruples to determine which has the largest share.

“Thus, ladies, have I saluted you all round; and I am now for binding you up in one nosegay altogether. Thus incorporated, pray, ladies, what are you? are you the Graces or the Muses? You are too many for the first, and too few for the last, and yet there is a vast deal of both those sisterhoods in you. I will therefore fairly tell your Grace what I apprehend to be [the] case. Considering what a world we live in, and that wit and beauty run both pretty low, those two societies could no longer separately subsist, and that they might not both make an absolute break of it, one somewhat like your Grace, and wiser than the rest, proposed a coalition, and deputed you four ladies as a little committee to mankind, to show that they still subsist, and to do them credit with the world. But whether this be quite honest in those jades called goddesses, I leave to my Lord Duke and Mr. Achard to determine, to whom I beg duty, respect and service.”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1742, January 12.—“Your Grace’s friend has lately called on me twice; he passes to and fro like an inhabitant of another world, and tells us the deceased, the buried in the country, what is doing upon earth. I sent my compliments to your Grace by him, which I was half unwilling to do, for though we of these lower regions bear a good regard to virtue, yet, since we are quite



incapable of doing any real service, we are sparing of verbal civilities, lest it should look like compliment and nothing else. If Miss Dashwood is the creature you represent, I give your Grace joy of her, but I more congratulate herself; all gain by good qualities, but the possessor most; but be pleased, Madam, to observe that this possessor should be possessed. Fine women unmarried are like fine diamonds in the jeweller's shop, gazed at by multitudes, but enjoyed by none, and if they stay there too long, they are cheapened down below their real value. The lady and the ring should be both worn; the ring, when on the finger, is in its proper situation, and answering the end for which it was made. Now I talk of marriage, I will tell your Grace a piece of news; Sir Thomas Hanmer was married last Thursday to Mrs. Pendarves. This I heard in this country but yesterday; I wish it be true, for I know they would both be happier in that state than singly they can possibly be. There is but one objection against marriage, and that is one which the wise world amongst its ten thousand objections never makes; I mean that the husband and wife seldom die in one day, and then the survivor must be necessarily miserable.

"But to return to your delightful Miss Dashwood, your Grace says she is extremely modest; I will let your Grace into a secret, for I know Miss Dashwood well; I knew her mother before her, and I knew her daughter though yet unborn. This modesty is a lowly and successful cheat; it seems to decline that which it most desires; it proceeds from a love of esteem, joined to a diffidence of our taking the most proper methods to gain it. This diffidence creates that inward uneasy emotion which discovers itself in the cheeks; a blushing cheek who would not kiss? but why? because our own pride tells us it carries some deference in it to our judgment, and a desire of our good opinion; so that the praise we bestow on this virtue proceeds in some measure from our own vice. Thus you see, Madam, that I take the liberty of calling your Grace proud; but, Madam, take not offence at it, for if love of esteem is a vice—which is all that I lay to your or Miss Dashwood's charge—it is a vice that is to be found in other angels, in those *above*: love of esteem is planted in all created rational beings for excellent purposes, and it can never do harm but when it is *conducted* or directed amiss. Let none then be so proud, and so foolish too at the same time, as to say they have no pride in them. I honour Miss Dashwood's modest pride; it is the only pride that carries its point; confident pride defeats itself, and loses our esteem by being too sure of carrying it. I dwell on this, because, about ten years ago, it was quite a fashion with young ladies to pretend to more impudence than they had, and nothing could put them so much out of countenance as to have it suspected that they [were] capable of blushing at anything. If your Grace knows any such, please to tell them from me that they extremely mistake their own interest, if their designs are on mankind; men are such impudent rascals, but to their honour be it spoken, so conscious of that their grand defect,

that they dote on modesty wherever they find [it], though it should happen to be in coaldust and tatters. What pretty company have I brought your Grace into!"

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1742, January 13. Wellwyn.—“What your Grace says of my Lady Oxford grieves me, very sincerely I speak it, for I honour and love, and ever shall, the virtues of that lady. Your Grace was so good in your last letter as to pass a very handsome compliment; had it been more, I should have had the honour of waiting on you here, which I humbly hoped for a week together, and put my house in order. Caroline, whom your Grace is so good as to remember, will soon be in town, and humbly begs she may be permitted the honour and pleasure of waiting on you. My Lady Cathcart, our neighbour, who has a house in Westminster is so good to take her to town for some time, that the child may be cured of starting at a human face.

“I share your concern, Madam, for her Grace of Kent; I have as well great obligations to her, as a high opinion of her.

“Some, Madam, are apt to think that God Almighty’s providence is indeed very particular and notorious, as to kingdoms and nations; but as to persons they imagine it is somewhat more distant or remiss. The truth, I conceive, is, that the Almighty’s providence and inspection is equal as to both; all methods are taken with us, that can be taken with free agents, in order to our amendment, and though almost every thing is an instrument in the hand of Providence to this end; yet what seems to me to be peculiarly, and in the most eminent, and evident degree such, is, our friends. With these Heaven can most encourage, and most chastise us; these can give us the greatest pleasure, and these the greatest pain. I would by no means damp that blessed and reasonable satisfaction which arises from them in our days of joy; far from it. It is not only our prudence, but our duty, to enjoy them, but then we should sometimes consider, amid those most endearing and amiable enjoyments, that perhaps we are that moment whetting the arrow that shall wound us; for most sure it is the more we enjoy, the more we may suffer from them; the more severely we shall feel their folly, their misfortune, or their loss.

“Your Grace says you have a disposition little able to support the loss or misfortune of your friends. Madam, I never heard you commend yourself before. The highest character that can be given of a human creature is—‘A being with a feeling heart.’ Such a heart, I confess, runs great risk in the present scene; and yet human prudence and Divine Providence together form an ampler shield for our defence than is generally imagined. And when arrows of pain strike through it, such a feeling heart has this to say to itself, ‘That those very pains well borne will entitle it to a scene, where there is nothing but pleasure to be felt; and where an unfeeling heart shall never enter.’”



## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1742, February?] Wellwyn.—“As I design myself the honour of waiting on your Grace very soon, I shall not by letter forestall what I have to say as to the authors you mention. Fiction may have a good tendency, and history may have a bad one, which I believe to be the case with regard to these two writers, of whom I shall say no more at present. I am much obliged to the two ladies for the thousand fine things they did not say of me, but I take it a little ill they did not make it ten thousand, since it would have cost them no more. Madam, I beg my love and envy to the little ones, my real duty to my Lord Duke, and my humble service to Mr. Achard. The bear your Grace mentioned in your last has stretched out his great paw, and drags me to town, through bad weather, and gangs of robbers, which infest Enfield Chase; but what can the fools expect from a man at law? I hope they will not beat me for my poverty, for I can honestly assure them, that I have parted with my money to gentlemen who deserve hanging full as well as themselves, which they cannot take ill of me, at least, not so ill as if I had fooled it away in paying my debts, or squandered it in charity. I am, Madam, heartily glad to hear that Mrs. Elstob is restored to her health, and pleasing province of sowing the seeds of virtue, and accomplishment in so happy a soil. God preserve, and increase your Grace’s peculiar blessings, you know how to make a right use of them, nor need I say to your Grace, what I might very properly to many:—‘Happy are they who are not hurt by good things, happy are they who have nothing on earth which they hold dearer than their Maker.’”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1742.]—“I humbly thank your Grace for your kind letter, but there are two many melancholy articles in it to give all the satisfaction I could wish. I hope my Lord Duke is perfectly recovered of the gout, and that Lady Fanny has likewise set your Grace’s heart at ease as to her disorder. But poor Dr. Clarke—but why do I call him poor? I know no one whose death-bed I should envy more; he’s a very exemplary man, I love his person, and I reverence his character; I would write to him, but that I fear might some way or other prove troublesome, yet I long to know how he does, and to hear better news of him, than your Grace sent me. If, therefore, you should do me the honour of writing, I beg, Madam, a line or two concerning him. I proposed much satisfaction in his acquaintance.

“It gives me great pleasure that Lord Quarendon has your Grace’s vote; he certainly deserves it, and he has as certainly in it a proper reward of great desert. Lord Cornbury I have not the honour of knowing, but hope your Grace will introduce me to his acquaintance; I know his Lordship’s character, or I should not desire this favour. When persons of quality have *equal* merit with the most deserving of those below them, they have really *greater*. The diamond is better set, and throws a brighter lustre; I do not mean from their fortune only, but from

their manner, which has often a grace and dignity in it incommunicable to those of inferior rank. Since your Grace by your own authority has been pleased to divorce Mrs. P—— and Sir T—— H——, they need not have the trouble of going Doctors' Commons. I propose, Madam, the honour of waiting on your Grace in town about the 18th of next month, but if possible, and no great trouble to you, I should be truly much obliged if your Grace would let me hear of Dr. Clarke long before. The horse of Mr. Hale, my neighbour, friend, and a most eminently worthy young gentleman, passed by my door for his own seat, this very moment; he went to town to provide for his marriage with one Miss Gilbert (whom I know well and admire) and died with her wedding ring on his finger. These things strike us, but most people are struck so often by them, that at last they seem to lose their feeling. When these things cease to pain us, Heaven gives us up; It leaves us entirely to the world to make the most of it; the next step is, that the world, having us entirely its own, begins to domineer, and denies us our usual share of pleasure,—which is the necessary case of the abandoned—and then we are finely bit."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1742, May 3. [Wellwyn.]—"Such is my opinion of your Grace's goodness, that I can choose no subject more agreeable to you than to speak of your friends. Last week a neighbour of poor Dr. Clarke's\* now in Huntingdonshire called on me; he told me our friend was still living, and that his physician said he might possibly live four or five years longer. That is in the ever blessed will of God. After this melancholy account, I will give your Grace something more comfortable. The doctor retains his spirits, and is cheerful under circumstances that fright the bystander. Now this would be impossible, was there not an Indulgent Being who frights us with the appearance of remote evils, in order to give entrance to His fear into our hearts, and when those evils come supports us under them beyond our expectation, and more still beyond our deserts. Dr. Clarke's behaviour brings to my memory some lines which I have formerly read, whether it be in Fletcher perhaps your Grace can tell. After the author has represented a good man, whose name is *Philander*, on his deathbed behaving to the surprise of all about him, he adds:—

'As some tall tower, or lofty mountain's brow  
Detains the sun, illustrious from its height,  
When rising vapours, and descending shades,  
In damps and darkness drown the spacious vale,  
*Philander* thus augustly reared his head  
Undamped by doubt, undarkened by despair;  
At that black hour, which general horror sheds  
On the low level of inglorious minds,  
Sweet *peace*, and heavenly *hope*, and humble *joy*,  
Divinely beamed on his exalted soul,  
With incommunicable lustre bright.'

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\* i.e., Alured Clarke, dean of Exeter, d. 31 May, 1742.



"I hope in God, Madam, we may see our Philander again, before these verses are applicable to him in their full extent. Heaven is pleased to permit our friends to be so very dear to us, that our parting with them—which must necessarily be sometimes the case—might in some degree lessen that strong hold, which the world is apt to take on our hearts: the most deplorable case of all is, when the world so entirely fills our hearts, as not to leave room even for our friends. If such there are, Heaven keep your Grace as distant from them, as your disposition is from theirs."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1742, August 1. Tunbridge [Wells].—"As this is a place where books are denied us, as unwholesome, we must either read human nature, in that pretty edition the good company gives us of it, or read nothing at all. I have read the company over and over, some pages of which were very fair, and delightful, others were sullied, and dogs-eared with the cares and troubles of human life, and contributed more to the prevalence of the spleen, than the waters to the cure of it.

"Your Grace, I know, is curious to know the general contents of this human folio I have been reading, or what real knowledge I have gathered from my perusal of it.

"Madam, I fancy you have read it so often, and so well understand it yourself, that all I can extract from it will be nothing but a bad copy of your Graces's own thoughts. However if your Grace has a mind to contemplate the difference between a Zinks\* and a signpost, I will send you my portrait of human nature, but I must beg leave to defer exposing myself till my next.

"For really, Madam, though there is no one on earth could sooner persuade me out of my senses than your Grace, yet I dare positively affirm that my head is giddy, but whether I stand on my head or my heels I will not presume to be quite so positive.

"But, Madam, I hope I shall never be so much indisposed as to forget the great obligations I lie under to your Grace and my Lord Duke, who has, I plainly find, made so serious a point of promoting my interest with their two Graces of Newcastle and Canterbury, that I am scarce more obliged by his favour, than astonished at his singularity."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1742, August 21. Tunbridge [Wells].—"Your Grace is pleased to write to me in so obliging and in so sensibly affectionate a manner, that it, as it were, chastises, while it confers the greatest obligation, and gives me some pain to consider how little I deserve it at your hands. Your Grace is pleased to ask pardon for giving me most kind and prudent advice; Madam, rather ask pardon, for pardon asked, for that seems to imply a mean opinion of my gratitude or understanding. As to my Lord

\* i.e., an enamel by Zinke, then much in vogue.

*Mr. Robinson*  
 Egmont, whose character I honour, I thought I put myself in his way. It was not for me by making the first advance to take his lordship into my patronage; but perhaps I was too shy; I assure your Grace I'll endeavour to mend for the future.

"I hope in God, Madam, your Grace's spirits are raised by my Lady Oxford's perfect recovery: the loss of a friend is certainly the severest stroke under heaven. My Lady Bateman was *here* at that time: she had appointed me to drink tea with her that afternoon, and when I came to the door I met the sad news, which denied me that favour. I remember the time when I have trembled at the sound of a post-horn, and was as much startled at the sight of a letter, as I should have been at a warrant to seize my person and vast estate.

"I congratulate your Grace on Miss Robinson's marriage, but I will not congratulate her spouse till I know he deserves her. But your Grace knows my opinion of her already; she is a surprising young being, by which I would mean, something of a middle nature between angel and woman. Your Grace will naturally understand this better than another.

"But you, it seems, Madam, are humbly content with desiring a portrait of mere human nature; this, Madam, I promised, and this—God willing—I will perform. But not now, I do not design to trifle, but to be quite serious in it, not for your Grace's information, but to rescue you from your aversion, news, and chitchat, which have by the cruel courtesy of England taken possession of the epistolary pen. But at present my thought is accidentally so much engaged on something else, that I care not to enter on that subject till I am more at leisure.

"I beg, Madam, my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and please to let his Grace know, that on the receipt of his last kind letter I immediately writ to the Archbishop, as he advised. It was such a letter, as neither has received, nor expected an answer. I hope your Grace's olive branches flourish, and since the spirit of prophecy is on me, I will foretell a miracle; they shall one day be turned into laurels and myrtles. Prophecies, your Grace knows, are always somewhat obscure, but if you consult Whiston, or, perhaps, Mr. Ashard—to whom my humble service—he'll probably let you into my meaning."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1742, October 1. Wellwyn.—"Yesterday a gentleman spent his day with me here, and he made the day to me most agreeable, by an entertainment I did not expect from him. How he came by his intimacy with my Lady Oxford's character I cannot tell; but he told me many particular facts, most commendable in it, of which I knew nothing before. I envy her Ladyship the satisfaction she must receive from them. Wealth and rank, which shine so bright, have two rivals that outshine them, I mean wisdom and virtue. Not to cant, but to speak soberly what I know to be true; these two rivals give the only real superiority to any person upon earth. Wealth and rank will ever indeed



gain followers, and those the most complaisant. But bows and smiles can subsist without love or esteem, and the great person that accepts them with joy would often reject them with disdain, if he saw the heart of his admirer. But, Madam, with wisdom and virtue, it is quite otherwise. These compel our esteem and love; we can't withhold them if we would, and it is certain, many would withhold them if they could; for all destitute of those qualities cannot but envy that real and absolute superiority they give others over them, and envy hates as much as ever she can; but in this case Nature is against her hatred, and love and esteem will necessarily mix with it.

"Thus, Madam, I have given your Grace a key, by which you may infallibly understand the secret cause of any disrespect I may possibly show, or any injury I may possibly do, you, or yours, hereafter. You offer violence, you compel, you extort, what few are willing to part with, admiration and esteem, and I hate a tyrant, and you, I know, hate flattery; and therefore I have taken care to abuse your Grace as much as was in my power, and so much was in my power as would have killed half the duchesses in this kingdom; for I have fairly thrown your coronet on the ground, and bid your wisdom and virtue tread it under their feet."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1742, December 12. Wellwyn.—"I bless God my danger is over, but my recovery is slow. The good news your Grace sends of my Lord Duke and my Lady Oxford will promote it; I never saw anything in Mr. Hay, but what was a symptom of sound sense; I am not therefore so much surprised, as pleased, at the account you give of his sermon. If your Grace sees him, I beg my humble service and thanks for his late favour to me at Kensington. A good sermon is a most rational and high entertainment to those that are so happy as to have a relish for it, which, I am persuaded, is your Grace's case. To keep preaching a little in countenance with those that have no very favourable opinion of it, give me leave, Madam, to observe that the whole creation preaches; I mean, that we can make no just observation on any of the appearances in the material world, but what will naturally have a moral good effect on us. The Sacred Scriptures therefore are very justly considered as God Almighty's second volume, and creation as His first; which speaks to the same purpose, and if attended to, is ever bettering the human heart. How happy then, and wise is your Grace, who are fond of both these books! Mr. Hay, and others, of eminent talents for the pulpit, are only commentators on them, or panegyrists in their praise. Your Grace by this time sees, there is something sacred, as well as entertaining, in your drawers of shells, &c.; they may be considered as so many little pages of that immense volume, which God Almighty has published in a most pompous edition to induce His rational creatures to a ready and constant perusal of it. Proceed, Madam,

by your exemplary life and behaviour, nay, even by your amusements, to preach to the preachers, and among others, to the most attentive of your congregation, your Grace's much obliged, and most obedient, humble servant."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1743, June 2. Wellwyn.—"After so long silence your Grace's letter gave me the greatest pleasure. Had I known or guessed the melancholy reason you assign for not writing, I should not have denied myself the honour of writing to you; but I was really afraid your Grace had taken something ill.

"You are pleased, Madam, to begin your letter with a reflection both on my understanding and gratitude. I do assure your Grace that I do, and ever shall look on your correspondence—as I ought—not only as a great honour, but real entertainment too. What you are pleased to say about Miss Lee is extremely kind, and if I wish her well, I must obey your Grace's commands in it.

"As I take it, Madam, I am directly in your way to Nottinghamshire; and why should you put yourselves to an inconveniency to avoid me? I do assure you, I will neither hurt you, nor myself; I will receive you, as I ought to entertain, not as your Grace ought to be entertained. I heartily rejoice with Mrs. Montague, whose truly polite merits I know and admire; and whose virtues, with the world for my rival, I shall ever honour.

"As for the advice your Grace gives me about preferment, I take it with all my heart. What God Almighty is pleased to give I shall receive with the greatest gratitude, nor shall I repine at what He is pleased to deny, if His mercy is pleased to continue to me His grace, and my understanding.

"Your Grace pays me a high compliment in desiring a long letter; nothing but good sense can make such a one agreeable to your Grace, and to say the truth, at present I have no sense to spare. Madam, I have been confined to my bed for five weeks with the most acute distemper, and all the severities those butchers, surgeons, are able to inflict. I have gone through twenty nights, and had not twenty hours' sleep, nor am I yet at all come to my rest, or strength, though—I bless Almighty God—they tell me I'm past all danger.

"This discipline has so beaten down my spirits and understanding, that, had I not a strong inclination to write to your Grace—after so long a time—I should not have been able to do it. Pardon, therefore, Madam, the nothingness of what I write; please to accept my duty and goodwill now, and please to give me credit a little longer for my long arrear of common understanding."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1743, August 25. Wellwyn.—"I beg my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and a thousand thanks for all his favours, particularly for his last. How much am I obliged to you both! I

*x Mrs. Montague Lady Anne. do. Feb. 25.*



hope, Madam, the cause of those low spirits your Grace complained of when I had the honour of your last letter no longer subsists. Your Grace is so kind as to invite me to Bullstrode; if any friend of mine, and of my standing, should acquaint me that he was going to make one in such a gay assembly, I should smile at him, in my sleeve, for a fool, who knew not his time of day, and forgot that his holidays were over. But your Grace's desires are commands, and your commands are sacred. I propose to myself the honour of waiting on your Grace the latter end of next month, if that is agreeable to you.

"I have made a short excursion, or I should sooner have acknowledged those favours which lay me under so great an obligation; but I met with no such pleasing and surprising pictures of Art and Nature as your Grace sets before me in your two last letters; one would wonder how barren rock should furnish nutriment to support those large flourishing trees of which your Grace takes notice. These are strange sights, but not so strange as to see a rich overgrown miser, who could purchase half a country, where Nature shows us these rarities—it is not, I say, Madam, so strange to see groves feeding on rocks, as to see that miser dining on a flintstone, which is a sight I have been lately honoured with in my travels; and the worst part of the story is, I was obliged to dine with him, or to starve. Perhaps your Grace may desire to know the difference between these two: as the question is difficult, I must defer the resolution of it till I have the honour of seeing you. All the news I can tell your Grace is, that I've lately conversed with a most extraordinary person, Dr. Taylor, the famous oculist. He is member of every university in Europe but his own; he talks all languages but his own, and has an extreme volubility of tongue; but it is like the volubility of the machine with which they winnow corn—I have forgot its name—and is excellent at throwing dust in our eyes. In a word his tongue is as well qualified to blind understandings, as his hand is to put out our sight. My near neighbour, and valuable friend, Sir Jeremy Sambroke, who has been blind twenty years, is now under his operations, but with such ill success that we are willing to compound for his life, which was once thought in danger. Madam, may the gracious wing of Providence be ever stretched out over Bullstrode, and may I find all as safe when I have the honour of waiting on you, as I now wish you, or, which is the same thing, as I wish myself."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1743, September?] Gubbins, Herts.—"I think it my duty to ask your Grace pardon for not waiting on you as I promised. Madam, I received a visit that prevented it, I mean the visit of a violent cold, which stays with me longer than 'tis welcome. I was forced by it to leave the town for clearer air; I thank God, I am better since I came to this place, but not well,

"The day after I saw your Grace I waited on the Archbishop, who told me that my Lord Duke of Portland was very much my friend, but that nothing was to be done without the Duke of Newcastle or Lord Carteret, and presented me with his own good wishes in the handsomest manner; for which I humbly thank my Lord Duke and your Grace. I really believe the Archbishop is my friend, but your Grace knows 'tis dangerous trusting the clergy.

"If, Madam, I have the honour of hearing from you at this place—where I design continuing some time with my friend Sir Jeremy Sambrooke—I desire to know how my Lord Titchfield does, who was ill when I saw your Grace. Perhaps you expect some entertainment, but, Madam, I am neither in a merry, nor in a philosophical mood. Water gruel spoils my mirth, and an eternal cough interrupts my philosophy.

"This minute I have the comfort of hearing that preferment is come very near me, that is, Madam, that my next neighbour, the minister of Hatfield, is made Canon of Windsor. I left, Madam, Miss Lee in town, but I do not design her the honour of waiting on your Grace till I return to introduce her. I beg my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and hope your Grace will pardon this nothing from an invalid. I was blooded this day, and to-morrow begin running the gauntlet through all the rods of an apothecary's shop. You see, Madam, how dear we pay for life; one would think there was something very valuable in it, yet ninety-nine in a hundred find it otherwise, nor can it be truly valuable to any but those who have something still more valuable as their principal point of view. You will pardon this if you consider that I write on a Sunday."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1743, September. Wellwyn.]—". . . . ., "But I think myself entitled to ask it of your Grace, since you condescend in your last letter to ask me for a translation. Pray, Madam, to what bishopric? I do not hear that his Grace of Canterbury is ill.

"Madam, I should have had the honour of waiting [on] you before now, had not a very melancholy accident happened to prevent me. The plague rages in foreign nations, and there the sword is drawn, while we sit smiling under our vines and fig-trees. Yet some calamities come on board our little island. There is a young man to whom I wish extremely well, nor is he altogether undeserving in himself, nor, I think, quite a stranger to your Grace; he is going to be married, and my hands are chosen to be embued in the blood of his precious peace. The nuptials are to be the latter end of this week at Putney. As soon as they are over, and I recovered from the formidable duty, I propose setting out for Bullstrode, so famous for nightingales.

\* The first few lines of this letter have been designedly blotted.



"On reviewing your Grace's letter, I find you mean a translation from Rome to Britain. Madam, was I not fully satisfied that the former is by far the better see of the two, and that your Grace is absolute mistress of it, I should comply with your request. There dwells infallibility; how then can your Grace be deceived? I dare say, if Lucifer himself was to write in darkest characters to any Protestant king in Christendom, the Roman Chair would undertake to decipher it.

"However, if your Grace only means to enquire whether I understand Seneca as well as yourself, I will venture to expose myself to you, by letting you know that I take his meaning to be, that he is a fool that is seeking preferment at my time of day, and that success—should I have it—would only convince me that it deserved not so much trouble in the pursuit."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1743, October 29. Temple Bar.—"This day by your friend Mr. Murray's assistance I carried just one half of my point, the other is referred to Prince Posterity. Mr. Murray has certainly learnt your Grace's art, for he helped me to the wing without cutting off the leg. For the matter stood *thus*: I had two annuities of different dates, that of the second date he sliced off for me with infinite address and dexterity, and left that of the first date still sticking to the Duke's estate. Though I must do him this justice, that if any man alive could have cut off the leg too, he had certainly done it; for there is no tongue carries a better edge.

"Your Grace's always shines, and I suppose can cut upon an occasion, but it is something reserved; and as your Grace was pleased to sheath it in silence as to one particular of which I was in hope to hear you speak, I think it my duty to be silent too on that matter.

"On Tuesday, Madam, I go to Wellwyn for some writings necessary to the final conclusion of this matter, for the Chancellor's decree is not yet more than minuted, and some trouble is to follow its being perfected, before a poor creature embarked in law for twenty-four years can come safe to land.

"If affairs permit me the honour of seeing Bullstrode again this season, I will bring with me Mrs. Donellan's packet, as a charm against any misadventures in my journey. I will not say, as the religious carry relics, for that is making a saint of her, whereas I really think her only the very best of sinners. If she is not content with that character, I am sorry for it, for it is the tiptop of what our church admits.

"This afternoon I waited on Mr. Virtue; he showed me a thousand things that pleased me much; but nothing half so pleasing as the simplicity of his own manners, and the integrity of his heart; he has engraved himself in my memory and esteem for ever.

"Captain Cole was with him yesterday, but he was not very well. Miss Cole is in my head; perhaps, when I see her, she may

change her apartment. I have not yet embraced my friend at your Grace's gate, but I sent him an apology, and he says that for the sake of the blessed family he will forgive me. If your Grace would knit the friendship stronger between me and Josiah—that I think is his name—I humbly beg you to send to him Bishop Gastrell's work\* I borrowed, for I cannot get it in town, and I much want to consult it once more on a particular exigence. I will call on Josiah for it; and consult him about the immortality of the soul, and I will return the book safe and sound with his comment when I have the honour to see your Grace."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, November 20.—"Such and so frequent are the calamities of human life, that, be our conduct never so correct, our station never so high, they one day or another will infallibly hook us in. Oh Madam! The hook! The hook! Why was it not advertised? Why not a reward proposed? Why not the Germanic Empire that reward? But alas! in its present situation it would never have brought it, unless the finder had been as honest as the lady in the C——t Street.

"Madam, I have diligently sought it high and low, but in vain. I looked for it in the presents of inferiors; in the *Nolo episcopari* of Bishops; in speeches from the throne; in the self-condemnations of fine ladies; but in vain. I found in all of them a hook; but a hook that was by no means a mystery.

"Your Grace's hook is all-mysterious. I therefore diligently sought it in every page of the Revelations, but not one page could tell any tale or tidings of it.

"Yet, Madam, do not despair. I hear the daëmon of Bullstrode gallery, that old friend of mine, whisper in my ear—'It shall be found.'—And lo! here it is.

"I heartily congratulate your Grace on this most happy and surprising recovery of your dear hook, and beg my heartiest congratulations to the two ladies who doubtless have long wept the supposed loss.

"I beseech your Grace to be more careful for the future, and not to throw the world into so terrible a panic any more."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, December 10. Wellwyn.—"Such is the dangerous excellency of your Grace's understanding, that a man proves himself quite a hero who dares to converse with you. What will become of my poor unarmed, naked simplicity in so unequal a combat? Why am I thrown in panics when there is no danger near me? Why am I told of impending tempests? Why am I told of ladies in displeasure, when I am satisfied their opinions are at peace with me?

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\* "Moral Proof of the Certainty of a Future State" (1725).



"As for Mrs. Donellan, I am not only not afraid of her anger, but I am confident of her goodwill, for is it possible her discernment can stop short of the real meaning of my heart? I therefore defy your Grace's pair of bellows, they may puff the coal of enmity between us, till they burst. 'Tis all in vain. Mrs. Donellan always thinks justly; and therefore I am safe.

"As for Lady Peterborough I have a high sense of the favour of her good wishes. But how came I by them? Her great goodness gave them to me purely as a human creature in distress, so that, though they did me a great honour, yet did they a much greater to herself.

"As for Mrs. Delany, she is very kind in giving me a place in her remembrance, and please, Madam, to let her know—for she is a great stranger to the secret—let her know, therefore, that as long as the prime virtues, decencies, and elegancies, and arts of life preserve their due estimation in the world, by no one who ever had once the happiness of knowing her, will she ever be forgot.

"As to the last part of your Grace's letter I perfectly understand it, and am extremely obliged by it; but if your Grace defers till the great world is settled, I shall wear a mitre in the millennium. The Duke of Newcastle is our Pope. Ecclesiasticals are under his thumb, and he is as fixed as St. Paul's, by his own weight, in spite of all the revolutions of the little court buildings round about him."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1744, January 17. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace is pleased to complain in your last that I call you an incendiary. I could prove you such in more senses than one, but you expect I should retract; I will, and to make you full amends, please accept of the title of an extinguisher. What can quench honest ambition more, than robbing it of emulation, and hiding laudable example from its sight? Has Dr. Delany been with your Grace a month, and does your Grace mention him, and *mention him only*? Why did you mention him at all? Had you not, you then might have robbed me, and I known nothing of the felony; but now I am robbed, and murdered my strong and just desire of receiving the character of so distinguished a person from so distinguished a pen. But your Grace can set this right in your next, and I humbly hope you will.

"As for Mrs. Delany, I grieve for her indisposition: what pity 'tis that one who can't but give pleasure, should ever suffer pain! As for Lady Peterborough, I should endeavour to cultivate my better acquaintance with her, was I not apprehensive of too powerful a rival in the Pope; and who would be a pretender in vain? As for Mrs. Donellan, I suppose your Grace was afraid to commit the very bright things she was pleased to say to your own bright style, lest both together should set the paper on fire. Madam, I rejoice at heart for my Lord Duke's recovery; my humble duty to him; Caroline gives her duty to your Grace. Next

to his poor wife, she is the greatest sufferer, an only sister, and most beloved. Thus you see, Madam, though we begin gaily, we end otherwise. Death steals into the latter end of my letter, though he has hitherto spared the latter end of my life, nor can so bright an assembly of ladies, though they hate him, quite fright him away. Had their meanest admirers no other rival, they would certainly carry their point."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1744, February. Wellwyn.]—"I know what pain is, and am heartily sorry for poor Mr. Achard, and I wish I was more sorry still. We feel not enough for one another, considering who felt such extremities for us all. Afflictions, as your Grace most justly observes, have their use with regard to another scene; and give me leave to add, they have their excellent use with regard to this scene too; they soften the heart, and make us more humane, they humble the heart, and make us sensible of blessings in that situation which was insipid to us before. The bare cessation of pain, if acute, gives us a pleasure nothing else can give, and the bare remembrance of it is the best preservative against needless disgusts, and the most effectual counsellor for prudent caution, through the remaining part of our lives.

"Madam, I shall be proud of the honour of being introduced to my Lord Cornbury when I wait on your Grace in town. When that will be, I am yet uncertain. As for Lady Andover, she is a person every good man would, I think, be glad to be acquainted withal, if for nothing else, yet for this, that angels, those beings of a nature so remote from, and unlike his own, might give him hereafter the less surprise. This may look like a highflown compliment; what I mean by it is a plain and serious truth; there is—if I mistake not—a sort of unterrestrial softness, sweetness, elegance and ease in her composition; painters, for their superior beings, would steal such a face, and philosophers, to form the juster notions of their excellence, would contemplate such a mind.

"I humbly thank your Grace for your kind and well-judged advice with regard to your excellent cousin. He is not the man I meant; a less exceptionable character is fitter for my purpose. Your Grace's time for speaking is mine; I absolutely acquiesce in your goodness and judgment about it. But I should think that a promise is like money, it carries interest, and the sooner it is procured, the richer in hope we should be.

"Madam, I have the honour to acquaint you ladies in town, that it is spring in the country; that every day your rivals, the flowers, exceedingly increase, and threaten your empire; but I believe their menaces are vain. Mankind, who take upon them to hold the balance of power between you, are too great profligates to let rural innocence prevail. They are not so much for fair maids in February, as fair maids round the year. So that I consider myself as an unrivalled Sultan, I am just now going to take a walk in my seraglio, and which will be the happy daisy I cannot yet tell."

*a thin paper to the death of Mr. Achard in 1744.*



## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1744], May 19. [Wellwyn.]—"I rejoice that your Grace found Bullstrode so delightful, at the worst it is a beauty. To be pleased with one's own is the greatest wisdom of human life, and to have reason to be so is the greatest happiness of it. But to balance this pleasure, your Grace has lost your friend, to whom you give the epithet of amiable; amiable is the softest word in our language, and therefore by far the most proper for Lady Andover.

"Your Grace enquires with great goodness after my health; thanks to Mr. Achard—to whom my very humble service—I am well, blest with so much indisposition only, as is, I hope, sufficient to keep me out the danger of thinking myself immortal. What your Grace says of the battle carries in it so much humanity that it is quite worthy of a duchess; or rather such sentiments make duchesses, without coronets, of every lady by whom they are entertained.

"Another instance of your Grace's great goodness is thinking of poor Caroline; I believe the thing is past retrieve; by my direction she has written to Lord Lichfield to acquaint him with it. She has not yet received his lordship's answer; when she does, your Grace shall know it.

"Your Grace should not have been at the trouble of transcribing your letter to your cousin. Though seeing is believing, yet faith is believing too, but your Grace takes me for an infidel. I wish the M——y did, and then I might have a better chance.

"Your Grace's letter to the Duke lays me under the greatest obligations; nothing can be kinder to me, or more to the purpose; when your correspondent can write half so well, I will certainly have the honour of waiting on him. What a lucky thing it would [have] been, if I, like my Lord Edward, had been born a bishop! Poor little soul! I wish your Grace does not find it has an ill effect on his manners; however, I am very glad to hear that he and his little lay-relations are all well, and I beg my humble duty to their most worthy, and—as yet—most happy father. But I beg your Grace, when you are next in the way of wives, that you would forbear looking toward the Bench, though his Grace of Canterbury is really a comely person; for indeed, Madam, to have a second child marked with a mitre, might occasion suspicion, and cause mischief without the assistance of an Iago to promote it.

"Caroline gives her humble duty, and looks like a fool, as she ought to do. If she performs as well every part of her duty in a married state, she will make the best of what, I fear, is but a [bad] bargain."

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1744, May 29. Wellwyn.—"It is with great feeling of heart that I look back on my Lord Duke's, and your Grace's late uncommon goodness to me. On Saturday I waited on my Lady Oxford to thank her for bringing you into the world. I could not

get out of town till Saturday evening. The town is a great net, where honest men are caught like flies, and know not how to disentangle their integrity; and where knaves sit, like spiders, spending their vitals in spinning out snares of iniquity. These spiders are of various kinds. Some only poison the principles of those they catch; these spiders nest in the *Grecian*, and at *White's*. Others are sure to suck the blood of those they get into their clutches. One of the first sort I saw crawling on Mrs. Mon—gu's fair bosom. I would fain have brushed it off; but astonishing to say it! I found she was fond of the monster, and it has worked its way quite into her breast, and is quite visible in that fair and sweet repository, like a spider enclosed in amber. But give me leave to say, that amber the most illustrious, so poisoned, will soon, with all the better part of the world, quite lose its power of attraction.

"As to the second sort of spiders, the bloodsuckers, they nest chiefly in the Inns of Court, and Westminster Hall; two or three of these lately seized on me at once, and played their parts so well, that it is almost incredible to think how much I am reduced.

"But it is some comfort to me to consider that your Grace may be a gainer by both these calamities. Your Grace has a collection of philosophical rarities; clap Mr. M—— into one corner of your cabinet, as a spider enclosed in amber; and hang me up in some old clock-case, for a skeleton: then laugh at Sloane.

"And now, Madam, is it not a most melancholy consideration, that I must soon be re-entangled in this horrid cobweb of the town? I will live there, like a tortoise, in a box; but it shall be a box of Irish oak, that spiders may not come near me."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1744, July 23. Wellwyn.—"I am but just returned to this place from a long absence, or I should have had the honour of writing to your Grace sooner, to return the sincerest thanks for your and my Lord Duke's late great goodness to me.

"But though, Madam, I have not written to your Grace, I have written for your Grace, and ordered a copy of it to your house in town a week ago. For if I have not written for your Grace, for whom have I written? Not for ten more in the kingdom. At least not so many as there should be. I mean not, Madam, as to the composition, but as to the subject, which is the most delightful, or the most disagreeable in the world, and which of these it shall be, the conduct of the differently-disposed readers is to determine.

"Your Grace's turn I well know, and am sure of at least a candid reader in you. If this world was eternal, and we were eternally to live in it, and that in perpetual youth, and with the conveniences, nay, the glories of life about us; though this to most would seem at first view a desirable situation, yet I am persuaded that on further consideration we should alter our opinion. For as, now that we know we shall die, the terror of it flings all our attention on what is agreeable in this world, with



which we are, therefore, most unwilling to part; so, if we knew we were to live here for ever, then our attention—so perverse is man—would be busy to find out all that was disagreeable in it; that would most engage his observation, and a mind, whose observation was so engaged, would be inclined to change this scene for another.

“For my own part, Madam, I have good reason to consider myself as on the verge of that other scene; and it is a situation that is apt to give us serious thoughts, and the more serious any persons are, the more grateful must they necessarily be to those from [whom] they have received incontestable proofs of goodwill.”

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1744, September 16. Wellwyn.—“I am very sorry for Lady Peterborough’s indisposition; which, by the way, puts me in mind of my own, which I had really forgot, but now I remember it, my head aches mightily, and from eating a load of unripe fruit I have been for a whole week in a good deal of pain. And now, having discharged my conscience by doing justice to myself, let me enter on a more generous province, and do justice to my cousin. I grant that my cousin, as your Grace rightly observes, is very fit to make a Prince of the Empire, nor would Dutchland have disowned him, had his fortune dropped him there. But is this any reason why your Grace should disaffect his conversation? Wherein, thinks your Grace, lies the blessing of conversation? Is it in giving us an opportunity of admiring the parts of others, or of displaying our own? If the first was all it presented us with, I know thousands that would renounce conversation for ever. I know a young lady that would turn nun, though she hates the Pope, and I know a bishop that would turn hermit, though it forfeited all hopes of a translation.

“Reconcile yourself, Madam, to the blessings that befall you, visit my dear cousin, and be happy, look on him and see what sort of a man it was that inspired a Homer, and a Virgil; such were their heroes, and such heroes made them wits; and does your Grace prefer wits before that important being that can make them? By this time, no doubt, your Grace is convinced of my cousin’s merit, and your own mistake.

“I beg, Madam, my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and best compliments to Mr. Hay. I am much obliged to Dr. Tillotson for his blessing; but now I think of it, I can bless too, I blessed Mr. Stephen Duck yesterday with a third wife; they were pleased to come to Wellwyn for that benediction. How long they may think fit to repute such is uncertain.”

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1744, December? Wellwyn.]—“You took notice—I remember—that my servant looked like an ancient Briton; I then dissented, and am now come entirely into your Grace’s opinion;

for if he had been a modern Briton, he could not possibly have led me such a dance, but must necessarily have known more of his native land.

"In a word, I set out from Bullstrode about *ten*, rid four hours, and my man's horse stumbling at *two*, Tom waked, and told me he fancied we had mistook the way, and seemed to take it ill of me that I had suffered him to be my master so long; and told me, if I would readmit him into my service, he would act in that character the first man we met, and ask him where we were; which he did accordingly, and received in answer, that we were as far from Rickmansworth, exactly, as we were from Gerrard's Cross. On this, as I designed to ride but gently, I desired him to go to sleep again, which he did accordingly, and after some very dirty dreams, that he could not possibly be mistaken a second time, I brought him safe into an Inn at Watford, about sunset.

"But I ask your Grace's pardon, and beg leave that I may now wait on you into better company. Believe, Madam, a clergyman for once; I do assure you nothing could give me greater pleasure than hearing of his Grace's amendment. As for the ladies, they, I suppose, give more pain than they feel, and therefore my concern naturally devolves on the gentlemen. As for the little ones, I left my good Lord Archbishop a little out of order; I hope it is over, for though he probably neither knows, or designs it, I assure your Grace, the Archbishop gives me his blessing every time I see him smile. Caroline gives her humble duty to your Grace; I beg mine to my Lord Duke."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1745?], January 1. Wellwyn.—"Our friends at Chelsea! alas! Madam, how many melancholy scenes are there in the world, when we meet them so often within the narrow circle of our familiar friends! What a comfortable reflection is it to consider that there is a world where they that give us joy will be under no necessity of giving us sorrow too, which in our present scene is inevitable! Mrs. Montague seems to be for picking a hole in my philosophical surtout; I give her joy; it shows her present situation stands in no need of philosophy; when it does, she will speak with more reverence of that which will rock her pains into patience more effectually than a coach and six. When Wit laughs at Wisdom, ravens should pull out its eyes, and young eagles should eat them. The surest symptom of a sound understanding is neither to fear nor value wit. Lady Wallingford—to whom I beg my best thanks and respects—surprises me with her goodness. The mode of the world is to be extremely civil, but safely too, to shine away in promises, provided they have evasions in their pocket; but to remember those that forget themselves, and solicit for trouble, this is a character that would make saints in modern Rome, and would have made goddesses in that of old. I know but one lady on earth that



rivals her in this most amiable character, but Providence, which inspires such thoughts and considers the will as the deed, has saved Lady Wallingford any further trouble.

"Mr.<sup>s</sup> Leigh has relented, and my neighbour is returned to his own house in peace. I hope this discipline has had its proper effect, and given him a heart fit for his grey hairs.

"Ecclesiasticus, with me a most favourite author, says:—Much experience is the crown of old men, and the fear of the Lord is their glory. If Mrs. Leigh has given him this crown, and he will wear it, 'tis the most valuable present he ever received in his life, and I thank Mrs. Leigh, by Lady Wallingford, for giving my friend a better ornament for his head than the most rosy beaver he can possibly put on."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1745, January 17. Wellwyn.—"I find by your Grace's letter that the country, and so sweet a country, as your Grace's is, is capable of having a rival, and that rival a perfect dowdy. I must needs own, that, if the country gives ladies the spleen, town is their proper remedy, that region of assafœtida. But your Grace will say it has its aromatics too; it has, but some of them are rather too strong, and all of them are apt to affect the head to its disadvantage, and to lead weak ones by the nose. But to balance all this, and ten times as much more, your Grace says, it gives you the conversation of your friends; if it does, I grant Elysium could not give you more. Your Grace mentions but two in your letter, and if a maxim I read in your Grace's book at Bullstrode be true, I am very near hating them both, for that says:—'The more a man loves any of your sex, the nearer he is to hating them.'

"As for what Mrs. Donellan says, there is so much gallantry in it, that in pure decency I must consider it as rank raillery; but I do not like it the worse for that: to be rallied by a young lady at my time of day is a favour not to be despised. And as for Lady Andover, pray, Madam, my best respects, and tell her ladyship, that by the quotation your Grace takes from her letter, I think she resembles the very beautiful youth—mentioned, as I remember, by Herodotus—who, perceiving his person had kindled a passion in a person very unfit for thoughts of that nature, thought proper to disfigure himself, to prevent a consequence he so much disapproved.

"And now, Madam, since we are at this play, pray, what is your Grace like? 'Tis very odd, yet it is very true, you are like—the destruction of Sodom; you have brought an ancient gentleman and his two daughters together, made him drunk with vanity, and were not they better and he older than somebody else, how could your Grace's goodness be responsible for the consequence? And now, Madam, what am I like? Why I am like,—no I am not *like*, but actually *am* a fool, and if your Grace does not burn this letter, I will not, I cannot forgive you."

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\* *Sic*: but the context seems rather to suggest *Mrs.*

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1745, February 2. Wellwyn.—“Your Grace’s goodness outruns me in all my selfish designs, and while my dulness is preparing my petitions, shows me that my gratitude should be paying my thanks. I am as much surprised, as obliged, by Mr. ——— kind zeal to serve one of whom he knows so little. It would appear quite unaccountable to me, did I not conclude from this instance, that your Grace is not only my friend, but my friend-maker; had you found the philosopher’s stone and could turn all to gold, it would not enable you to make so noble a present. At the name of the two ladies that your Grace mentions my mind is necessarily struck with those two brightest of ideas, that of beauty, and that of wit. Those two brightest shafts in the female quiver, how dangerous to our sex! but still more dangerous to themselves, unless Heaven confers the shield of discretion at the same time, as It has done, abundantly, in these instances; otherwise I should have wanted courage to give them joy of either of those accomplishments, so courted, envied and admired, in the world.

“I sincerely grieve at your Grace’s article from our friends at Chelsea. Suffering merit is the most affecting object of consideration upon earth; if we are good, it threatens us; if we are bad, it threatens us still more; and our concern for others may then be supposed to be very real and sincere, when it is accompanied with an apprehension for ourselves. I beg my best wishes and respects when your Grace sees them again, and please to let them know that I desire they would take care of their health, for they cannot suffer in it without putting others out of order.

“Caroline gives her humble duty to your Grace; her lover is in Stirling Castle, so that she has a chance of being a widow before she is a wife.

“I shall religiously observe your Grace’s injunction in your postscript, nor ever dedicate any thing to that gentleman, but my humble service and thanks when you see him next, and my gratitude for ever.”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1745?], August 21. Tunbridge Wells.—“I had the honour but this very post, of two letters from your Grace, one of July 22nd, one of August 20th. As for the comedians your Grace met in Nottinghamshire I have no cause to envy you, for we have, at least as good a pack at this place. We have men of seventy that represent boys of eighteen, and boys of eighteen that represent changelings, and many of your own sex that represent witches in the morning, and angels in the afternoon, and women at night.

“The subject of the book you mention can never be too often reviewed; for *faith* like *virtue*, is never at a stand; it is ever in advance, or decline, and in one view it is more material than our speculations on virtue, for it is the root of it; and as for all my *merely moral* friends, I shall be sure to trust them, when I am



sure it is not their own interest to cut my throat. I am truly much concerned for the bad news from Chelsea; God Almighty alter things for the better.

"But now comes a severe calamity of another kind; why did your Grace let me know you was at Wellwyn? Indeed it grieves me, but I have ever been in the wrong box. As to poor Caroline, I fear the affair proceeds; I made her write to my Lord Lichfield, and she received a letter from him that became the prudence of his character and the nearness of his relation, but I fear it had too little effect. All I can bring her to is that she will not marry him in his present circumstances, and in that I am persuaded I may rely on her. She is at Wellwyn. As for your Grace's enquiries about her I take it infinitely kind, for what but your own good heart could put them into your Grace's head? The Duke of N. received me with great complaisance, ministerially kind, took me by the thumb as cordially, as if he designed it should go for payment in full. In a word, Madam, with great civility—for which I thank your Grace—he told me the King had made some promises, and that he—the Duke I mean—had his own pre-engagements, but that he would certainly do what he could; so that if nothing is done, he has kindly prepared me for it.

"As for Mr. Roberts, he is here, he returns his humble respects for the honour your Grace does him in supposing him of consequence, and says that he heard Mr. Pelham say:—'*that besides my own good title, the Duchess of Portland was a person, and character, which it was very proper for both him and his brother very much to regard.*' And Mr. Roberts added from himself, that, if your Grace would be so kind as to persist in your kind pressing in my favour, it must necessarily succeed; that your Grace's kind importunity, would be the Duke's full excuse to competitors; that application should be made, whatever fell, or was likely to fall; that a deanery was as easy to be got as a prebend, as things stand; that he would be sure to be my remembrancer with Mr. Pelham.

"The copy of your Grace's reply to the Duke, which you are so indulgent as to favour me withal, is such an instance of your Grace's indefatigable favour, that I know not what to say; I have been so little used to such treatment, that I am at a loss how to behave under it. To return my humble thanks falls very short of my real meaning.

"Lady Oxford did me great honour by having me in her remembrance. I saunter, like your Grace, from oak to oak, but I miss many oaks I was formerly acquainted with in this place. I enquired after them of the neighbours, who tell me they are gone to sea, but that meeting foul weather in their passage, they threw the balance of Europe overboard, which was picked up by a French man-of-war."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1745, September 17. Tunbridge Wells.—"I pretend not to instruct by my letters, but to obey, and to stand candidate for

your good opinion, by showing my sentiments close with your own. As for poor Colly, his impudence diverts me, and his morals shall not hurt me, though, by the way, he is more fool than knave, and like other fools, is a wit. He has a little wit, a little humour, and a little knowledge, and will lose none on't.

"Pray to how many better companions can your Grace help me, within the bills of mortality? It was prudery in Mrs. M. to tell tales, and 'tis your Grace's compliment to her prudery to take notice of it. I honour Mrs. M. for what is truly valuable in her, which is much; yet have I writ a satire on her in my heart, but racks shall not extort it from me. Lady Murray I have long known something of, and love her, but your duchess deserves not so much of your esteem. I propose, Madam, staying here as long as the weather will permit, and then, after a few days spent in London, waiting on your Grace. Your kind concern for poor Caroline is an obligation to me, who am anxious for her welfare. I am heartily glad to hear so good news from Chelsea; there seems to be much real worth in that family, and its scarcity should make it precious. Mrs. M's 'many people, and little company' is prettily, and truly said; but let her not complain, she shines the more, she has often held me by the ear till all about her were annihilated, and, in a numerous assembly, there was neither company nor person but herself. There have been two or three ladies more here whose sense is not amiss. Mr. Roberts, Madam, is gone. Your Grace will hear soon from Mrs. M.; she is much better for the waters. I know more of her than ever I did before; she has an excellent and uncommon capacity, which ambition a little precipitates, and prejudice sometimes misleads, but time and experience may make her a finished character, for I think her heart is sound. As for your friend Mrs. K. I esteem her, as I do the Portias and Lucretias; her fame rolls down to me through days of old. You see, Madam, I lay myself entirely at your Grace's mercy. You may quite ruin me, if you please, with a lady, in whose opinion I have an ambition of standing fair."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1745, Wellwyn.]—"The melancholy cast of your Grace's letter inclines me to observe that the world is our school; much discipline and few play days belongs to the nature of it. We have, notwithstanding, pleasures allowed us here; but they are *moderate* pleasures, and if we aim at *more*, we shall lose even those, that is, we shall be whipped for it. And yet not to aim at more is somewhat difficult, for, as we have a glorious holiday before us in the other world, where there are large delights, we are endowed with appetites and desires proportioned to them, which desires we are very apt to let loose here among objects too little to satisfy them; whence unhappiness necessarily follows. For unhappiness is nothing but disappointment of our desires; and happiness is the contrary.



"It is plain, then, Madam, that moderation of desire is the single receipt for happiness on earth, and our most gracious Governor would have us tolerably happy even here: but how shall He bring it about? If He leaves us to ourselves, our desires grow exorbitant, our minds take no measure of the things about us, but gape as wide as if we were already in the land of immortality, and consequently they must famish on all the world can give.

"This, Madam, accounts for what seems very surprising, though it is very common: how often see we persons, possessed of all that earth affords, as truly wretched, as if they were destitute of every blessing in life! How comes this to pass, when their accommodations are so large? Because their desires are larger; because they let loose that proportion of desire after temporals, which was designed only for eternal. In a word, because they cannot bring down their highset palates to the relish of a *moderate* repast. The chief cause of human misery is this, that men are hot in eternal pursuit of that which does not exist.

"Since such is our folly, what shall we do? Shall we be left to the fatal effects of it, and so be quite miserable? No, God Almighty is too good to suffer it, His wisdom interposes where our prudence fails. He has a divine art of reducing us to the relish of *moderate* goods, since on earth there are no other; when we will not choose the means of happiness, he will force them on us. He kindly sends fears and afflictions, and when they once show their ugly faces, then bare relief is happiness, escape is triumph, and moderate enjoyments rise to high delights. When a highlander's broad sword is waved over the head of a fine lady, her radiant eyes are opened, she sees that to be true which before appeared incredible. If he will suffer that fair neck and shoulders to continue their acquaintance a little longer, she finds it possible to make a shift to spend one evening, with some tolerable degree of content, without opera, ball, assembly or gallant. But I hear your Grace say, Is the man mad? Is this his apology? Madam, a volume would not hold it, and—if it please God—before the week now begun is expired, I will have the honour of looking like a fool before you for my repeated transgressions."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1745, October 25. North End.—"Since, I find, your Grace is in the secret, give me leave to observe, that writers, like other sinners, when they have once given away to the first temptation, are carried farther than they designed, and sin on till they are—what, Madam? You can guess, 'tis a bad word, and I will not shock your Grace with it.

"Lady Andover does me honour in remembering that I exist. Yet 'tis all compliment; there is no sincerity, or she had not disappointed my assignation with her. Why go to town! Dishonourable creature! She is gone only with her husband!

"But your Grace, who are infinitely kind to your friends in such extremities, has taken care that the disappointment shall not

prove fatal. Another mistress is the only cure, and oh, the charms, and those charms in my bedchamber, oh, the charms of a wicker chair! My Lady Duchess, if you love Lady Andover, and I think you do, and I think she is well enough for a woman's love; if you love her, I say, let her not know of this rival, a rival so irresistible, and that opens her arms, to take us wholly in, and hold us fast for hours—perhaps, fast asleep—it must make her despair; it must break—and let it—her unfaithful heart.

“Madam, the fit is going off, I am coming to myself. I have often seen our friends at Chelsea; they are pretty well, and very good, and therefore will certainly be quite well in time. I am glad with regard to your Grace, and indeed—as in duty bound—with regard to the Church, that what is most episcopal in your family is so well recovered. Then the public papers inform us, that the Kirk has lately behaved very well. I begin to relapse; nonsense is a distemper the bark will not cure; though it may have its intermissions, those intermissions are but short. I know but one instance to the contrary, and an ambition to converse with that instance will hasten me to Bullstrode, soon as possible.”

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1745, [November, Wellwyn].—“I cannot thank you too soon or too much for the late great favours received at Bullstrode, a place where a person cannot receive civilities but he must receive honours at the same time, nor can he return his humble acknowledgments, without being proud under his humility. But, I assure your Grace, I am as sincere as I am proud, while I return my gratitude for your great goodness to me.

“I rid very hard, and got hence by three of the clock, which you know, Madam, is dinner time. My maid told me she was glad I came so opportunely, for by that means she thought verily that she could provide me a dinner again the next day. I suppose the wench had heard that I eat six times a day at Bullstrode and was for balancing the account, nor was this the sole felicity of my journey. My man was ill of a fever; therefore, when we came to St. Albans, he desired I would stop a minute, that he might take something, being ill; and as he said he thought his blood was much inflamed, I stopped, and left him the liberty of having what he pleased; on which he drank half a pint of hot brandy; then we put on apace, and by the time we had rid four miles, his horse stumbled, though it was the rider drank the brandy. On the jolt, Tom waked, and cried, ‘Sir, I have dropped the bag!’ I was in a passion at his negligence, and told him I should then have nothing for dinner. ‘No, sir,’ says he, with great joy, ‘the venison is here; I only have dropped your leather bags.’ Now, Madam, in those bags was nought but my shirts, wigs, shoes, razors, &c.; in short my whole travelling estate. On being a little disgusted even at that loss, he told me, to be sure somebody must pick it up, and no doubt would bring it after us; and then trotted on with great tranquillity of mind. Whilst I was considering how I should best



manage the handle of my whip to knock him off his horse, and leave him to be picked up by the next comer, with my bags, a servant from my, and your Grace's, honest landlord at the Red Lion overtook me with what was lost; which was left on a horse-block in his inn-yard. Now judge, Madam, if I stand in need of highlanders in order to be undone. How long it may be before they strip me of my shirt, which I so happily recovered, Heaven only knows.

"Beware of Jesuits. 'Oh no,' says your Grace, 'he appears to be the honestest man that ever lived, not only to me, but to everybody; even bishops take him to their bosom.' True, Madam, and what does that amount too? It is no more than saying thus:—'I can't but think him an honest man, *because* he plays the knave to perfection.'"

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, April 6. Wellwyn.—"I had not omitted my duty in returning your Grace my early sincere acknowledgments for your particular favours when I was in town, but as soon as I returned I was taken ill of a fever, nor can I yet get clear of it. I heartily condole with every branch of your little family for what they suffered in their late illness, and bless God for their recovery.

"Your Grace's kind regard to my little interests is extremely good in you, whatever shall be the event of these casual things, your Grace can never lose the satisfaction of having endeavoured to befriend one, whose chief title to your favour is his being deeply sensible of it.

"Your Grace gives me great satisfaction, by your account of your friend Mrs. G. Cole's better health; and I shall ever set a high value on whatever favours she is pleased to confer on me.

"Yesterday, Madam, the famous Mr. Whiston called on me, who prophesied severe things to this poor nation; he pretended to support himself by Scripture authority; how just his pretence I cannot absolutely say; but I think there are so many public symptoms on the side of his prophecy, as to hinder it from being quite ridiculous.

"I wish, Madam, I could at all contribute to your amusement, but sickness is but a bad correspondent; however, 'tis better to have it for a correspondent than a companion. May your Grace ever keep it at a distance, yet not out of sight; for, as I take it, the sight or thought of sickness is the enjoyment of health, and half the world are unhappy under the greatest blessing Heaven can bestow, purely from forgetting that it may be taken from them."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1746], June 12. Wellwyn.—"I have been so thrown back in my hoped recovery by a severe cold that I cannot keep my word in being in town on the 17th. My physician tells me he cannot set me up for such a journey under ten days, and I take for

granted your Grace by that time will be out of town. I have a brother chaplain in waiting that will do my duty at Court till my health permits me to come to his relief.

"I should have been extremely glad to have paid my duty to your Grace; but as to the other point, viz. of having my curiosity satisfied by being let into the particulars mentioned in your last, that is of no moment; your Grace, I am satisfied, will do what you can, and if I have the honour of hearing from you, it would add to the favour if your Grace would let me know how fares our good friend of Chelsea, of whom you grieved me with so melancholy an account in your last.

"Madam, I beseech you take care of your health. I have a very particular sense of the value of it at present, not only from my own want of it, but from the disorders and indispositions of many of my friends and acquaintances. One of them, I find, has the honour of being known to your Grace, I mean Mrs. Rolt, from whom I received last post a most melancholy letter; her sole hope, it seems, is in Bristol waters, to which she is going, and if she should fail, her children will fall into their father's hands, which is a most surprising way—one would think—of falling into ruin. In ancient story it is said of one Saturn, that he eat up all his children. As for my cousin Rolt I fear he will drink up his. He has already drank up one half of an ample estate, and seems to be exceedingly dry still, so high runs his fever, caught by perpetually basking in the too sultry beams of that sex, which seems designed by Providence for the comfort of wise men, and the ruin of fools."

*Postscript.*—"Madam, I beg my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and humble service to Mr. Ashard,\* and—if your Grace pleases—to Mr. M——. When I last saw his Grace of N——, he told me he had two or three to provide for before me. Three are just now preferred, but perhaps his two or three, like Falstaff's men in buckram, may grow to nine or ten. For what fictions in the extravagance of poesy can exceed the wonderful realities in humble life? Your Grace will please to answer this puzzling question in your next."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, July 17. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace's particular regard for Miss Parsons confirms me in that in which I need no confirmation, your just discernment, for most certainly her excellent disposition is indisputable. God forbid it should fall into bad hands. Your Grace's apprehensions about her are such as every true friend of hers must entertain, for she seems left absolutely naked of defence but her own prudence, and in so young a creature, and beset by such a world, how precarious a defence is that! I pressed her therefore—after I heard your Grace's kind invitation—to the utmost of my power to be frequently at Bullstrode, and with your Grace's friends in town; for I cannot but have for her a very sincere regard and affection.

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\* *Sic*: Young spells this name indifferently with a c or an s.



"Business, Madam, detained me near the town till this week. I was to wait on Mr. M.; but he was not at his chambers. I humbly thank your Grace for his kind intentions towards me. I am very glad, but not surprised, that he thinks with me with regard to, &c. Madam, 'tis impossible, 'tis impossible, though, I confess, the Devil has sufficient footing in the world, and never fails of a good place at Court. Poor Mr. Ashard! I am very sorry for him, but from many late instances of the like nature in our own neighbourhood, I have great reason to hope he will do well. For my own part, who lately crept out of the same condition he is now in, I am far from being re-established in my health. As I have often in like condition found great benefit from Tunbridge, I have good hope from drinking these waters a due time; and when it shall please God that I am well, I know I shall be better by waiting on your Grace, which I had much rather do now, if it was in my power. Lady Bute I have formerly seen, but before she was Lady Bute. From what I then saw, I very easily believe what I now hear of her ladyship's excellent accomplishments and character. I am glad your Grace has the happiness of her conversation; I should be pleased and proud to partake of such a feast, but my ambition has lately met with more rebukes than one; which should, and, I hope, will, make me wiser than to aim at anything more than humble content for the future, which is prudence at all ages, but double prudence at mine."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

✓ 1746, September 23. Wellwyn.—"I have not yet got a curate, but hope sometime next month to get some neighbouring clergyman to officiate for me one Sunday, and that will give a fortnight's absence, which I propose to dedicate to my paying my duty at Bullstrode, if nothing intervenes to prevent it.

"Your Grace delights in curiosities; I therefore enclose one to you which is worth the best cockle shell in your museum. A snail's shell it must not be, for mine is all expedition; if your Grace had such a thing as a flash of lightning in the corner of your cupboard, it would be the most proper return you could make for my present. It was indeed a clap of thunder to Lady C——t, who is now panting in the Irish seas under the consequences of it.

"Your Grace's mentioning the Duchess of —— in your last put me in mind of this letter. I received it the next day after date; I desire you to keep it by you till I have the honour of waiting on you. If the Duchess plays her cards no better than my lady, she will be in danger in a little time of being called *hussy* instead of *her grace*. I send it for your private amusement only, and beg it may be a secret, for I would not appear as a confidant in such an affair, much less as the betrayer of the betrayer.

"How one false step naturally betrays us into another! Had her ladyship never married her grandson, she had never been a

liar, and if she had never been a liar, she had never been transported, which, in this case, is, I think, a severer fate than that of being hanged.

"I beg, Madam, my humble duty to my Lord Duke, my service to Mr. Achard and best wishes to all, especially to Lady Harriet. When I am at a loss for a curate I cannot forget his grace the little Archbishop. What if he made his first ecclesiastical campaign in the fields of Wellwyn! His innocence would recommend his doctrine to my parishioners exceedingly."

*Postscript.*—"This moment I receive advice that the happy couple are soon to return from Ireland in perfect peace. Since there are no spiders in Ireland, I wonder how so many webs are spun there to catch English butterflies. Her ladyship is still, I believe, but a fair penitent, as well as your Grace's duchess; I wish they were both as ready to repent of their sins, as they are of their follies. But that is the case of but few, and the reason I take to be this, viz. that *folly's* hell is in this world, but the hell of *sin* in the next. But not many let their minds go a wool-gathering to the next world, and yet without it, there is no prudence, safety, reputation, or peace in this, and they that seek them without it, not only do, but must fail, because it is contrary to the Almighty's fixed and original plan and law, which no human effort or wisdom, we are sure—if sure of anything—can possibly repeal.

"I am deeply concerned for poor Miss Cole, and beg my hearty service to Miss Parsons when your Grace sees her."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, October 16. Wellwyn.—"Compassion is not only a duty, but a blessing; it is attended with a pleasure, not only, in common with all other virtues, from a consciousness of doing right, but with a pleasure of its own peculiar growth, which the uncompassionate can never enjoy. The more sensible we are of others' calamities, the more sensible we must be of our own escape; as we lament the former, we bless God for the latter; the first gives us pain, the second, delight; hence arises that mixed sensation which an honest heart feels at the objects of pity, which to many is a riddle, and which, while they feel, they do not understand.

"What an object of compassion did your Grace lay before me in your last! A human creature, and one of the tenderest sex, and one of the most deserving in it, and an old acquaintance, and a friend, and a friend that has so much contributed to the happiness of others, to be thus afflicted! If this was all, the account would be very melancholy; but this is far from being all; it strikes me in a light still more affecting, for consider, Madam, a person deprived of reason by any cause, by pride, malice, or impetuous desire, is one of the most melancholy objects under heaven; and if it touches us so much even when the cause is *criminal*, how much must we be affected when *virtue* is the occasion of it! How much more affected still, when a



virtue so rare as that of filial affection is the occasion of it ! I call it a *rare* virtue, because family-affection naturally descends ; it descends by *instinct*, and when it *ascends*, it is pure virtue that turns the stream.

“How virtuous, therefore, as well as unfortunate must our dear friend be ! And *unfortunate* virtue calls for all the compassion and concern which the most tender heart can yield. But then we should consider on this occasion that virtue itself may be guilty of excess, that we may stretch it into a fault, and what you, Madam, will hardly believe, that we may love a parent too well ; which we actually do, when we give him our *whole* heart. There’s another who claims the supreme seat in it. Had our poor friend considered that her Father is still alive, that He can never die, that He is about her path and about her bed ; that Father, I mean, which gave her that father whom she mourns, that Father who, though He has angels for His children, not only permits but *invites*, nay, *commands* her to call Him by that *tender* name, and promises that, if she does so, that<sup>s</sup> He will give her His *blessing* ; such a blessing as no parent on earth can give, that He *will never leave her, or forsake her*—as her other parent has done—but stretch His wing over her, with the utmost tenderness, both in this life, and the next. Had, I say, Madam, our poor friend *fully* considered this, it would have been such a cordial to her heart, as would have made her laugh at Monroe ; *this* consideration would have done what medicine cannot do, it would have softened her affliction, and have prevented the calamity.

“A calamity, I mean, to us ; for what it is to her, God only knows. We know no more of her than of the state of the dead ; she is actually dead to our manner of life, nor know we at all what her present condition is as to happiness or misery. That, doubtless, depends on the nature of the ideas that pass through her mind, and that we know no more of than of the dreams of those that sleep. The beggar in his dream may be a king, and she, under this melancholy appearance, may be happy for ought we know to the contrary. For *now*, Madam, she exists in a *separate state* ; we exist under the reign of reason, she is in the kingdom of wild imaginations only.

“Let this consideration, Madam, comfort us ; let us hope the best of her, as we do of friends departed in *another* way, let us look on her as a *living* monument of the *really* deceased ; and then, like other monuments, it will naturally put us in mind of the vanity of human life, and it will do that kind and needful office in a manner as much more effectual than other monuments, as it is more uncommon and surprising than they. Thus her *reputed* calamity will be our *real* benefit, and such, past dispute, God Almighty designs it to be. For all His *dispensations* to particular persons are *instructions* to mankind in general. His good providence designs one person to be, as it were, a glass to another, and to show us our *possible* misfortunes by the *actual* misfortunes of those about us. Since then these melancholy, but most useful glasses are around us without number, since we may see ourselves

in them every hour of the day, methinks our souls should be better dressed than generally they are; but these are glasses in which *birthday* suits make but a poor appearance, and therefore we turn from them. How many heads are now full of birthday suits! How little do they think of that hour when the gayest tulip bed of St. James's on the 28th inst. will look as despicable in their sight as the wardrobe of Long Lane! A fine *deathbed suit* we should purchase at any rate; it is by far the most glorious apparel we can put on; but pray, Madam, don't tell them so, for they will certainly think you mad.

"Madam, I am still under difficulties about my waiting on you; my schemes have been disappointed, and at present 'tis not in my power to fix the time. Miss Lee gives her duty to your Grace; I beg mine, and humble service, and best wishes to my Lord Duke, Lady Wallingford, Mr. Achard, and those beautiful flowers of innocence that smile about the table, and might make a nosegay for an archangel, but I hope 'twill be very late before he gathers them."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, October 28. Wellwyn.—"I have got myself a curate, and was preparing to set out for Bullstrode, but an unforeseen accident denies me the pleasure and honour of waiting on you, and what is still worse is that it is a public misfortune which includes my own. The murrain among the cattle is got within four miles of us, to a place called Wotton, and I am obliged with another justice to hold a sessions once or twice a week, to put the Act of Parliament in execution for preventing its spreading further, and to pay the poor sufferers what they are entitled to by that Act, provided they perform the conditions of it.

"I have, Madam, endeavoured to get a curate in *this* capacity also, but I find it is impossible, so that I am absolutely confined, and for how long is quite uncertain.

"One particular fact I must tell your Grace, which will show very particular care is necessary. A farmer had half-a-dozen cows drop at once; by Act of Parliament he is obliged to dig a hole and bury them; he was willing to spare that pains, and finding an old chalk-pit, he tumbled them in, and threw earth over them; but it happened that this pit was so near the road, that in a few days the road became offensive to passengers, and if it gives them nothing more than offence, happy are they.

"The following pretty tale for a tragedy may perhaps be new to your Grace. Lady C—— at 59 is smitten with the gay feathers of 33, and after short ceremonizing (?) of billing and pruning, takes him into her nest. 33 finds it very well feathered, and had a great mind to pluck some plumes of it for his private use. This made Dame Partlet bristle against him. At this the cockscorn rose and could not bear it; it came to a little sparring, war was declared, and 33 must show all his generalship on this occasion. To this end he thought it prudent to strengthen himself by allies, and it happened very fortunately for him, that there was



a young princess in the family of 18, whom 59 took from the dunghill, and tossed her into a tub of soapsuds, out of which she soon rose, like Venus out of the sea, the delight of her ladyship's eyes, and the confident of her heart. This Venus fell in love with Mars; which was very happy for him, for she returned the favours she received from him with the key of her ladyship's *escritoire*, where he found the will, which has made him run mad. In his distraction he snatches both away to Ireland, where the young princess personates her ladyship, who is kept out of eyesight, for fear of telling tales, and as she before discovered the undutifulness of her husband, so very lately are her eyes open as to the treachery of her bosom-friend, and yet none but these two are ever suffered to come near her. Can your Grace easily feign a greater picture of distress? I own I cannot, and yet for this terrible sore, she neither has, nor is like to have, any other plaister than potatoes and milk.

"How dearly do we often pay for the gratification of an idle desire! If such tales as these were *fiction*, they would be of use; but when they are *real*, methinks they might make any one tremble that is within the possibility of the like misfortune. Pray, Madam, make this a secret, or conceal its author."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, November 23. Wellwyn.—"It grieves me that I cannot wait on you, but the occasion that subsisted when I wrote last still continues, and what is worse increases. Nor are the poor cattle the only sufferers; a pleuretic fever is epidemical in this neighbourhood; few escape it, and many die. And yet the survivors are as gay as ever, and as free from apprehensions of death as if they were immortal. This is so strange and yet so true that it naturally excites mere worldly curiosity to enquire into the cause of it.

"Can you conceive, Madam, the cause of so astonishing a truth? I take it to be this. The shortness and casualty of life, and the certainty of death, are such obvious and quite indisputable points, that it seems nonsense to talk about them; and from not talking, they come to not thinking about them too. Those points want no proof, and therefore they give them no attention; that is, they think not of them at all, for the oddest reason in the world, viz., because the points are so very certain, that they should think of little else.

"By this time, I hear your Grace say:—'Tis pity this gentleman had not continued in his pulpit; he preaches very well; I suppose his parishioners will have the favour of my letter next Sunday.' Why truly, Madam, this is naturally enough said, but how comes it to be natural? This, I conceive, to be the reason. viz., that on any serious subject a man can't talk common sense, but it will fall in with something we have heard from the pulpit, and hence we naturally enough call it *preaching*. But this is not so much to the discredit of what is said as to the credit of the pulpit; showing, evidently, that religion and

good understanding are the same thing. And if, Madam, you call what I have said *preaching*, I will present you with many profligates, that by the same rule your Grace must call *divines*. Your Grace little thinks, therefore, that, while you accuse me of preaching, you are putting Sir ——— into orders, and presenting ministers of State with lawn sleeves. For even these, in conversation, will take the side of virtue, not out of conscience, but out of pride; not to save their souls, but to preserve their characters as men of sense.

“But I am out all this while; I have been talking to your Grace as a divine, whereas I find you are a physician; I had one of your Grace’s patients with me this morning, Mr. Terrick, from whom your Grace need desire no other fee than that of being one of his audience, by which—if I know your Grace’s taste—you will think yourself richly paid. How comes it to pass, Madam, that I have so many rivals in your Grace’s favour? How comes it to pass, that at every turn, I hear of your Grace’s goodness? Is this like a Duchess? Is not this being a little out of character? If you continue this extraordinary practice, I shall return the *preacher* upon you, for be assured one good example, and in such a station, out-preaches all the pulpits in Christendom.

“I therefore thank your Grace for your excellent sermon, and I hope I shall be much the better for it; for what can be such a spur to age, as to have youth get the start of it in what is right? Nay, if it does not get the start of age, but only treads on its heels, even that is a great reproach, and men never bid fairer for virtue than when they fly from shame as well as guilt. But take it not ill if I call even you an old lady, for ’tis said:—‘Wisdom is grey hairs, and an unspotted life is old age.’

“The good company your Grace has with you makes me still more regret my confinement at this place.”

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, December 5th. Wellwyn.—“I once saw a poor deserter shot in Hyde Park: six musketeers were employed in this melancholy office; the three first, stooping, shot at his breast, and then the other three shot over them at his head, and killed him after he was dead. Such, Madam, is your request supported by Mrs. Delany’s; either of them would have struck dead the stoutest resolution I could possibly have taken to disobey your commands. But, Madam, my resolution was quite the contrary, and though I am in fact a deserter, yet am I an innocent one; or rather I am not a deserter, but taken prisoner by the enemy, and detained in chains, which I am willing to break, but the links of it are too strong, and too many. For first, Madam, next week’s fast insists on my stay, secondly, your friend Mr. West, who is patron to my curate, calls him to town, and lastly, my little house is full of London guests, with whom I am on the foot of some form, and therefore can neither dislodge nor abandon them. This frosty weather thaws human hearts,



and as they sit round a good fire their kind affections flow in such abundance, that I find my friends disposed to oblige for some time.

"I would therefore, Madam, have you and Mrs. Delany reflect, that, if you had a person with you, whose company you desired, yet if his inclinations were elsewhere, you would consider him as absent still ; so, on the other hand, as I assure you you have my inclinations, consider me as present, and treat me as kindly as you possibly can. When a man is personally present, form may supply the place of goodwill, and make handsome treatment consistent with real disregard ; but kindly to treat the distant in place, this is pure virtue ; this is the treat which angels give us, and therefore not absurdly to be hoped from those who bring them most into our thoughts.

"However, Madam, give me leave to own, that I have my objections to you: some few marks of mere mortality are still upon you. Your Grace is guilty of a fault, and of a fault which few would be guilty of; you oppress with your condescension and civilities ; I am really out of countenance at your repeated kind invitations ; and particularly, when your Grace thinks proper to distrust your own powers, and call in allies to assist your unreasonable indulgence towards me. My Lord Duke, the Dean, and Mrs. Delany ! With such allies as these a less powerful potentate than your Grace might certainly make a most successful campaign. Suppose the Empress-Queen had a mind to prevail with the Prince of Monaco to accept of a million, and distrusting her own power should engage the King of France, and the Pope, and the Czarina, to succour her endeavour, and ensure her success ; would not this be very extraordinary ? Make a very small alteration, put parson for Prince, and your Grace may make the application."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, December 17. London.—"I am now in town, and passing by Whitehall I made my bow to your Grace's house, and was sorry to find it empty. To how many houses in this great town might I bow, in which I have formerly enjoyed agreeable conversation, but shall enjoy it no more ! Whose inhabitants have taken a far longer journey from them than to Bullstrode ! Such thoughts, Madam, will occur to people in years, and as age is naturally talkative, it will tease other folks with them. How like a perfect dream seems all that is past ! And a dream it really is ; all is absolutely vanished, all our plans, our labours, even our most innocent amusements and delights ; all is as if it had never been, except virtue and vice. These, though past, are still with us : the first is immortal and cannot die, the second will be immortal too, unless it is put to death by repentance. Now, since as an Arabian proverb says, 'The remembrance of past joys is a sigh ;' and since by the same way of speaking the infirmities of age may be called a groan, what fine music must a veteran make in so delightful a concert as is now at Bullstrode ! Besides, conversing

with the blossoms of human life is apt to betray persons in years into a supposition that they are beings of the same nature, and in the same state of existence; which is an absolute mistake. For what is wisdom in the young is folly in the old, and so on the reverse; for which reason I once resolved to renounce your Grace's acquaintance, till I considered that the mischief of your Grace's age was balanced by the benefit of your example.

"Your Grace wonders what all this means, and what gives occasion to such random stuff. Why, Madam, to tell you the very truth, I am now in a coffee house waiting for a rascally attorney, who, having robbed me already of all my money, would now rob me of my time; and rather than do nothing—which is very tedious—I was determined to write nothing to your Grace."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1746, December 28. Wellwyn.—"I am sorry I could not have the honour and pleasure of waiting on your Grace after so many very kind invitations; but your Grace is in the midst of very agreeable company, which wants not that inspiration you are so well able to give. So surrounded, what, Madam, can you possibly want? If you call for the delicacies of art or imagination, Miss Parsons and Mrs. Delany have them at their fingers' ends; if to qualify these sweetmeats you call for the substantial bread of reason and argument, you have one with you who with that bread has strengthened man's heart against the insults of infidelity. Would your Grace, like Drake, travel round the world in search of curiosities? Madam, you may spare yourself that pains, the mighty S——, \* like Atlas, on his broad shoulders will bring the world, like a rare show, to your own door; he can present you with all the wonders of Egypt, pour the sevenfold Nile into the basin at Bullstrode, and luckily—at this season—give your Grace a Pyramid, as a model for a Christmas pie.

"But think me not, Madam, so stupid or profligate as to depreciate his learned and excellent work; 'tis as useful as it is entertaining; 'tis an entertaining comment on the Scriptures, and a noble pillar to support our faith. What can so strengthen our belief as to have set before our eyes still extant monuments of ancient miraculous facts? By this means faith is almost lost in knowledge, and ridiculous infidels grow still more ridiculous in our sight. Most of our travellers go abroad to damage their religion, few to mend it; therefore this work is still the more commendable.

"I am truly glad, Madam, that Miss Parsons is at Bullstrode, of whose accomplishments and virtues I have a great opinion, and I consider it as a providential part of reward to her virtue that she is near your Grace. 'Tis obvious to conceive that it many ways may be of great advantage to her at this critical period of life; who knows but the whole future happiness of it may depend on this visit? On very minute causes depend the greatest events of our lives, and when on retrospect we observe them, we are apt

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\* Probably Thomas Shaw.



to cry, 'A lucky accident!' and so rob Providence of Its just glory and ourselves of the best instruction. When we read the various manners and fates of nations, we do justice to Providence, and acknowledge without hesitation the full evidence of the Divine hand over them. Providence is no less present to—what we are pleased to call—every accident of our lives, but Its interposition seems to [be] written there in a smaller character; in such as we cannot or will not read, but if our eyes are bad as to this point, it is worth our while to put on our spectacles; for I am persuaded that every person at all advanced in life may with due attention read as useful, and probably more affecting lessons in their own lives, as they can in their Bibles. And this I presume, among others, was one important reason, which gave the saying, '*Know thyself*,' so much fame for wisdom among the ancients.

"But your Grace will say, I know not myself when I write thus to you; but pray, Madam, why not? May I not have the liberty to repeat to you your own thoughts when I can furnish nothing better? And these are your own thoughts, as far as I can collect them from your conduct, and if that imposes on me, which of us, Madam, is most to blame?"

"The infection among the cattle does not spread, and the pleuretic fever is more merciful than at first. I bless God I escaped it, and I rejoice at Miss Parsons' recovery; she has happily got rid of one pain in her side, but she is at a time of life very liable to another. If the shaft should come from a wrong quiver, your Grace will gently extract it, and apply a medicinal balm more precious than that of Gilead. For what tree drops wisdom? But though you are an excellent surgeon in these delicate cases, yet pardon me if I advise you—strange advice to a Duchess—to be a tinker, mend one hole by making another. It is the surest method, if I have any knowledge of the female heart."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1747, January 20. Wellwyn.—"On Saturday I sent your Grace a letter by a courier, like other princes, which I hope came to hand. That for the Duke of N—— I sent open, hoping you would be so good to seal it, after perusal. How affairs may go, by your Grace's favour, I cannot tell; but at present to me they are very mysterious. On your Grace's saying in a letter, about six weeks or more ago, that a friend of yours would be considered, if any removals beneath were occasioned by Bishop Clagett's death, through the dominion of self-love, I construed myself to be the man meant; and employed my thoughts in sumptuous plans for the consumption of my future abundance, taking it for granted that your Grace had received some intimation of Ministerial good intention towards me. From this golden dream I was awaked by the thunder of Mr. Roberts' letter, which indeed, did not kill me, but filled me with great astonishment, as being utterly at a loss how to reconcile his storm and your Grace's sunshine together. This astonishment was scarce over, when your Grace

filled me with new, by taking a dead cause in hand, for dead in all appearance it seemed to me. Now the question is, whether your Grace will please to explain, or to keep me in the dark, as they do nightingales, that they may sing the better. The first will be the kinder office, though the latter will be the better jest; but I acquiesce in this, that your Grace will certainly do what is most proper to be done.

"Madam, I write this letter, lest my courier should have got drunk, and given my letter directed to the Duke—to whom my humble duty—to some duchess of his own. She will be surprised to find herself in your Grace's company, with two or three Ministers of State about her; and who knows but that I might find my account in her acquaintance? 'Tis certain Nell Gwin made Dr. Ken a bishop.

"When Mrs. Delany calls for inspiration, the sun should call for light. I long to see, but not to judge, her performance; and I think I make a prudent choice; for if people have not more vanity than sense, it will ever be less pleasurable to criticise than to enjoy."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1747, January. Wellwyn.]—"As you are my oracle, I have obeyed your commands, but I consider my letter only as a carriage for your Grace's artillery. 'Tis your influence must do all the execution. But whatever success attends your engineering, I shall thank you, if not for success, yet for your good example. Few will do so much for their friends; what then will become of their foes? and yet they are recommended to their goodwill. But in this, as in some other debts, the verge of the court is a sanctuary. Virtue has great advantages; its chief advantage is out of dispute, but if it was out of the case too, methinks its present advantages should recommend it to our favour. What reputation does it gain! what esteem and affection secure! Men are so fond of reputation that by letters and arms, &c., they will take infinite pains to procure it; virtue would bring it at a cheaper rate, but that study they think harder than Algebra, and had rather lose a limb than another man's wife. I believe the reason why men prefer vice to virtue, is, because it must be owned that virtue is more like a wife than a mistress; virtue has equal—not to say far superior—joys, but then the joys of virtue have the misfortune of being unprohibited goods. If they want more pleasures than virtue can afford, why do they not seek them where your Grace and Mrs. Delany have so happily found them, in the curious and elegant arts? These, though not moral, are intellectual pleasures, which is next door to the former, and both are true marks of the human race, such as are incommunicable to the creatures beneath us, and such as may one day—if we please—set us on a level with those glorious beings which are at present infinitely above us, which are now our directors and guardians, but will be, if we are wise, our dear companions, and familiar friends.



"This is a triumphant consideration, and almost makes it an astonishment, that good people should be—which notwithstanding they are—afraid of death. Now, Madam, since to converse with those who have wisely chosen to gather their flowers of pleasure out of the two upper beds of human happiness, the *moral* and *intellectual*, and have left the leeks and onions of sensuality to those inferior beings whose poverty of nature affords them no better repast, and to those Egyptian constitutions of our own species, which have no passion for the Promised Land; since, I say, to converse with such is the greatest happiness and improvement in this scene, and the fairest promise of a better, your Grace will easily apprehend that it was with no small concern that I found myself debarred the possibility of waiting on you at Bullstrode, as I proposed to do."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1747, February 3. Wellwyn.—"I return my most cordial thanks for the pains you have been pleased to take in my favour; if that will not do, nothing will, and I resign my chimerical expectations, which it is a shame I should have retained so long. I consider it as a sort of a curse on the clergy, that the nature of their provision in *this* life keeps them generally gaping after preferment so long that they forget the next.

"Business, Madam, calls me to town in about three weeks, when I shall not fail to pay my duty at Whitehall. I received a letter last post requesting Miss Lee's consent to petition the Parliament for the sale of Frogmore. I know nothing at all about it; I suppose Miss Parsons may have talked with your Grace concerning it.

"Madam, I must let you know that I have a new neighbour at the house that was my Lady Cathcart's; she is an Irish lady, and this is the scheme (*viz.*): she is to have possession of this English villa in lieu of an old castle in the utmost north of Ireland, frowning over the sea, in which Lady Cathcart is to be imprisoned, till some generous knight-errant shall come to her relief, and rescue her immaculate virginity from the merciless tyranny of the giant Maguire.

"My law business is occasioned by disputes arising from the death of poor Mr. Lee. Mr. Murray is my counsel; and always shall be so, for he gave me excellent advice when he bid me expect nothing. And your Grace was an excellent prophetess, when you said we should not obtain a positive answer. None ever received other than an ambiguous answer from the ancient oracles, and your Grace knows who was the author of them, and yet Mr. Roberts and your Grace is for having me go to Delphos. I will, when I am in town, if your Grace continues of the same opinion."

*Postscript.*—"As I must soon resign in much more material points, I bless God I am resigned in this. I humbly thank your Grace for your kind wishes and endeavours, and shall call off my thoughts from so dead a scent to other game. I shall send them

to take a turn, not among the stalls, but among the tombs of Westminster Abbey. There ambition will go out as a taper in a damp vault. I will no longer set my thoughts on the pinnacle of the Temple, to take a view of the glories of the world, lest I fall down and worship him to whom they belong; nor do I, Madam, take this resolution altogether out of regard to that motive which *ought* to determine me to it; but out also of mere human, secular prudence, for I find that expectation, in a point of this nature, hurts me much more than despair."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1747, [March]. London.—"My long service to his Majesty, my court to the two brothers, and your Grace's recommendation, these three found a *very just title* to favour. The Duke's absolute promise to me myself, that after two or three were provided for, I should be preferred, this *heightens* that just title. Your Grace's last so signal interposition in my favour makes that just title *still higher*. After this to sue would be mean in any that wanted not bread; it would be mean at any time of life, but monstrous at mine. I am therefore fully resolved to stir no farther, which is only taking pains to be despised.

"But I long to thank your Grace for your zeal to befriend me, and therefore will wait on you punctually by ten to-morrow morning, being obliged to be at Lincoln's Inn before twelve."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1747, April 16. Wellwyn.—"Amid so many dear domestic engagements of heart, and so many loud calls from the gay and great around you, is it possible your Grace can think of one so much out of the way, of such an invisible being as your humble servant? I believe not; I must therefore let your Grace know that you commanded me to write, and that this comes therefore from the pen of obedience, not of presumption, but as I have no business and but little invention, what shall I say? I will tell you a melancholy, but true tale, of too late a date.

"A young woman—now about twenty-one—of good birth, and better principles, was some years in my family. About two years ago her much elder sister, who had long been governess of my family and me, married, settled in town, and carried her younger sister with her. A young apothecary in good business and circumstances courted her, won her affections, mutual vows of marriage were passed. Things standing thus, she came down for a month or two to me the latter end of last autumn; the thing was kept warm by letters every post; I invited, nay, pressed him to come down to her, knowing the pain of absent lovers; but business, he said, hindered him. She returned to town in high expectations, just before I was last there; the spark visited her, but his behaviour was cold; she burst into tears; on which he said:—'My dearest, I understand those tears; they upbraid me; and so far they agree with my own sentiments; I upbraid myself.



You feel, I see, the force of love, and therefore will the more easily pardon the same weakness in another. I feel it to distraction, but ask ten thousand pardons, 'tis for another person. I courted her some years ago, but she absolutely refused me, which occasioned the fatal step I have taken with you. But since you have been in the country, I have received intimations that she has thought better of it. The temptation is irresistible, and therefore we must part.' And so he took his leave; a duke could have done no more.

"The heathen deities were said to laugh at the perjuries of lovers; and if your Grace is as much a heathen as you are a goddess, you perhaps may laugh with them, but I cannot. If she lives a thousand years she'll never feel greater pain, and a good heart in pain is the most melancholy sight in the world. The sole consolation is, that a good heart in pain by pain will be made still better. But what young lady of your Grace's acquaintance would better her heart on terms like these!"

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1747, June 1. Wellwyn.—"I am glad your Grace has had so pleasant a ramble, and that you stopped short of Ireland, which is fond of an English Duchess, and cares not to let them fly home again, when once in her net. Cornbury, your Grace says, is a charming place and fit for such a master. My Lord I know not but from Mr. Pope\* and your Grace; now Pope was a poet, and might therefore fib; my Lord Cornbury must therefore thank your Grace for the good opinion I have of him.

"The Duchess of Queensberry is, your Grace says, very entertaining, and so are all oddities; peevishness and pride are in their own nature the most ridiculous things in the world, and therefore must be extremely entertaining to such as only see, not suffer from them. If Mr. Foot† would take her Grace well off, you would find her much more entertaining still.

"I congratulate your Grace on the nuptials of Miss Parsons, that must, I think, be a very happy couple if it is not *his* fault; but a good wife sometimes makes a bad husband, as great prosperity corrupts good manners.

"Your Grace has sent Lord Titchfield to Westminster; no doubt it gave your Grace some care and concern, and so will every thing in life that is valuable and worth our wishes. It is greatly for my Lord's advantage, and therefore will be greatly for your Grace's happiness. Whatever advantages a private education may have, two very great ones it certainly wants, emulation and early experience in the tempers and talents of others; the first is the greatest spur to diligence, and the last is an absolutely necessary qualification for making any figure in public life. And why, Madam, should we despair of seeing his grandfather revive in him? When Lord Titchfield is Prime Minister, I will apply again for preferment, and not before. And I think myself happy that your Grace's wishes concur with my resolution of neither visiting nor writing any more.

\* *Imitations of Horace*, I. Ep. vi. 60.

† Doubtless the actor, Samuel Foote,

"If your Grace continues your resolution of leaving the town in three weeks from the date of your letter, I shall not have the honour of waiting on your Grace the latter end of this month, when I am obliged to be on duty at Kensington. If, I mean, the gout will give me leave.

"Your Grace is jealous either of my bad head or bad heart without cause, for I do assure your Grace that I have not the least suspicion of insincerity in your Grace's favour to me, but with true gratitude of heart remember and acknowledge the manifold instances of your partiality to one who has no title to it, but his true sense of your Grace's prudence, virtues and accomplishments, so rarely seen in so eminent a situation, and so conspicuous a point of light.

"Your Grace is so kind as to invite me to Bullstrode; I have the assurance to invite you, Madam, and my Lord Duke, and Mrs. Montagu, &c., to Wellwyn. I am but four hours from you, and it may be some amusement to you to laugh at a country parson. Madam, I shall be proud of that disrespect."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1747, September 10. Wellwyn.—"The honour of your Grace's letter of the 5th I received not till yesterday, and rejoice that all is well. My Lady Oxford—to whom I beg my humble duty—does me great honour in remembering me, nor could I have a greater pleasure than an opportunity of waiting on her, for I *know* her Ladyship's worth, so that surveying the magnificence of the place would be the least part of my satisfaction at Wellbeck.

"I am concerned for Mrs. Delany's loss, but hope her apprehensions for Mrs. Dews will happily be disappointed. If we did not suffer as much—perhaps more—from what we fear than from what we feel, the world would be much happier than it is.

"His Grace the little Archbishop will not catch a fever in his return; the weather is now very moderate, and I beg him to be my guest in his return. Your Grace is so good as to think of taking me up in your journey, but before Miss Lee returns it [is] not in my power to be from home, and her I expect not till the beginning of next month, at which my Lord Lichfield comes to town to welcome his uncle Fitzroy to England, and then will bring Miss Lee along with him. As my present fate necessarily fixes me here, your Grace will be sure to find me on my post whenever you return, and I shall for the future consider my post as a post of honour, since it gives me an opportunity of paying my duty to your Grace in your Wellbeck expeditions.

"I dined yesterday at Stevenage in order to prevent the infection of the cattle from being spread among us, which has already begun from that place. Your Grace's friend at the Swan, for he pretends great intimacy with your Grace's family, is very solicitous for your health and return; the latter of which may, I suppose, make him so tender of the former."



## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1747, November 22. Wellwyn.—“Since my last I have been in a very bad state; my days more than ever painful, my nights almost insupportable. What I have felt is, I hope, to your Grace quite inconceivable, for so, I am sure, it must be if you was never afflicted with the rheumatism yourself; but I bless God I am much, very much better, yet still cannot go abroad without suffering by it. As soon as I can I shall attempt waiting on your Grace, for Miss Lee is with me now, and sends her humble duty.

“Though your Grace is so kind to offer it, there is no need of any other tar-water than that you mention; its proportions are exactly right, and it is the only medicine from which I receive any manner of relief.

“I do not yet hear anything of the result of your Grace’s letter; ’tis this day a fortnight since I had Mr. Gore’s promise to put it in Mr. Roberts’s hand, who, I suppose, had it the next day, and I desired it might be returned, which is not yet done.

“I humbly thank your Grace for the offer of your chaise; I may possibly ask the favour of having it meet me at Rickmansworth; but as yet I am all uncertainty and complaint.

“A second work by the author of *Pamela* will be published in a fortnight, and I fancy your Grace will find amusement in it, if, I mean, your taste is for a melancholy tale. I have heard it formerly, and not without a tear; but, as I remember, your Grace laughs at fiction; if so, I must visit others to see them weep. Fictitious tears are detestable, tears from fiction are not so. May your Grace never have occasion for any other.”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, February 20. Wellwyn.—“As I opened my chamber window this morning pretty early, I was struck with the most beautiful landscape I ever saw. Houses, trees, woods, fields, all was covered with one entire sheet of snow, not a single footstep to be seen, not the least violation of its immaculate virginity. What an amiable emblem of universal innocence was this! But since, as I conceive, our innocence is not yet quite universal, I was obliged to think of it in another view, and imagine our whole polluted species doing penance in a white sheet—as the custom still prevails in Scotland—for their secret sins.

“Now please, Madam, to observe that I send all this to your Grace purely as an article of news; you in town are in another world, and know nothing of what passes in the natural scene of things. In your hotbed climate frost is warm, and in your sea-coast situation snow is black; in all things you are unlike us innocents in the country; with you honesty is not the best policy, nor is the worthy the most honourable man at Court.

“But your Grace long ere this censures me for my triviality; the weather, you say, is a common topic of discourse, that indeed you have often met with it in conversation, but that you never saw it

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\* Doubtless John Roberts, Henry Pelham’s secretary. Cf. p. 302.

signed and sealed in the solemnity of an epistle before. Madam, I acknowledge the indictment, I plead guilty, I own my letter is a kind of frost-piece, and far fitter to make a page among the winter months of an almanac than in any other composition, but I assure your Grace that the frost has only nipped my fingers; it is got no farther; my heart lies ten degrees at least southward of my hand."

*Postscript.*—"Madam, that my Lord Duke may before this be on a better than a Chinese foot, and that the little ones may long trip it with the foot of fairies on Mrs. Delany's light, fantastic toe, before they know what pain means, is the hearty prayer of their humble servant and admirer. My humble service to my physician, Mr. Achard."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, [March. Wellwyn].—"Except Betterton, I never knew a player that was a good tragedian, and I never knew a dancing master that was a genteel man; and the cause is the same, they both overshoot the mark. This is a fault not to be feared in your Grace's band; and the reason is plain; for when persons of low education undertake characters of dignity, they can only guess at what it is, and so mistake; but when persons in high life do the same, they *know* what true dignity is; they, for the time, only change their *habits* and *names*; whereas the former must change their *manners* and *nature*, which is a much harder task.

"Besides, Madam, who so likely to act a part well, that is, to pretend to be what they are not, as persons of a Court education! Dissimulation, which is putting off ourselves, and simulation, which is putting on another's character, I take to be the whole science of a courtier. Nor do I speak this to their dishonour, but the contrary; for, through the depravity of our nature there is so much in the human heart that ought to be concealed, that I cannot but lay it down for a maxim that:—'They who know not how to dissemble, know not how to please.' If this startles your Grace's delicacy, consider, Madam, what is virtue, and religion itself? It is little more than curbing the natural tendencies of our perverse hearts. If, therefore, courtiers instead of curbing or altering their passions, which they can do to admiration on secular motives, they did the same on nobler views, courtiers would be the best Christians in the world. Your Grace may, therefore, congratulate some of your friends on being so near that, which, I daresay, they very little suspected.

"For the reason given above, I believe, with your Grace, that the play will be acted to great perfection; and there is no entertainment that could give me greater pleasure. But then I like not the reason you give for my being present at it. '*Since you are to preach so soon &c.*' says your Grace. I perceive, Madam, the satire that is couched in this argument; you mean, 'since you are to preach, you can't do wiser than to come to the best school for



acting a part.' I grant, Madam, no preacher can come up to his precepts, but then he thinks it is his duty so to do; whereas many a tailor has acted Alexander the Great, who never thought it his duty to demolish the Persian Empire. This is the difference—which your Grace would artfully sink—between a Roscius and a St. Paul.

"However your Grace's tartness should not rob me of an entertainment that would give me so great delight, had I not many real tragedies, at this severe season, acting round about me at home, in several families distresses, disorders, and deaths. And why has Providence ordered that melancholy tales should give us pleasure, but to habituate our hearts to tenderness, that they may not grow callous when opportunities offer, which may render our tenderness of some real use? I fear, Madam, I cannot be in town soon enough; but, if not, I am not utterly at a loss for some consolation under the disappointment of my desire to wait on you. For my comfort is, that even at this distance my pride will be highly gratified, though my poor famished eyes and ears do not share in the entertainment. For, as it is said, that Pygmalion's statue grew warm under his embraces, and of stone became flesh; so, I am persuaded, how dull and inanimate a figure soever *The Revenge* may make on the common stage, its condition will be very much altered under such hands; their approbation—not to mention their performance—will give it life.

"I beg my best compliments for the great honour done me."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, April 12. Wellwyn.—"Miss Lee joins me in my best thanks for the favours we lately received in town. I left it ill, and though I bless God I am better, yet have I no reason as yet to boast.

"This minute I received the rumour of a great victory in Flanders; I wish to-morrow's papers do not blast our laurels. I should have waited again on your Grace before I left town—as Miss Lee told me you desired—but I was in pain, and unwilling to make wry faces in company. Miss Lee has acquainted Lord Lichfield and her uncle the Admiral\* of her determination to marry, so that matter is past retrieve, though against the pressing advice of us all. I wish Count Saxe found our officers as irresistible as they are found to be at home. This irresistible hero is at Portsmouth taking his leave of his friend General Blakeney, who there sets sail for Minorca. I expect him here at his return. He is purchasing a majority; the bargain is agreed between the parties, and the Duke's leave is waited for, and expected very soon. The man seems to me to be a plain and honest man, and I can see not much she could fall in love with unless it is his integrity, which, methinks, should have more charms for an old philosopher than for a young lady. I must give your Grace joy of Dr. Drummond's mitre. I hope all is well at Whitehall."

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\* Fitzroy Henry Lee. Cf. p. 307.

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS of PORTLAND.

1748, June 4. Wellwyn.—“I much thank you for your very kind letter, which has set my heart at rest from the uneasiness of foolish expectation and suspense. Your Grace’s endeavours were not the less kind for being unsuccessful, and to the kindness of a friend our gratitude is due, and not to his success.

“I should think myself happy to see Bullstrode in its glory, but I fear it will not be in my power; the bride<sup>\*</sup> and bridegroom<sup>†</sup> &c. are with me, and how long their stay, and what expedition lawyers will make in their concerns with them—in which I am concerned—is as yet uncertain, for there is a suit still depending about her brother Lee’s will, which we must attend till it is finished.

“A young gentleman was with me last week, with whom your Grace lately made an assignation. He has but four thousand pounds a year, and he came into my neighbourhood to take possession of a parsonage of one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, but it seems it is for the benefit of a minor.

“I give your Grace joy of a glorious piece of news, which probably you may live to see accomplished; I shall not. Mr. Whiston was with me this morning, and has assured me that eighteen years hence the Jews will be converted, and that twenty years hence the Millennium will begin, and next week he begins a course of lectures in town to satisfy the world in that particular. Lady Wallingford will probably have a curiosity to see the new buildings at Jerusalem, for that city is to be rebuilt; till that happy scene arrives your Grace may look with satisfaction on the beauties of Bullstrode, but afterwards it will be of no manner of note. If Mr. Achard would travel so far, he would probably see that the mathematics are as yet but in their minority.”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS of PORTLAND.

1748, September 25. Wellwyn.—“I ask Lady Primrose’s pardon and your Grace’s, that I did not wait on her sooner and oftener; but it was a pretty while after she was in these parts before I knew of it, and afterwards I was prevented from that honour extremely against my inclination; though I knew not what I had lost by it till after my visit, when she gave me much occasion to think well of her understanding, besides her professing her just and great opinion of your Grace.

“Madam, I accept your very kind invitation, and his Grace’s, to Bullstrode with great gratitude and pride, but whether I shall be so happy as to take the advantage of it, as yet I cannot say. Mrs. Haviland is now in town putting her goods on board for the North, but she returns to me next week for some—as yet—uncertain time; I suppose, it depends on the Major’s being commanded to his post. All that I, therefore, can at present say is, that whenever health and circumstances admit, I shall be happy in paying my duty to you.

\* Caroline Lee, granddaughter of the first Earl of Lichfield, and Young’s stepdaughter.

† William, afterwards General, Haviland.



"I am extremely [glad] to hear so comfortable an account of the matrimonial harmony between Mrs. and Mr. L——d, and indeed the more so, because I had lately heard quite the contrary, and with this particular circumstance, that, though the fact was true, yet Mrs. L——d to all her acquaintance declared the contrary. Which I accounted for in my own mind from that uncommon sweetness of temper, and prudence, of which I think her mistress. And though much urged, as the persons knew me to be no stranger to Mrs. L——d, all I said, or could say, was, that, if the report was true, I thought myself confident that Mrs. L——d was not the occasion of it, or, if she is, no appearances in your sex are ever to be trusted.

"Your Grace mentions not a word of my Lady Oxford, though I writ in hopes of paying my duty to her on her journey; which puts me in mind of your Grace's going by my door last year yourself as if it had been a stranger's. Madam, unextinguished ambition will put such things in one's head, though I, who am so often receiving fresh honours from your Grace, have, I confess, the less reason to complain.

"If, Madam, Mrs. L——d is still with you, I beg my best compliments, and let her know that her friend Mr. Richardson left me but on Saturday last, and that she may expect to see before Christmas part of her own amiable picture in the remaining part of *Clarissa*.

"I know your Grace has no great esteem of this author; therefore in a letter to you I shall suppress my admiration of him, and will only, instead of panegyrist, turn prophet, and let your Grace know that your great grandchildren will read, and not without tears, the sheets which are now in the press. They will pay their grandmamma's debt to this poor injured man; and injured in a point which would touch him most nearly, if he knew your Grace, and knew your opinion of him."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, November 22. Charles Street, Westminster.—"I am greatly obliged to your Grace for your enquiry after my health. It is, I bless God, much better, but my yesterday's journey to this place has much fatigued me. I am very sorry for Mr. Hay, but hope a Lisbon sun may do much, when there are no physicians to hinder its operation; though I think there is something both in Mr. Hay's manners and appearance that looks as if he were more fit to make an angel than a man; as the world goes.

"This moment I received a letter out of Scotland, and find by it that Mrs. Haviland will soon have it in her power—and I dare say in her inclination—to wait on Lady Bell Monk in Ireland. Thus are we tossed about on the face of the earth till we are gathered to our fathers.

"I rejoice that all is so well at Bullstrode, the health of those we esteem is our best cordial under the want of our own.

"A friend of your Grace's not long since deceased in Hertfordshire has, I hear, many claimants to what he left behind him, but

I hope no one will claim his bad example of dying intestate, which occasions all this trouble. I hear his curiosities will come into the hands of your friend Mr. West.\*

"Now I am in town I shall talk with Mr. Richardson on the point mentioned in your Grace's last letter but one; and if I find him guilty either of impertinence or illnature, I shall have a less opinion of mankind than I had before; for I own I conceived him to be as incapable of either as any man on earth. But we are all very frail, and he that answers for another in almost any thing only shows that his knowledge of human nature is not equal to his zeal for his friend."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, January 29. Wellwyn.—"I rejoice that Mrs. Lambert has made her spouse so agreeable a present, such presents are great peacemakers, where peace is wanted, and pour fresh oil into the lamp of love, where it burns the brightest. I heartily hope my friend R——n was a false prophet; prophets of old had two provinces, one was to foretell, the other was to instruct. Though he may have failed in the first, yet he has not in the last. Has your Grace read his *Clarissa*? What a beautiful brat of the brain is there! I wish your Grace would stand god-mother, and give it its name, *Clarissa the Divine*. That romance will probably do more good than a body of Divinity. If all printers could turn such authors, I would turn printer in order to be instrumental in promoting such benefit to mankind.

"And yet, Madam, this excellent offspring of the imagination was in danger of having been stifled in its birth; or, at least, of having been made a changeling. I think your Grace knows Mr. Littleton; he, Mr. Fielding, Cibber, &c., all of them pressed the author very importunately to make his story end happily; but does not your Grace think that it is infinitely better as it is? It does end happily, most happily, for *Clarissa* in the sense of all who do not terminate their notions of happiness at the grave. The reader that has most faith and virtue will be most pleased with this composition. I look on it therefore as a sort of touchstone for the readers of this virtuous age, who, while they think they are only passing their judgment on another's ingenuity, will make a discovery of their own hearts.

"Your Grace is so good as to desire to see me in town. When in town I shall have the honour of waiting on you, but I have no thoughts of being there soon, though some of my neighbours seem to have an irresistible call to the Green Park. The cold weather, I suppose, makes them fond of fire. Instead of squibs and crackers, I shall humbly content myself with sun, moon, and stars, those glorious fireworks of that great King who in the noblest sense is the *author of peace, and lover of concord*.

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\* Doubtless the antiquary James West, at this date M.P. for St. Albans. Cf. p. 316 *infra*.



## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1748, December 18. Wellwyn.—“Not being at home when your Grace’s letter came, this cannot come to you till Thursday; and on Thursday sennight, that is St. Thomas’s day, I am obliged to be at home again, if I have the honour of waiting on you; and that time is so short, that I had rather choose some other opportunity.

“When I was in town I talked with the author of *Clarissa*; he and your Grace I find from the beginning were of different sentiments, though I daresay of equal good intention; you for, he against, the match; he against it, from the great inequality of age; your Grace for it, from—I suppose—such an opinion of the young lady’s temper and prudence as rendered that objection of no weight. You prophesied good, and he, ill; and now you are both for verifying your several prophecies; which is all that I can make, on my best enquiry, of this matter.

“Mr. L———being often in the Tunbridge season at the Wells, and she, never, though much enquired after, gave, I find, some ground for suspicion, but whether a just ground or not, they themselves alone can tell.

“I have got Mr. Monk to write to Ireland to procure Mrs. Haviland, who will soon be there, the honour of Lady Bell’s countenance at her arrival in a strange land.

“May this, Madam, find your Grace happy, happy in yourself, and in all you hold dear; this I ardently wish, because, whenever I have the satisfaction of hearing good news from Bullstrode, I shall be truly capable of enjoying it, though I am not on the place.”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1749, May 7. Wellwyn.—“About three months ago I had the honour of a letter from your friend Mrs. Delany. As its contents were of the greatest importance, I immediately wrote an answer, and that duty done, took the liberty to close my letter with an humble request for a favour at her hands with regard to poor Mrs. Haviland now in the barracks at Drogheda, and in the ensuing winter proposing to be at Dublin, where I thought I could not do better for her, either with regard to her happiness or reputation, than to recommend her to the countenance of Mrs. Delany. But I have had no letter from Mrs. Delany since, which, considering Mrs. Delany’s goodness and complaisance, makes me suspect that my letter never came to her hand. I remember at that time I doubted if my direction was right; and therefore I humbly beg the favour of your Grace to let me know how I am to direct to her, though I should have thought that a letter directed to Mrs. Delany in Ireland could not have miscarried. She shines not only with her own light, but with that of her spouse, and how with such a lustre to lead it, could a letter lose its way?”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1749, August 3. Wellwyn.—“You desire me to tell you how your heart shall get clear of forming ineffectual wishes; it is, I

grant, a sad distemper; yet, though your Grace does me the honour of making me your physician in ordinary, yet can I not in conscience wish you quite free from this disease, because I verily think there is no such thing as a perfect cure of it but death. However, there are some palliatives that may soften the pain it is apt to give us.

"First, Madam, I can administer to your Grace a malicious kind of consolation from the great number of your fellow sufferers, for no disease is so epidemic; but this is, I know, a medicine that that will go against your stomach.

"I had rather, therefore, observe that frequent blows of disappointment deaden the sensibility of the heart, and thus this distemper, at long run, like the scorpion, cures the wound it gives.

"But the chief recipe I would prescribe may be called the balance; I mean, Madam, that your Grace should not permit a disappointed wish to give you more pain than a successful one gives you joy; and then I am persuaded you would find the violence of your distemper, in a great measure, abated. But to play the mountebank no longer, I descend from my stage into a perfect patient myself; and must own that I am as much, if not more distempered, in spite of all my quackery, than your Grace. For I severely feel the disappointment of my sincere desire of seeing Bullstrode, which pleasure is denied me by friends that are to be with me for the summer. I humbly beg that my not waiting on your Grace may not be misunderstood; for I am ashamed of having been honoured with so many kind invitations, and should be still more ashamed of not enjoying the advantage of them, if the occasion of it was not most real and unavoidable."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1749, September 17. Wellwyn.—"It grieves me that I cannot wait on you at St. Albans, as I designed, but am necessarily prevented. Your Grace will perceive by the enclosed that I must have had great inclination to talk with you. My friend Mr. Richardson, your Grace will perceive, is very uneasy; and, I am confident is very honest; if therefore on the perusal you can furnish me, at your Grace's leisure, with anything of consolation to him I shall rejoice.

"I am, Madam, extremely sensible of the many and undeserved honours I receive at your hands. What would I not give to wait on you and my Lord Duke at Wellwyn! I wish your Grace would change the conditions for any other on earth; for such is my state of health, that so late in the year I dare not be from home.

"Madam, the bar to my design and promise of waiting on your Grace at St. Albans was a coachful of ladies, who came to dine with me.

"The latter part of the enclosed is the only part that desires the favour of your perusal, and such answer to it as your Grace's benevolence shall think proper, for I know poor Richardson's great delicacy is quite in pain about it."



## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1749, October 5. Wellwyn.—“Accept my most cordial thanks for the honour your Grace and my Lord Duke so lately did me at this place; had you continued but four hours longer, you would have seen the ladies you talked of the night before, Mrs. Montague and my Lady Sandwich. They dined at the Inn, and drank tea with me; and I breakfasted with them the next day, after which they went to town, both their husbands, as I understand, being there. As far as I can look into her at present I like Lady Sandwich very well; her manner is very unlike that of her friend. They came from Hinchbrook, where Mrs. Montague has spent some time with her ladyship. I asked her if she had any commands to Bullstrode, for that I should write soon; she answered, that she should write herself on Tuesday night; your Grace can tell whether her veracity is inviolable or not.

“I hope your Grace had a pleasant journey, a safe arrival, and the happy welcome of finding all well; my hopes are the more lively on this occasion at present, being awakened by a sad fire which happened in our neighbourhood the night after your Grace left us, which has reduced three poor families to great distress; it was occasioned by a careless disposal of their lime.

“I defer writing to poor Richardson till by your Grace’s favour I hear what Mrs. Lambart says to his letter. If he was to blame, it is evident he repents, and it is the interest of us all to wish that much power may be afforded to repentance. But I presume no farther; your Grace knows what is fit and right to be done in the case, and, I am confident, will be for no other measures in it.”

*Postscript.*—“Since I writ the former part of my letter, North, Mr. West’s friend, came to make me a visit, and in the course of our conversation—without the least provocation or hint from me—told me that the rise of his friend was owing to some secret he had to communicate to persons in power. I said, I questioned it, on which he told me that he had it from Mr. West’s agent at St. Albans, who stood in such nearness to him that his information could not be questioned.”

## E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1749, [October]. Wellwyn.—“Your Grace is extremely obliging, and your present very acceptable. I have now another flock besides that of my parishioners, and I fear much the more innocent of the two.

“I received the honour of your Grace’s first letter, but it was after mine to [your] Grace was written, or I should have made my acknowledgments for it. Mrs. Hallows knows not how to express her sense of your Grace’s so great favour; and Mrs. Ward is not with me. I am sorry to hear that I have seen the best of Lady S——h, and as for her companion I found her out before your Grace did, which occasioned the disregard I showed her at

Tunbridge, of which I know she complained to your Grace. The paragraph you favour me with, Madam, relating to Mrs. Lambart gives me real pleasure, for poor Richardson is a low-spirited man, and not only deserves but wants satisfactions.

"I return, Madam, my particular thanks for the receipts and medicine, and for that especially that encounters a sore throat, my greatest enemy, to which I am most subject; but I shall stand less in dread of it for the future.

"Lady Primrose and a friend of hers were, some time since, about taking a house in Oxfordshire, but the bargain went off, and they could not get it. Sometime after Lady Primrose met her friend, and was regretting that they missed that pretty place. 'No,' says her friend, 'I have taken it.' 'How so?' says Lady Primrose with great joy. 'Why,' says her friend, 'I have married the landlord of it.' Which is very true. It is one Captain Hervey, with whom I am well acquainted.

"Your Grace asks, on a very proper occasion, 'Is it possible for a man to glory in his villainies?' Yes, Madam, so very possible that some have committed villainies purely to glory in them, but the gentleman in question fixed his prudent choice on something more substantial, and, we may suppose, in pure gaiety of heart from his extraordinary success, let the secret inadvertently drop from him. For that it did come from him in conversation, and that with a person of low rank, I have indisputable conviction."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1749, December 26. Wellwyn.—"My eye is just as it was, I cannot make use of it without uneasiness; but it would be greater uneasiness to me not to thank your Grace in a few words for your most kind enquiry. I rejoice in the welfare of your amiable fireside, and hope the little exception to it in the Archbishop will soon cease. I do not hope, but prophesy that my Lord Titchfield will advance in all things to your own heart's desire. It is natural to Mrs. Delany to leave marks of great ingenuity behind her wherever she goes, and still more natural to leave them there where she knows they will be relished by an exquisite taste, and be acknowledged by a heart in which it is her glory to have so large a share. To her and the Dean, I beg my best compliments, and my humble duty to my Lord Duke."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1750, April 20. Wellwyn.—"I was lately in conversation with a certain gentleman who pressed me much to bring my old tragedy on the stage, and he told me that your Grace had promised to second him in that request. I should be very glad to know at your Grace's leisure if this be true; for I have certain inferences to make from the veracity, or the contrary, of this reporter.



"I beg your Grace to pardon my liberty, and my brevity, for I am still under my late complaint as to my eye. When the sun is highest the shadow is least. I cannot say that the shortness of my letter proceeds from the height of my regard, but I can truly say it is absolutely consistent with it."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1750, October 21. Wellwyn.—"The many and great favours I have received at your hands make it my duty to comply with your requests; your high rank makes it my ambition, and your Grace's amiable accomplishment makes it my pleasure, and the honour you did Wellwyn last year makes it an absolute debt in me to wait on you. Now it may seem somewhat odd that a man cannot comply with his duty and his own earnest desires.

"But indeed, Madam, the case really stands thus. Soon after I had the honour of your Grace's last letter I was obliged to go to Winchester, where I had a son at the then election standing for a fellowship of a college in Oxford; applications to the electors, &c., detained me there till the latter end of September; then business carried me into Surrey, where I continued some time, determining on my return to Wellwyn to set out for Bullstrode; but on coming home I found a letter from the Speaker proposing to meet his son from Cambridge at my house: this I knew not how well to decline, and hoping their meeting would be soon, I still proposed waiting on your Grace afterward. But the Speaker put it off from time to time, and now at last he has let me know that he will be with me to-morrow, and probably he may stay till the end of the week. This pushes me too far into the winter to venture a journey, for the least cold flings me into pains of which my Lord Duke may have some idea, but your Grace can have none at all."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1750, November 4. Wellwyn.—"Notwithstanding my truant behaviour this summer, I am not altogether absent from Bullstrode; I am as much there as a person at this distance can possibly be. I run over most of your alterations in my fancy, and am exceedingly pleased with them; nor am I at all surprised at it, considering whose taste and genius presides over that scene so very capable of shining; and I am persuaded that your Grace can change most things for the better but yourself. This, Madam, I think is courtly, and on the credit of it, I beg leave to step into your flower-garden, of which you are so fond. Why, truly, it is a most gorgeous apartment of your paradise. What shapes! what colours! what combinations of them! what varieties! what inimitable patterns for human art to copy after! Even a duchess's fingers are far distanced by them. Poor Solomon! what a beggarly appearance dost thou make in all thy glory compared with these! But I am apt to believe, Madam, that if Solomon was with us, and sufficiently disengaged from

the infatuations of his seraglio, he would be likely to say something to this purpose:—"If these things so delight us, if the glories of the vegetable world so much claim our admiration, how much more so, the glories, the flowers of the moral world; where there are so many deformed and poisonous weeds to set off, as so many foils, their amiability! where there are ten thousand Mackleans<sup>a</sup> to one Duke of Portland!"

"These are flowers indeed worth rearing, flowers that engage the care, and cultivation, and superintendence, and affection of superior beings, fill their invisible paths amongst us with fragrancy, and ever shine in their sight. Pardon the boldness if I say that the Archangels Michael and Gabriel &c. are florist with regard to these; they gaze on them, and protect them for a season, and then to make their fate as happy as their beauties are bright, they will gather them one day in glorious clusters and present them to the Supreme. To whose great protection I, who am but grass, most cordially recommend your Grace and the little flowers of your family."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1751, July 26. Wellwyn.—"A lady of my acquaintance, who has a good hand at match-making, and who has lately brought together the proprietor of Pensilvania and a daughter of the Lord Pomfret, is now with them at my Lord's seat in Northamptonshire, and is to spend some days with [me] at her return; I expect, the latter end of this week; which unavoidable accident denies me that honour and pleasure which your Grace so very obligingly offers me. But I most humbly request that, at going into the north, or at your return, or both, you would refresh my spirit by resting yourself under my roof.

"I rejoice in the restoration of your Grace's health, and I hope I may congratulate my most worthy Lord Duke on the same account. There has been nothing but death about me. Mr. West called on me not long ago, and gave me the pleasure of hearing you was well, and of carrying or forgetting to carry my respects to your Grace, with whom he was to dine that week. He came into these parts in order to purchase for his sister a considerable estate of one Lady Cotton. Our neighbour, Lady Caroline Cowper<sup>x</sup>, is gone to Bristol for her health.

"Your Grace perceives, I pump hard for news; and therefore I will give it over, and content myself with assuring you that words cannot express the satisfaction it will give me to wait on your Grace at Wellwyn."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1751, September 3. Wellwyn.—"Your commands are sacred, and therefore I write, but my eye incommodes me, and therefore I write shorter than I ought. But I will make some amends for

\* The gentleman highwayman James Macaine or Maclean had recently been executed at Tyburn.

*Daughter of William, second Earl Cowper.  
cf. Collins IV. 162.*



the brevity of my letter by the importance of it, for I shall speak of your Grace's friends. Mrs. Donellan is setting out for Ireland to take possession of wealth on her mother's death. Mrs. Delany in a letter, and that a very ingenious one, to a friend of mine, says, among other things, that there is but one Duchess of Portland, in which she speaks the sense of the nation, and give me leave to add, that I believe there is but one Lady Oxford, to whom, and my Lord Duke, I beg my humble duty."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1751, September 29. Wellwyn.—"In order to give the reason for not waiting on your Grace according to your and my Lord Duke's very kind desire, I find myself obliged to let you into a secret, which I desire you not to communicate. I am, Madam, printing a piece of prose, and am obliged to correct the press myself, which forces me to be in town till that affair is over; and if I can so hasten it as to have it done in time, the piece and its author shall wait on you together; if not, I shall send your Grace the piece as soon as finished. I shall send it to no one else, not putting my name to it, and for some reasons desiring the writer may be concealed; which reasons your Grace may possibly guess at, if you do the thing the honour of a perusal. As for the performance, let that be as it will, I am sure the subject is such as will meet with your approbation. To show you that my good wishes—as in duty bound—run very, very high for you and yours, I wish you all more happiness than you deserve."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1752, August 6. Wellwyn.—"I this day received the drops, and with them a demonstration of your great *kindness* to me; as for your Grace's *want of capacity* mentioned in your last, I am not in the least concerned about it, for I bless God I have more than I want, which is more than most princes can say.

"Madam, I should never more have mentioned to you anything about preferment; but, since your Grace glances at it in your last, pardon me, if out of pure curiosity I ask what your crony, the Archbishop of Canterbury, meant by a letter to me two or three years ago, in which he says, that 'he would say nothing to me, but that he had acquainted my friend the Duchess of Portland with what concerned my interest.' I suppose His Grace meant to say something that was agreeable, unconcerned for anything more, for I have neither heard from nor writ to him since.

"Your Grace, if you please, may at your leisure unriddle this; if not, I am quite contented to continue still in the dark."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1753, December 16. Wellwyn.—"I received with joy your kind remembrance of me, but far otherwise at the same time your Grace's black catalogue of calamities. You say Mrs. Donellan has been in danger; we see therefore that a good understanding is no security. You say Mrs. Montague is in danger; therefore

it is certain that wit can make nothing more than a poor name immortal. You say, Madam, that Mrs. Delany is better; therefore she, to my sorrow, has been ill; long may she live, not only to give a lustre to your Grace's grotto, but an ornament to your sex.

"When such as these suffer, what impudence is it in me to complain! Though you, Madam, have had more than your share, yet have you not engrossed all colds to yourself. I have been much out of order; but am, I bless God, much better, and rear my head once more to see most of my old acquaintance and friends drop before me. My Lord Thanet was with me not long ago, and now I am at a loss how to return his visit."

*Postscript.*—"Mrs. Delany's *humiliation*, which your Grace speaks of, and your own *presumption*, is to me mysterious and unfathomable; uncommon excellence is a sure charm against humiliation, and the presumption of conferring favours is a new figure of speech which few, uninspired by Bullstrode's clear air, would be able to decipher. But I suppose you two ladies, influenced by this season of town entertainments, are pleased to put your merry meaning in masquerade, to make a country parson stare, and your own polite circle smile. Nor can I take it ill; jokes at Christmas want no excuse. However since I have detected you, I believe you ladies will be more sparing of your raillery in your next; but since raillery is a symptom of health, may it continue, may it increase; for, I assure you, on that consideration, the more you two invalids are pleased to laugh at your humble servant, the more abundantly will he rejoice."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1754, June 25. Wellwyn.—"Through a long absence from home, I have but just now received the honour of your last letter. I heartily rejoice with you on my Lady Oxford's good state of health, and am sorry to hear that your Grace has had reason to complain. You cure everybody but yourself. I thank your Grace I have found great benefit from your medicine. I should have been very glad to have waited on you at St. Albans, had the fates permitted. I received a present of his late published sermons from Dr. Delany, and as bound in gratitude, as well as charity, much rejoice in the turn his law-affair has taken in his favour.

"I am glad, Madam, that my friend Mr. Richardson has had the happiness to recover your Grace's good opinion. I am confident he deserves it. As for the fountain from which the mischief sprang, I am sure it is a foul one, and therefore desire not to be better acquainted with it."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1755, September 7. Wellwyn.—"I have public duty always three days in the week, and often much more; and at present I have no curate, nor can I get any. It is therefore utterly out of



my power to accept your Grace's kind and most obliging invitation, which otherwise I should have accepted with the utmost satisfaction, and shall ever remember with the greatest gratitude.

"I congratulate you, Madam, and the public on Lord Titchfield's recovery; the public is your rival, nor will you be sorry for such a rival in your love.

"With what a relish you speak of your most amiable friend! Your Grace has an excellent pencil, I never saw a more lovely family-piece, except at Bullstrode.

"They, Madam, that are happy in their friends and near relations enjoy more than any other circumstances of life can give; and that this for ever may be your case is the prayer of one who has missed friends where they were most to be expected, and found them, thanks to your Grace, where they were least deserved, by no means an uncommon case."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1756, January 20. Wellwyn.—"Your last letter is an emblem of the world, full of misfortunes and death. What reason have they to bless Heaven who escape so many chances against them! Yet how few are there who can find out in the calamities of others God Almighty's admonition to themselves! My Lord Bolingbroke's letter is written in a masterly manner. What pity it is that fine talents and integrity should ever be parted! While together they make an angel, and their separation gives us the precise and complete character of Lucifer. And yet from the beginning of the world thus has it been, more or less. It is very observable that all curious arts were found out by the descendants of Cain, who, by the way, fled his native country, and had a mark of infamy fixed upon him. I rejoice at Mr. Murray's recovery, and when I have a sore throat your Grace shall certainly be my physician. I knew not that Mrs. Bellenden was dead. Does your Grace converse with my Lady Cowper? She is come into my neighbourhood, and claims old acquaintance with me. I think there is something agreeable in her manner, for as yet I know her no farther.

"I have no thoughts at present of seeing the town soon; but I shall see it the sooner because your Grace is in it. I wish there were a few more such scattered up and down in it, to sweeten its corrupted mass, and reprieve it for another century. I hope that Wellwyn will this summer lie in the way of your Grace's travels; if so, I will show you what a fine colony of sheep your Grace has transplanted from your own Arcadia into a foreign land. I wish I could prevail with my flock to imitate their innocence; but they, like their betters, make innocence their prey, for they have stolen two of my lambs."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1756, July 29. Wellwyn.—"Heaven re-establish your health and restore your spirits, without either of which the living have

*4. The daughter, Lady Margaret, had died  
April 23<sup>d</sup>, 1756.*

little to boast above the dead. Last week Lady Cowper gave me an account of Mrs. Delany, but mentioned not her indisposition, of which, I suppose, she was ignorant, for she professes a great value for her. For the sake of all that know her, as well as her own, I heartily hope her perfect recovery.

"But to come still nearer to your Grace's heart, I congratulate you on Lady Harriet's health, nor less on Lord Titchfield's late-gained reputation. May he one day be the pride of the nation, as he is now of the University, and then the public will thank your Grace for giving it an ornament which posterity shall not forget.

"Poor Lord Andover! but as I know not his character, I cannot tell if his death is to be deplored, or envied. Nothing is more to be envied than the death of the good. Last night I buried a most valuable woman, and her as profligate husband, now on his deathbed, I shall bury very soon. He was her death by his unkindness, and his own by his debauchery. The difference of their last hours, to which I have been privy, carries in it an instruction which no words can express.

"Your Grace is so kind as to enquire after my health: I have had a very dangerous fever, which was not easily subdued, but God Almighty is pleased to continue me here longer at my peril. I say, Madam, at my peril, as, if we do not truly repent, longer life will prove in the event a curse, and if we do, death, which we so much dread, is the greatest blessing."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1758, July 9. Wellwyn.—"I am very sorry that, when you did me the honour of calling at Mr. Richardson's, I was not there, but much more sorry for your Grace's indisposition. God in His mercy remove it for the sake of many, and particularly of two such sons, for whose welfare the public concern will rival your own.

"Was I not at present confined for want of an assistant I should rejoice to add to the number of your *animals* or rather of your *plants*, for at present I have no locomotive faculty.

"I hope with your Grace that my Lord Anson's news may be good. And now pardon me, Madam, if I presume to enquire after some news from your Grace.

"I have lately by a *dedication* taken on me to put his Majesty in mind of my long service, but, I take for granted, without any manner of effect. I perceive by your Grace that all hopes are over; but though hopes are over, my curiosity is not; that is rather increased. For as I was chaplain to his Majesty, even at Leicester House, and as all other chaplains there were soon preferred after his Majesty's accession but myself, and as many, many years ago the Duke of Newcastle promised me—through the Duke of Portland's kindly presenting me to him—preferment after two then to be provided for by him before me, and as there is no instance to be found of any other so long in service under total neglect, there must be some particular reason for my



very particular fate, which reason, as I cannot possibly guess at it, I most ardently long to know.

"Your Grace's interest with persons in power is at least so great as to be able to gratify my very natural and very strong curiosity a little in this point."

*Postscript.*—"This may seem to your Grace an extraordinary request; but please, Madam, to consider, here has a thing happened which never happened before, and which very probably will never happen again. How natural then for any, especially for him who is most concerned in it, to wish, if possible, to know the cause of it, for I am not conscious of the least cause I have given for it."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1758, September 7. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace is extremely kind in the noble offer you are pleased to make me; whether it is tenable with Wellwyn or not, I cannot tell; but be it so, or not, your Grace's goodness lays me under an eternal obligation. If it should not be tenable with Wellwyn, will your Grace pardon me if [I] ask a bold question? Can your great indulgence go so far as to give it to my son? As that would greatly increase my great obligation, that would much more than double the favour of giving it to myself.

"My son, Madam, is a student at Balliol College in Oxford; he is between twenty-five and twenty-six years of age; I left the choice of his way of life to himself; he chose Divinity; his tutor writes me word that he makes a laudable progress in it, and he will take orders very soon.

"I thought it my duty to let your Grace know something of the person in whose behalf I presume to ask so very great a favour."

*Postscript.*—"If, Madam, I can obtain that request I now presume to make, I shall look upon all former disappointments as advantages, when ending in what I so very much desire."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1759, April 14. Wellwyn.—"I return many thanks for the joy you have given me by the most agreeable contents of your kind letter. I can easily conceive your Grace's great solicitude, during the dependence of a point of so very great moment to your own happiness, and the happiness of one so justly dear to you; but that solicitude is greatly—thanks to Heaven—overbalanced by your present satisfaction in having well accomplished the most material transaction in human life.

"Your Grace's relations are now increased, and since they may now increase yearly, may every increase make a new article in the list of your enjoyments, till you arrive at those enjoyments which will admit of no increase or end. I beg Lady Weymouth to accept my most sincere congratulation, and my hearty prayer for her as great happiness as that most happy state of life can confer on those who deserve it most, in the little number of whom, I believe, her ladyship justly claims a place.

"May your Grace always—as now—hear *from*, and *of*, Lord Titchfield to your perfect satisfaction, and may the next news I hear of my Lord Duke be more to my satisfaction than that which you can afford me now. Virtue is no security against the accidents of human life, but it is a great security to our patience under them."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1759, October 28. Wellwyn.—"From my heart I rejoice at the delightful scene of your Grace's family-happiness in all the noble and lovely branches of it; for that is a happiness of all other under Heaven the most valuable, except that which is in the still narrower space of our own bosoms.

"May the pleasure, and satisfaction, which you found at Longleat be but the beginning of those joys that shall arise from prudent and fortunate disposal of those you love in the marriage-state, in which we throw the die for the highest stake in human life.

"To make that hazardous die turn up aright, nothing bids fairer than that similitude of tempers which you have discovered in my Lord and Lady Weymouth. It not only gives present happiness, but its promises of future are very great, because it is a private bisque in our sleeve which the caprices of outward fortune can never rob us of.

"As far as I can judge of Lady Harriet's temper—I think I have observed it—it seems to me to be such that it will be a difficulty on your Grace to find its fellow in our sex. May she find it, or—what will be more to her honour and pleasure—make it, in the man she honours with her hand.

"As for my Lord Titchfield, may you ever, Madam, receive accounts of him, and news from him, as agreeable as was your last, that your heart, which, you say, is with him, and which, I say, is then in good and sweet company, may for ever rejoice in him, and in the prospect of his conveying his mother's and father's virtues into future times, to bless those who, by his laudable conduct, will probably be put in mind of days past, and recollect to whom they owe such a son, and so be the less surprised, though not less pleased, with what they love or admire in him."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1760, November 20. Wellwyn.—"More than once I have heard the famous Mr. Addison say that it was much his wish—if it so pleased God—to die in the summer, because then, walking abroad, he frequently contemplated the works of God, which gave such a serious turn and awful composure to the mind as best qualified it to enter the Divine presence.

"Summer scatters us abroad into the fields to gather wisdom there, if we please; the storms of winter drive us back to shelter, and contemplation gives place to company. Happy they that



enjoy such as those which your Grace says are now with you ! Music is a delicious entertainment, and the only one that I know of, which earth enjoys in common with heaven. Long may you enjoy those pleasures here which bid fairest to end in such as will never cease; *lovers of reading and work* are most likely to make those their choice."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1761, January 20. Wellwyn.—"I have taken some hours to consider of the very kind offer your Grace is so good to make me. I am old, and, I bless God, far from want; but as the honour is great and the duty small, and such as need not take much from my parish, and especially as your Grace seems desirous I should accept it, I do accept it with great gratitude for your remembrance of one who might easily and naturally be forgotten.

"The honour, indeed, is great, and in my sight greater still, as I succeed to so great and good a man. Would to God I could tread in all his other steps as well as this !"

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1762, May 27. Wellwyn.—"Of all the severe dispensations, with which a good God is pleased wean our affections from those objects which can never satisfy them, the most severe is the loss of those we love; and if by His grace and our own prudence we can support our spirits under that, we may congratulate ourselves on a magnanimity that is able to stand the greatest shock of this short scene, into which we were brought with no other intent than by our gratitude for its comforts and acquiescence in its discipline to make ourselves fit candidates for that glorious scene where tears shall be wiped from every eye.

"Madam, may that Friend who will never leave or forsake us continue to speak peace to your soul, by inspiring it with true discernment of those blessings which are wrapped up in the melancholy veil of our present afflictions, and with the most lively hope of those joys which are free from all those unpleasant, but wholesome ingredients, which ever embitter the highest happiness of human life."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1762, June 1. Wellwyn.—"I read your letter with uncommon pleasure; no sight is more delightful, or more beneficial, than that of a rightly-disposed mind. If Britain could show us more of them it would be an happier world than that in which we now live. The whole secret of being happy ourselves, and making those so that are near us, is to preserve a true relish of life, unabated by any anxious fear of death. Providence has provided for your Grace what may make life most palatable: may it long continue to you, Madam ! *Such* children, and to them *such* dispositions ! It is not only a great but a very rare blessing; and

your Grace can scarce look anywhere out of your own family without seeing great cause for rejoicing in it; and all blessings are doubled by the peculiarity of them.

"May, Madam, Bullstrode air second your prudence to the perfect re-establishment of your health; as for my own, which, with that of multitudes more, has suffered much through the whole of the late unwholesome season, it is but indifferent. I have not, I bless God, much pain, but much languor; if it was less, I would certainly pay my humble duty to your Grace; if it should be much more, with due submission to the Divine will I must pay my duty to Heaven."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1762, August 24. Wellwyn.—"I congratulate you on prudence and spirit to go abroad, in quest of rational amusement and its sweet companion, health, which may you ever find. I am sadly confined, by my sight greatly impaired, and other complaints, which I am unwilling to trouble your Grace withal. My case is this; I have been troubled near thirty years with rheumatic pains; they have been now long entirely ceased, and my physician tells me that Nature throws all that mischief on my eyes and head, which has undergone, and is still undergoing, great discipline, and to very little purpose. This is bad, but what greatly aggravates it is that it denies me the power, which from my soul I ardently desire, of paying that duty which I shall ever owe to your Grace. But notwithstanding all I have said, and all I feel, notwithstanding dark days and sleepless nights, such is my age that I must not complain. Heaven's blessed will be done, and may it not deny me the comfort of seeing those in felicity whose welfare I am bound in gratitude to have most at heart."

#### E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1763, June 2. Wellwyn.—"In yesterday's newspaper I read an article with infinite satisfaction; I beg leave to give your Grace joy on that happy occasion. May you, Madam, and Lady Harriet, I should say, Grey—to whom my humble duty—find your fullest satisfaction in it. Parents deserve our congratulation on nothing so much as on their final and happy disposal of those whom they love, and who deserve their love, so well as Lady Grey. The accomplishment of this important point takes a great load from the tender maternal heart, and promises serene days to the remainder of life.

"I hope your Grace is entirely free from the painful indisposition of which you complained in your last; that letter I answered long since, with my fullest acknowledgments to my Lord Bute for his unmerited indulgence to me. But that indulgence I am conscious must be owing to your Grace's favour, to whom, therefore, on that occasion my principal and most sincere acknowledgments and thanks are due.



"Once more I give your Grace joy of so happy a conclusion in an affair which must have had a just title to your most tender concern; and that it may yearly present you with new occasions of joy, till your joy receives its full completion where there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage, is the prayer of your most dutiful servant."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1764, March 13. Wellwyn.—"If gratitude is any virtue, I have great reason to be truly concerned upon your Grace's indisposition; may a good Providence soon remove it, and restore you to perfect health and a true relish of it, which nothing can give us so effectually as a little taste of the contrary. Please to accept my humble thanks for the great honour you design me; I have long wished for it, for few pleasures are equal to seeing the face of those whom we know to wish us well. The dancing duchess would scarce have so much pleasure in a well performed minuet; or the busy duke in his political country-dance from the angry cabals of town to the learned banks of Cam. How vain the business or amusements of life to those great things which infirmities or age will naturally, if not necessarily, bring to our thoughts! I bless God I am pretty well, and for me to hope for more would be folly; for miracles are ceased.

"Not being able through the weakness of my sight to wait on Lord Bute, a pretty while ago I wrote to him, and received a most obliging letter in answer, for which I thank him and your Grace; but I do not thank him for raising the price of our provisions by his great hospitality. We are all very welcome if we please to indulge at his plentiful table, but a chicken will cost us very dear if we eat it at our own. He nobly entertains the rich, and charitably relieves the poor, and reads, I hope with Christian patience, in the papers the great thanks which the public returns for those virtues.

"I give your Grace joy of being no politician, for whoever turns his head that way at this time might as good put it in the pillory, for he will be sure to have dirt thrown at him by some hand or another, though they stoop for it into the kennel of nonsense and ill will; yet some ears are so nailed to politics that they are deaf to every thing else.

"Madam, your Grace has many that share your good wishes; I hope they are all well? And may they all contribute to your happiness, till your happiness, which must necessarily have its root in earth, shall arrive in its full bloom above."

*Postscript.*—"Your Grace says that you shall never forget that you are on the verge of fifty; if you should live two fifties more, after all your experience, this would be your last thought: what very, very trifles all the world so passionately pursues! how great the prize it so carelessly neglects! how inconceivable must that bliss be which cost the blood of God! These things force themselves on the thoughts of age, but how much happier are they in the day of enjoyment and strength of life, when

the very thought is virtue, since we must then fight our way through temptations to the contrary to come at it! How very different the value of these thoughts in the fine walks of Bullstrode, and in the melancholy chamber of languor or pain! These politics are a noble science, and too little studied by country and court; few Secretaries of State are made by them. Your Grace will pardon me for repeating to you your own words."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1764, August 7. Wellwyn.—"I greatly rejoice that you have recovered what is most valuable in life, health and spirits, and that you have recovered them by the most pleasant as well as the most effectual means; that is, by driving away from your physician as fast and as far as you can; which is the most likely way of leaving your disorder too behind you. As for my own health, which your Grace is so good as to ask after, I bless Heaven that I suffer no severe pains, but I have little appetite by day, and very indifferent rest by night, and my eyes grow worse and worse; but Almighty God's most blessed will be done.

"I have not for a long time either seen Mrs. Montague or heard from her; but I have heard often of her. Dr. Monsey called on me a little while ago, and told me he was to wait on her, but could not be admitted, because my Lord Bath was dead; and this last week, one Mr. Keate, of the Temple, an author both in prose and verse, favoured me with a visit for two or three days, and told me that some little time ago he had the honour of dining with Mrs. Montague with about ten more, all or most of them writers; that the entertainment was very elegant, and that a celebrated Welsh harp added music to their wit.

"They are wise who make this life as happy as they can, since at the very happiest it will fall short of their desires, which, blessed be God, are too large to be quite pleased with any thing below; and whilst by their largeness they give us some little disgust to this life, they make rich amends for that disadvantage by giving us at the same time as strong assurance of a better."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1765, February 19. Wellwyn.—"It is so long since I had the honour of writing to you that you may possibly look on this as a letter from the dead, but I am still above ground, though I can hardly venture to say that I am quite alive; the severe weather on Sunday night almost destroyed me. My being so long silent was not occasioned by disrespect, for I bear to your Grace the greatest [respect]; nor was it occasioned by want of power, for, I bless God, I am pretty well; nor was it occasioned by want of inclination, for I desire nothing more than to hear of your Grace's welfare. Whatever, therefore, was the cause of it, I beg your Grace to permit me now to enquire after your health and the health of all those who have the happiness of being



related to or of being esteemed by you. In the last letter which I had the honour of receiving from your Grace, you was about to make a round of visits to several entitled to one or to both of the characters above. I hope you found and left them well, and brought home at your return an increase of health and satisfaction. Air and exercise are not greater friends to the former than the cheerful smiles of those we love are to the latter; and when is it more necessary to provide for our private satisfaction and peace than at a time when that of the Public seems to be in some hazard of being impaired, if not lost? But what have I to do with the public affairs of this world? They are almost as foreign to me as to those who were born before the Flood. My world is dead; to the present world I am quite a stranger, so very much a stranger that I know but one person in it, and that is your Grace."

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ELIZABETH MONTAGU \* to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1749?] November 7. Sandleford.—“May not I from my cell address myself to the Duchess of Portland in her drawing-room? I hear that your Grace came to town for the birthday, but I suppose according to the usual perverseness of my destiny you will return to Bullstrode before I come to town. But may I not say I regret my solitude here has not been enlivened by one line from you? I have been here a month enjoying in tranquillity the health I gained at Tunbridge; the shortness of the days allows very little commerce with our neighbours; which I do not regret, for my social virtues had not only been exercised but fatigued. In a long Tunbridge season, I had such a surfeit of company I was afraid I should have grown a misanthrope. Having long subsisted on the news and chat of the day, no very delicious nor very nourishing fare, I am now amusing myself with the characters of the ancient world. Record has only preserved their great actions, and time has obscured the little motives that perhaps gave birth to them; for Fate’s innavigable tide, as Mr. Prior calls it, is different from other streams, where the light things are borne up, and weighty ones sink; the stream of time bears up only those of weight, the rest fall soon to the bottom. Characters therefore delivered to us in this manner, and seen from such a distance, have their little imperfections rendered invisible, and appear with a dignity and create a respect one is not apt to have for objects with which one is more intimately acquainted. I have just laid a book out of my hands which has given me so much pleasure I believe I shall take the liberty to recommend it to you. It is entitled ‘Choses Mémorables de Socrate par Charpentier.’ The character of Socrates has been treated always as almost divine; this book gives a picture of the man by the repeating many of

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\* The Mrs. Montagu of literary and social celebrity.

his dialogues and maxims which were collected by Xenophon his disciple, and are from him translated by Charpentier; your Grace knows that Socrates, pronounced by the oracle to be the wisest man of his age, presumed so little on this as to affirm the character was given him only because he was most sensible that he knew nothing; this humility is a fine foundation of a great character, and I think it gives one the highest pleasure to see one character whose fame was raised by modesty and not ambition. His precepts are all such as are useful in common life. He despised all the subtleties of science, every knowledge that did not tend to make a man better and more serviceable to his friends and country. The solidity of his merit stood him in great stead, when disgrace, imprisonment and death came upon him; ostentatious and vain-glorious additions forsake people in such severe instances, but he had a virtue proof against all trials, and that could not be shaken by outward accidents. If your Grace reads this book upon my recommendation you will meet with some gross reprehensions of particular vices at the beginning of it, which you must excuse from the want of delicacy in those times; but I mentioned it that you might not lay the book in the way of the young ladies, for there are really some things said against vice that are hardly agreeable to virtue, and not therefore so proper for young people, whose best guard is the absolute purity of the heart; and as I did not know but the book might come within their reach before your Grace had met with anything exceptionable, I thought it best to speak of it. I cannot help laughing that the subject of my letter should be the character of Socrates, but I know that even in London your Grace spends some time in reading in your dressing-room, and I thought this would please you. If it entertains you, I shall be glad I mentioned it. The orange trees your Grace was so good as to give me are the ornaments of Sandleford; they flourish in all the luxuriance of health, and only want to present a nosegay to your hands; when may I hope they shall have that honour? I have not seen our friend Kit Lansdell; I hear he is disconsolate for the loss of the widow; I wonder he managed the affair so ill, for Hudibras says:—

‘There is no lover has that power  
 T’inforce a desperate amour,  
 As he who has two strings to his bow,  
 And burns for love and money too.’

But the conqueror, Mr. Gore, has carried her to Bath; by marrying so many men she has acquired a masculine spirit, and the other day distinguished herself by dispossessing a lady of her place at the play; the company at Bath did not approve of the violence of her proceedings, and if the monarch Nash had not lost most of his power and prerogative, I imagine he would have obliged her to behave better. If she proposed to herself these heroic deeds, I do not think little Kit would have been a proper champion; so diminutive a person and so pacific a spirit would have ill assorted those acts of violence. I propose to come to town at the meeting of the Parliament, but I am much afraid



your Grace will be returned to Bullstrode. I am greatly concerned at Lady Wallingford's ill health; Mrs. Donnellan says she is not better than when I left her. I beg my compliments. In what part of the world is Mrs. Delany conversing with the Muses? I long much to see her, and hope she will be in town when I come, if your Grace is there, otherwise she will be in the blest regions of Bullstrode. The post is going out, and I must only add Mr. Montagu's compliments to your Grace and my Lord Duke, and beg mine to his Grace and the ladies."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.\*

1762, June 22. Sandford.—"I hope your Grace will pardon the liberty I take in troubling you with a letter, but the state of spirits in which I saw you in town left an anxiety upon my mind that I could not till now have suppressed, if my health would have allowed me to write. I am under the utmost apprehensions that the great effort your Grace makes to hide your grief from those whose tender part in it hurts you more than your own sufferings may have some very bad effect on your health; and as your Grace's welfare is of such importance to them, I must beg that even for their sakes you would not do great violence to yourself. Sorrow is a kind of poison, and, if not suffered to exhale itself in sighs and tears, has the more fatal consequences. Your Grace, with your friends who are less nearly connected with your affliction, but whose sympathy is such that they will think of your consolation while they feel your grief, should suffer your sorrow to have its way unconstrained. There is no doubt but your Grace's piety and good sense will in time set before you every argument of consolation. The sting of death is sin; the person your Grace laments was the most free even from sinful thought and evil disposition of perhaps any one in the world. The prayers of the widow, the orphan, and distressed were continually offered up in his behalf; no heart ever groaned under his oppression, not even an insolent thought ever arose in his mind. Where in his great rank can one find such another character! He did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly with his God, [and] added to the great virtues of a Christian character those that became his great station and fortunes. Your Grace loved him too well long to lament that he is taken from the warfare of the world and a state of trial to one of perfect bliss and certain reward. Surrounded as he was with every worldly blessing, he still in a mortal state must be liable to *all the shocks that flesh is heir to*. Had any illness threatened your Grace's life, from whom all his blessings were derived, what would not he have suffered! Add, dear Madam, to all your other noble and tender proofs of faithful attachment to him that of care of your health, which perhaps is still a most dear concern to him.

"Your Grace in the most unbounded prosperity has shewn a mind superior to the intoxications of greatness and wealth; you

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\* Now, by the death of her husband, Duchess Dowager.

have still remembered the Hand from whence they came, and enjoyed them with humility; I am not therefore afraid your Grace should forget it is the same Hand that chastises you. I expect everything from your resignation and good sense, but these considerations must have a time to take effect, and in the meanwhile I fear the consequences of your constraint. Some unhappy instances of this kind, which have happened amongst my particular friends, perhaps may make me more apprehensive, and I hope your Grace will therefore pardon the liberty I take in writing on so tender a subject. I had but little time to talk on the subject with you in town, but the violence I saw your Grace put upon yourself that evening gave me very anxious and uneasy thoughts. I hope your good nature will pardon a heart that has many motives of high regard and gratitude towards you for speaking so freely. May your Grace enjoy many, many years of health and happiness! The very extraordinary merit of your family cannot fail of giving you the greatest felicity. It has been a singular mercy of Providence that you did not meet with this trial before they were of an age to shew you all your most partial wishes for them would be answered, and that the heir of so many illustrious ancestors and of such immense fortunes would from his personal wishes and accomplishments add more lustre to them than he derives from them. May the tender attentions of the most affectionate of children make you remember the importance of your health to them, and the harm it may receive by too violent constraint."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1764, December 9. Bath.—"The lampoons and panegyrics which your Grace must have seen dated from Tunbridge and Bath, must long ago have convinced you that the waters there are of a nature very different from those of Helicon; but, unless you immediately conversed with those who drank them, your Grace could never imagine the headache, the dizziness, or, to call things by their true names, the stupidity that comes on the least application. Very conscious of all this I long forbore to write to your Grace, but being rather less disordered by the waters for this last two or three days, I have ventured to take up my pen and ink, in some hope, [that] though dull, I may be intelligible, but it is very probable this will appear an ill-grounded presumption before my letter is ended. Mrs. Boscawen is extremely flattered by your Grace's obliging remembrance and offer of the China pheasants. She says she has not anything prepared to receive birds of such quality and distinction. She is possessed only of chicken-pens and hen-roosts, but Lady Smythe, at whose villa Mrs. Boscawen passes great part of the spring, has more elegant accommodations; but Mrs. Boscawen could not accept any favour from the Duchess of Portland to convey it to another, though her particular friend, without her Grace's permission. I came to this place merely to visit my sister, who fell very ill at Sandleford in the autumn, but, being on the spot, I thought



I would take the opportunity of drinking the waters, and I think they have been of service as to my usual and constant disorder of the stomach. Of the pleasures of the place I can say little. The rooms were prodigiously crowded with very uncouth figures most wonderfully dressed; those whom Nature designed to be homely Art rendered hideous, and many, whom education made awkward, mantua-makers, tailors, friseurs and milliners made monstrous. Some of the misses seemed to be adorned with the scalps of Indian warriors, whether brought them by their lovers from America, or that they are now sold in London as part of our importation from our Colonies, I do not know; but I must say that under our hemisphere I never saw such terrible dresses. Absurdity of a more melancholy sort appeared in poor Earl Granville and his illustrious Countess. His Lordship appeared in that kind of wig which is vulgarly called a scratch, and so dirty and dishevelled is the said wig that the word 'scratch' does not seem at all misapplied. The rest of his dress was in the scratch order. In this figure he walks up and down the ball-room, and relates in his manner the various disputes between him and Lady Cowper. The elegance of her Ladyship's manner, and the dignity of her grief for Lord Cowper, was very burlesquely represented by Lord Granville, who has wits enough to ridicule others, and folly enough to make himself ridiculous, so that I must own what made many laugh made me melancholy. It is grievous to see such a creature represent the late Lord Granville, who had all the grace and dignity of manner added to great talents. Your Grace will easily imagine I am not extremely delighted with the terrible misses in scalps, or the wonderful peer in a scratch, so that my amusements in the public rooms is not great; but I have had the pleasure of seeing my sister and Mrs. Boscawen recover their health in a manner I could hardly have hoped, so I intend to leave this place to-morrow."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1772 ?] July 29. Sandlesford.—"My memory has most preciousely stored up ten thousand instances of your Grace's being the occasion of joy and happiness to me, but never could I receive greater felicity from you than last night, when your most kind and welcome letter assured me the fever had left you. I would not speak worse of even a fever behind its back than it deserves, but I can truly affirm that, while it hung about you, it made many people very wretched, and amongst them your humble servant. It darkened the joy of my noon-day saunter, and cast a heavy gloom on my evening's walk. I have sometimes had a low fever for some months, and know by experience how grievous it is. Thank God your Grace has got rid of what is a sad enemy to every individual it seizes, but, when you are attacked by it, many are afflicted. Let me intreat your Grace not to expose yourself to the evening air; I used to find it very pernicious when I was in a feverish disposition.

"I wrote to Dr. Beattie last week, and told him how kindly your Grace and Mrs. Delany always mentioned him, and often enquired after his health. The account he gives of Mrs. Beattie is very melancholy. Your Grace would observe with pleasure that we may expect some productions of his muse. I have said everything I could to encourage him to publish some of the essays, which he says he had formerly written for his pupils and those who attend his lectures. They will communicate instruction and pleasure to the world, and the attention he will give to them during the publication will in some degree divert his mind from its domestic sorrows and his own bodily infirmities. I fancy from what I have heard of his eldest boy, he greatly resembles the Doctor in talents and disposition. His push and knowledge are beyond his infant years, but as they set him above playing with a football, a racket, and other juvenile sports and exercises, I am afraid he will never attain any degree of health and spirits. Great geniuses are naturally inclined to melancholy; it is pity any want of animal spirits should make them still less gay. Above life's follies, and its comforts too, may be an eminent condition, but it does not appear to me an enviable one.

"I have not seen that work of Mr. Hume's which Dr. Beattie alludes to; I hope it will not have any extensive bad consequences, but at Edinburgh they will receive the doctrine of this antichristian apostle with great reverence. Just as I had written this much of my letter I had a visit from a person upon business, so your Grace is happily released from all the nonsense I should have written if leisure had allowed. As I think nonsense to be very wholesome and as good for an invalid as panada or barley water, I shall now and then take the liberty of writing to your Grace, till your strength is so established you can pursue your usual amusements."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1773] August 1. Portman Square.—"Though a quill is as light as a feather, and mine does not carry any weight of sense or solidity of reasoning, yet, while the weather was so sultry as it has been for some weeks past, writing appeared a fatigue to me; so I cannot assume any merit in not having before troubled your Grace with a letter, as my seeming discretion in this point had not any better source than a perfect inability to write. My physicians have long told me that writing is very bad for me and will bring the spasms in my stomach, but Phœbus only, the god of the physicians, could ever make me totally abandon the practice. The beams he has darted into my dressing [room] have indeed had this effect. I rejoiced at reading in the papers that your Grace was gone to Margate, for there is always a refreshing breeze on the sea-shore, and I flatter myself you have therefore suffered less by the hot weather than we have done here. I was happy to find by Mrs. Carter's letters that the Kentish coast has not been visited by the storms which have been so terrible in



many parts of the world. The lightning struck a tree one evening very near my house, but, thank God, did not do any greater mischief to us, but it has done a great deal of mischief in our neighbourhood.

"I hope your Grace is pleased with Dr. Beattie's new work; I confess there are some parts of it which require more attention than I can at present dedicate to literary pursuits, but there are many chapters of it pleasing, amusing and instructive, which one may read without such serious application. I was much afraid Dr. Beattie's domestic affliction would have rendered him incapable of the attention required to arrange what he had, I believe, chiefly composed for the lectures he gives as professor in the university at Aberdeen, and am very happy to see he has done it in a manner which must do him honour and be of use to the public. I am not without hopes he may make a visit while I am in Northumberland. To have my mind carried from the bottom of a coal-mine to the top of Parnassus will be a very agreeable change. My mornings when at Denton are always spent in the drudgery of business; if in the evening the Doctor will carry it into the playfields of imagination, I shall think myself greatly obliged to him. I propose to set out for the North the end of next week.

"I had intended passing a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Smelt in my way, but they are going to take the benefit of sea-bathing at Mr. Cholmeley's at Whitby, so I must defer my visit till I am in my way back. I own I regret that it has happened so, for at this fine season of the year I should have found at Langton all the delights of Paradise, and conversation as virtuous and pure as that of our first parents. Mr. Smelt has lived in camps and in Court, and is now a country farmer. In the military life he did not lose any of the purity of his morals, nor of the integrity of his principles in a Court, nor in the country has he contracted any rusticity. In every place he appears respectable and amiable, but he never appears to so great advantage as at his place in the country; he seems to have communicated a pleasing elegance and sweet serenity to everything around him. Mrs. Smelt assents, consents and sympathizes in everything he says, thinks and feels. The tender veneration, the affectionate obedience their daughters shew them on all occasions makes the domestic felicity complete. Admitted into this society one almost thinks one is gone into a better world.

"The regions around me at Denton do not present me with celestial visions; there one seems rather to approach the dark dominions of Pluto; and as I am a coal-owner myself, I am sorry to say our sentiments are too like our domains, dark and narrow, and rather tending to the realms below. We are all anxious for our gains, and very jealous of our neighbours. I shall be glad, when I have settled all my business there, to purify my mind in the society of the Smelts. He has been sadly tormented with the gout since he left London, and Mrs. Smelt, who always sympathizes, has had the rheumatic gout in her knee, but they both hope relief from sea-bathing.

"I hope my dear friend Mrs. Vesey is now settled at Margate. I imagine you will often take an evening's walk together on the sea-shore. If I had wings, or Fortunatus' cap, which I should prefer even to an Imperial crown, you would rarely enjoy a tête à tête."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1773, December 9. London.—I should have had the honour of answering your Grace's letter the very day I received it, but I had then a good deal of company at dinner, and some of them stayed till almost eleven o'clock. Yesterday passed in that miserable kind of hurley-burley which I believe peculiar to the sweet town of London; or at least, like the fogs of November and the dust of May, it is thicker, more suffocating, and worse here than in any other part of the world; people of business in the morning, visits, engagements, notes and cards without number at night; so that I was harassed and fatigued before *the watchman's drowsy charm* dismissed me and my little cares to rest. It was only the night before I had the honour of your Grace's letter that I heard of Mrs. Delany's fall, and though I had the comfort of hearing that she was well again, yet I was exceedingly shocked to think of the danger she had been in, and I was but too well aware of the consequences of such an alarm to your Grace's nerves and spirits. Your tender sensibilities to your friends often hurt your health, and I have often thought that, if your Grace had not had so good a heart, you would have had better, nay, perhaps perfect health. The unfeeling are generally pure well. But then, alas! one cares little whether they are so or not, and how little avails towards happiness the health for which no one is interested, the joys and prosperities in which no one sympathizes! The social state is truly the state of Nature, for it is that which is most agreeable to the nature of man, and that for which his great Author designed him. I will therefore hope with our poet, the *broadest mirth unfeeling Folly wears Less pleasing far than Virtue's very tears*, and that the Duchess of Portland, who relieves the misfortunes of many and feels for the afflictions of all, is happier than all the merry crew who never even in thought visited the house of mourning. I cannot but think, at a time when your Grace was in solicitude and care about Mrs. Delany, how absurd I must appear by introducing such a queer stranger as Gondibert; truly had I known so valuable a person had but hurt her little finger, I should not have thought of the Great Achilles, or the well-sung Æneas; and to bring in an irruption of the Goths at Bullstrode just at such a season was *mal à propos*. Your Grace, who has so nobly assisted the Botham family, will be glad to hear that good Lord Dartmouth has promised to do something for Henry Botham, and Lord Dartmouth's promises have nothing of the fragility of a courtier's or fallaciousness of a minister's promise. His Lordship had last summer shewn a kind disposition towards him on charitable motives, so I ventured to wait on Lady Dart-



mouth, and tell her the great distress of the family on the death of the father ; knowing that there are hearts which are affected by distress, and that her's and her lord's are such. Poverty and care could not be better represented in the person of any ambassador than by the thin, pale, yellow face of your humble servant. Lady Dartmouth received me with infinite good-nature and humanity, and for once I was not humiliated by begging, nor bid go about my business, for there was nothing for me some years ago in behalf of the same Henry Botham. I waited on a Nabob's Lady, and I protest I had rather be knouted *à la mode* of the Court of Russia, or bastinadoed *à la Turque* than suffer again the sublime disdain of an Oriental Princess towards an humble suitor. Not so did behave Lady Dartmouth ; she sent me home charmed with her, and not at all discontented with myself. Mr. Edward and Mr. George Drummond dined with me on Sunday, and gave a good account of the Archbishop's health. Your Grace is very good to interest yourself for mine ; I thank God I am pretty well. I called on Lady Primrose the other night. She is but poorly, and I think much worse than last winter. I had a letter from Mrs. Vesey yesterday ; she is pretty well, and still at Lucan, but will soon remove to Dublin. It is said Lady Effingham is to marry General Howard. They are very good people, but I should think they are both quite as well as they are ; however, they must know best. He is more lively than her first husband, she is better natured than his first wife, so the comparison will always be to their advantage.

"I hear that letters sufficient to compose a volume of Madame de Sévigné have been lately found and are going to be published, at which I am sure your Grace will rejoice. She is certainly the first favourite of the Muse that presides over letter-writing ; such inimitable grace, such ease, elegance, and sprightliness of narration, so much good sense in her wit, such justness of thought in her reflections, render her letters delightful as letters, and valuable as giving the manners of the times and characters of the principal persons of the Court.

"Mrs. Boscawen is come to town in good health and spirits. Mrs. Chapone is much troubled with pains in her face ; she has promised to dine with me to-morrow, if she is well enough. • I live in hopes that it will not be long before I have the happiness of seeing your Grace, a happiness I greatly and impatiently long for. I am very sorry the rheumatism has attacked you, and I dread the effect of Mrs. Delany's fall upon your nerves, and I cannot but think change of place and objects would be good for your spirits ; though I know no place so charming as Bullstrode, nor where every object within and without is so beautiful and elegant ; but still change is beneficial when any painful impression has been made upon the mind. My best compliments and best wishes attend Mrs. Delany."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1773?] Hill Street.—"I am encouraged to hope by Mrs. Lambard, upon whom I called in my way to London, that your

Grace will be for some days in town. I heartily congratulate you on the happy state of Lady Weymouth's family, all recovering so happily from a formidable distemper, which will relieve your Grace and Lady Weymouth from many anxieties. I found Mrs. Lambard surrounded by her blooming daughters at work, one reading the while for the general amusement and instruction of the whole. Surely this education is as good as riding in the *ménage* in the morning and going to assemblies in the evening. Miss Lambards' countenances express a modest cheerfulness and the blush of health and youth, which one does not find in the faces of our modern misses. I walked about the place, which is very pretty, and saw the room lately honoured by the Duchess of Portland. Master Lambard came in and showed a sweet rosy countenance; and all composed a beautiful family piece. Mrs. Lambard kindly pressed me to stay and dine with her, and I wished to enjoy more of her company and of the sight of so much domestic felicity, but was afraid of being late on the road; however, I spent two agreeable hours with her. I shall stay in town till Saturday, and will not make any engagements till I know whether your Grace has a leisure hour to bestow. I have been amused by a Life of Sir Thomas Pope, in which there are some anecdotes of Queen Elizabeth when Princess; if your Grace should like to see them, my book shall have the honour to wait on you. It is written by Mr. Warton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford. I am now going to dine with my sister at Chelsea; I shall be back before nine. I have a thousand things to say, but hope to deliver them *à viva voce* before long."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1774, November 11. Sandleford.—"Will your Grace accept of a letter from a head just emerged from plodding dullness and then whirled about in confusion? You will think, perhaps, from the account I have given that I have first attended the councils of some sage aldermen in the nomination of a candidate, and then followed him to his election. But no such thing; the dullness and confusion I complain of are all my own. I have been taking a year's accounts from Mr. Montagu's steward, and, as soon as they were finished, I began the necessary preparations for my removal to Hill Street, where I hope to arrive to-morrow evening. Mr. Montagu will follow me thither on Monday. He loves to have the family settled before he comes, and I was rejoiced that I could prevail on him not to delay his journey longer, for this house is so old it is miserably cold in the winter. I am afraid it will be some time before your Grace will be able to persuade yourself to leave Bullstrode; it has beauties in all seasons, and if the rural scene is darkened by rain or fog, you can delight your eyes with fine landscapes. The pencil of the painter and the pen of the poet supply the absence of verdure and sunshine; their groves never lose their leafy honours, nor are their prospects obscured by mists,



"I was sure your Grace would approve Dr. Beattie's disinterested conduct, and I knew also that your approbation will give him the highest pleasure. I am very uneasy about Mrs. Beattie's state of health; I fear she will not live long; if she dies, the Doctor will marry again, not (as my Lady Wishfort\* says) from any sinister appetite to the reiteration of nuptials, but for the reason all studious men of his sort marry, because they want somebody to make their shirts, mend their stockings, and take care to have dinner on the table at a regular hour. A philosopher is as helpless as an infant in domestic life. Our friend Dr. Young in his old age contrived the best; he had always some matron cloathed in grey, who sat at the head of his table in decent sort, helped the guests, took care that the Doctor should not forget he was at dinner; and when the tablecloth was taken away, the sober gentlewoman shrunk back into her muslin hood, and with composed serenity of countenance listened to the conversation of the company. With the same affability and discretion she poured out the coffee and made the tea, and such was her temper and deportment she was fit to have been High Priestess in the temple of the Great Apollo, if he had wanted a domestic establishment. Never did I see her disturbed in any of her great offices of carving, helping to sauce, or sweetening the coffee, by any of the sublime or witty things Dr. Young uttered. Often have I dropped the bit of chicken off my fork, by a sudden start at something new and ingenious said by our friend, while she, with a steady hand and sober mind, divided the leg of the goose from the side, and other things that equally required an undivided attention. Such a placid personage is a great blessing to a philosopher, but the difficulty is to find one who would suit so young a man as my friend Dr. Beattie. He will wish for beauty and be charmed by vivacity, and a lively handsome girl may be averse to the retirement and tranquillity he would like. I am sure your Grace will be glad to hear that Miss Mary Botham is going to be well married; the present rector of Albury takes her as belonging to the glebe. He is a very great mathematician, and has a good character and tolerable preferment, and is so kind as to make his addresses to my cousin. He is very much in love with her understanding and her virtues, and indeed I am glad she has had the good fortune to meet with such a match, for the men are not apt to marry for understanding and virtues, though they are the great sources of happiness. Miss Gregory begs leave to present her best respects. Mine attend Mrs. Delany. I hope your Grace will not forget how quiet and comfortable the town is before the meeting of the Parliament. There is at this time of the year just society enough to make one's amusements independent of weather, and if the morning is dark and foggy, the social circle of the evening makes amends."

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\* See Congreve's *The Way of the World*.

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1775 ?], January 13. Hill Street.—“I had intended to-morrow, when I expect a visit from Mr. Boyd, to have proceeded by your Grace’s encouragement to set forward the plan I had formed for Miss Kitty Chapone, but the letter I received on Friday has thrown me into new embarrassments. Mr. Boyd had a very great desire to get Mrs. Chapone to take the care of his daughters, and would have come into any conditions to have obtained her, but his esteem does not go in so high a degree to any other person, so it was rather to serve Miss Kitty Chapone than to oblige Mr. Boyd that I conceived the project of substituting her to her sister, and now so many delays and difficulties are put in the way I do not know how to act. I was afraid of meeting with too many on the part of Mr. Boyd, who objects to exposing his daughters to learn a peculiar cast of the eye; but should I get over this difficulty, how does one know when Mrs. Sandford will be well enough to be consulted about her sister? When she is so, she may have scruples on the point of reputation. If I could persuade Mr. Boyd to take Miss Chapone, he would undoubtedly write to her the conditions and what he would settle as annuity, but I don’t know that to her he would make use of the same terms he did to Mrs. Chapone, to whom he said that all he expected was to secure a friend to his daughters whose conversation and example would lead them into all that was good and virtuous; this was a proper politeness to a woman of Mrs. Chapone’s distinguished talents, and who had lived in the world, but to a young person he may not use the same complimentary style. Miss Chapone’s good education and disposition promise a good companion for Miss Boyds, but to answer that she may be perfectly the example young women in so different a situation in life should take is saying too much. How can I be assured Mr. Boyd will like my instructions to write in this manner? and perhaps Mrs. Sandford may be mortified in her weak state of spirits, if he does not use all this politeness. I see there is still some scruple about Miss Chapone’s incurring any censure by living with an unmarried man. I cannot answer that folly or malice may not say an absurd or cruel thing, but I think your Grace agreed with me that there was no great danger of it. The eldest Miss Boyd is twelve years old; she will therefore be a guard to Miss Chapone when in the room with her, and I can make Mr. Boyd sensible it will be better not to be much with her when the girls are not present. The worst that can happen from this caution may be that Mr. Boyd may think I am of Lady Wishfort’s constitution, who says, *what is integrity to an opportunity?* However, I believe he has too much good sense not to understand the delicacy of a young woman’s situation. Indeed, I would not for the world persuade Miss Chapone to accept this situation if I thought it endangered her character, which, though of less value than virtue itself, is certainly the next best thing, and what duty requires every one



to be careful of. Advise me therefore, dear Lady Duchess, what I shall do in all these perplexities.

"I am myself convinced Miss Chapone may never again have an opportunity of such an establishment. Her dependent state is subject to many real evils. Mrs. Chapone is entirely of my opinion that this would be a very happy and advantageous establishment for her sister. Every condition of life has its evils, a dependent one many, and especially that of an humble companion. Mrs. Sandford, who has found a Mrs. Delany, knows nothing of them, but how few people, who for want of an independent subsistence have been forced to enter into a family in the quality of nurses to old ladies, or companions to country gentlewomen, have not suffered more indignities and mortifications than belong to servitude itself! If Miss Chapone, therefore, has not an independent fortune she must either accept this sort of situation, or live as companion to some old maiden whose peevishness has driven from her all who are able to subsist without her, or some ancient matron who is too blind to write her own letters, too deaf to understand her family, or so lame she wants to be led from one room to another, for in these days no one takes a companion that it\* is not under some inability or incapacity. To anything of this sort I should think it far preferable to have the care of three girls of an amiable disposition over whom she is to have the authority of a parent, and then she will secure such an annuity as will be a provision for life.

"It seems to me such solid advantages should not be sacrificed to unnecessary delicacies. At the same time I am sensible Mrs. Sandford has been used by Mrs. Delany with such perfect tenderness, generosity and delicacy, every state compared with her own will appear terrible. Your Grace, who knows the world, will be sensible it may be long before one finds any person with Mrs. Delany's sentiments and temper. I know your Grace's humanity will excuse my giving you all this trouble, but indeed Miss Kitty Chapone's present situation is a very unhappy one, which first induced me to think of this resource for her, and now between compassion for her, regard for Mrs. Chapone, and the apprehension of offending Mrs. Sandford, which would hurt Mrs. Delany, I am entirely embarrassed, but shall think I do right, if your Grace will have the goodness to tell me your opinion. I have enclosed Mrs. Delany's letter. Mr. Boyd will immediately determine to take some person for his daughters, so I must make an end of the affair some way or another to-morrow; but a line will give me information enough, if you will have so much indulgence."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1777, June 7. Tunbridge [Wells].—"If I had twelve months instead of twelve minutes in which to answer your Grace's letter, I could not express the joy it gave me. Every post-day I waited the arrival of the mail with an impatience equal to that of a young lady who expects an epistle from her Pastor Fido. If I

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\* *Sic.*

had not a good many very respectable and venerable wrinkles in my forehead, I had raised suspicions in the man at the post-office; but I daresay he attributed my impatience to a desire of hearing from some favourite grandson, and wished little Master would write and quiet the old gentlewoman; for I used to be very importunate for my letters. At Tunbridge we have the pleasure of calling often for our letters on the walks, and I think that, like fruit, they have the finest flavour when we gather them fresh. My spirits began to sink exceedingly at not hearing from your Grace, and while the wind was whistling and the rain beating on our hill, I durst not name Tunbridge, but was determined to turn echo to the nightingale as soon as she began her summer note.

"The fine weather is now come to us. We have had indeed a churlish season till to-day. The wind too here plays a peculiar kind of melancholy tune, with variations which render it wonderfully solemn. We have now every reason to expect fine weather, and I shall most anxiously wish it, that your Grace may not suffer too much for the happiness you will give to a heart that loves and honours you, and in whom gratitude feels so like tenderness unmixed as not to express itself with that distance which ceremony would prescribe; and, to be sure, asking your Grace to honour this cottage has an air of presumption. However, it is clean and wholesome, and your Grace's women will be in the next room to you; you will have a bell to tinkle at their ear, and you cannot turn in bed but they must hear you. Dear Madam, as the best people have some sins, submit to longer penance than you talk of. I do not perfectly understand Mr. Hawkins' fear of these waters; they are certainly excellent for the rheumatism. The sooner your Grace can come, in all respects the better, but if you cannot come the end of this month, I will wait for the blessing till it can be had. Church was so late to-day that I cannot indulge myself in writing a long letter, but will take that liberty very soon, and will make report how the skylarks sing their matins and the nightingales their vespers on Mount Ephraim."

#### ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1778, June 11.—"Continual expectation that business would call me to London before your Grace would leave it made me forbear writing, having before me the more pleasing hope of a *viva voce* conversation. When I cannot enjoy that, the most agreeable thing is literary intercourse, and I begin now, as my return to town is put off till Saturday sennight, to apprehend your Grace will before that time have shuffled off the mortal coil of a London life, and have betaken yourself to the Elysian fields of Bullstrode.

"The spring has been unusually tardy, and it is only within these few days that we have even partaken of her agreeable caprices of alternate sunshine and showers. April, who used to be an agreeable coquette, often gay and pleasing, but inconstant, was this year a sullen, cold, severe prude. May, instead of being



a blooming beauty, was an ugly dirty dowdy. June has hardly attained his fresh vigour, and will have the puny air of a minor on Midsummer day, when summer used to be reckoned to come of age. The mornings have been so cold that the lark has been afraid to rise early, and the evenings so chill that the nightingale durst hardly sing to her friends and silence and night for fear of catching a hoarseness. Your Grace will perhaps wonder why in this churlish season I still continue to take up my abode here! Why, my dear Madam, though the sun does not always adorn the hemisphere and gild the scene around us, yet hope cheers us, and promises all we wish for *to-morrow*. I have enjoyed tranquillity and health, and, what I think no trifling advantage, have escaped rumours of war, whispers of invasions, and all the displeasing subjects of conversation which public fears and private indiscretions, I believe, have circulated in society. I have been long accustomed to hear of baillifs and executions in the houses of the male gamblers, but I am told that a lady of great birth and rank has brought herself into the same distress. Genius is ever accompanied with danger; if this lady had not had greater talents for play than (with respect be it spoken) your Grace and your most humble servant, she might have dwelt safe and unmolested in her castle without even the security of a moat round it. Gaming is not only a pernicious, but it is a boisterous vice in a woman. She might with as much propriety and delicacy amuse herself with playing at cudgels and backword.

"Has your Grace read Monsr. de Luc's<sup>\*</sup> Letters from the Mountains, which he had the honour to address to the Queen. I think they would amuse you. I like the mountains, but am most charmed with the mountain persons. They seem to be in that situation which seems equally distant from the temptations of want and solicitations of luxury. They possess what Agur prayed for in so perfect a state of innocence as not to know the dangers from which they are preserved. Nothing can more fully prove, too, the goodness of the Queen's heart than that Monsr. de Luc should know a description of such humble happiness would be pleasing to her Majesty.

"I propose to come to London for a week in my way to Northumberland, but must not expect the happiness of finding your Grace in town so late in the year.

"I hope your Grace will give me leave to congratulate you on Lord Weymouth's having the Garter, I believe all people will allow it is properly placed. Might I flatter myself Lady Weymouth would accept of my compliments on the occasion?

"I hope Mrs. Delany has not lost any of the good looks in which I left her. My best wishes and respects ever attend her."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1779, July 20. Sandleford.—"There are some things in this world so precious that there are neither scales nor measures by

\* The Genevan Jean André de Luc, author of *Lettres sur quelques parties de la Suisse*.

which to regulate them : the heart feels their value, and will not submit to any thing that those respectable appraisers of ordinary affairs, reason and experience, can say about them. Of this kind is the Duchess of Portland's health, and though Hygea and Æsculapius were to give joint security that she should be well soon, I could not be easy till I heard she was actually so. The good account my porter sent me the other day, on this important and delicate subject, would have given me perfect and complete satisfaction, if the subject had been less important and less delicate. May I beg that your Grace's woman would write me a line? If she assures me that your feverish complaint has entirely taken its leave, I shall read her letter with more pleasure than ever I did the best of Madame Sévigné's, whom the critics, or, what is better, all people of taste, allow to have excelled every one *dans le genre epistolaire*.

"I might perhaps on any other occasion have asked this favour of Mrs. Delany, but as your Grace's good health is the only subject to which her pen could not add charms, or your indisposition such as it could not mitigate and render less painful and unwelcome; it would be wrong to employ in vain what would have such admirable power in any other matter.

"I was greatly mortified that it was not in my power to wait on Mrs. Delany one morning when she told me she should be at home, but I was detained at my new house by my architect, with whom I had before made an appointment. He came at the head of a regiment of artificers an hour after the time he had promised : the bricklayer talked an hour about the alterations to be made in a wall; the stonemason was as eloquent about the coping of the said wall; the carpenter thought the internal fitting up of the house not less important; then came the painter, who is painting my ceilings in various colours according to the present fashion. The morning and my spirits were quite exhausted before these important persons had the goodness to release me. I did not get back to my dinner till near 5 o'clock. The heat of the weather, joined to the hurry and fatigue of business, made me eager to escape from London, and I quitted it with less reluctance as I was convinced Dr. Turton judged rightly in not suffering any one to intrude upon your Grace while you had any remains of fever.

"I hope before this time you are enjoying the paradisaical delights of Bullstrode. I must congratulate your Grace on Lady Stamford's safe delivery of a daughter. I think one may indeed congratulate the world when her ladyship or Lady Weymouth produces daughters, as all the female virtues are hereditary in their lines. As many of our modern dames want the modesty of women, I hope they will have the courage of men, and if they are as void of fear as of shame, they will easily [drive] the French back again if they invade us. I must own that last summer, not foreseeing the probability of an invasion, and the necessity of the young girls serving in the Light Horse, and the matrons being formed into regiments of Dragoons, I was sorry to see them striding about the walks at Tunbridge with their



arms akimbo dressed in martial uniform. I was assured some of them would swear like troopers, so no doubt but they will fight like them. I hope, whenever we are so happy as to have a peace, the Ladies' Regiment will be reformed, as is the phrase. In quiet times gentle Miss Molly appears more amiable than blustering Captain Moll.

"I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Delany. Miss Gregory is ambitious of the honour of presenting her respects to your Grace and Mrs. Delany."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1779, December 1. Hill Street.—"Having dined and spent the evening with Mrs. Vesey, I had not time last night to return thanks for the honour and pleasure of your Grace's letter. I am infinitely obliged to your Grace for so kindly interesting yourself for the giddy nephew and the careful aunt. He recovered the blow on his stomach sooner than I did the shock of mind on the occasion. He soon returned to Harrow, where he runs up and down the Hill, I dare say, with as impetuous velocity as if there were neither posts nor stomachs in the world.

"My stomach (by way of sympathy) was somewhat afflicted with spasms for some days after the fright, but, thank God, my apprehensions for him were soon over, and the spasms having no new call retreated. Oh, Madam, did not the sudden death of Lord Lyttelton make you rejoice that his good father did not live to see an event for which the poor young man was so little prepared! My servants saw him pass my door with three gay females at two o'clock; these girls were three sisters, and his cousins; by eleven o'clock that night he was called to another world! He carried these Miss Amfletts in his coach to his villa near Epsom; at supper, I hear, he declared himself hungry, soon after complained of pain at his stomach, and expired.

"The usual tenor of his life, the horrid party of pleasure he was at the time of his death engaged in, would fill one with unspeakable terrors, if one had not some reason to imagine there was a tincture of madness in him. I have heard his father say, with tears in his eyes, that however dreadful it was to a parent to think their children mad, his son was such. He was glad to fly to it as a refuge from apprehensions more terrible; but in that opinion he had a hope the young man's outrageously bad conduct would render him unhappy only in this world. It is said he has left 5,000*l.* to each of these Miss Amfletts; poor amend for their loss of reputation, if that be all they have lost.

"He has left the rest of what was in his disposal to Lady Valentia, who will be much shocked and afflicted at this event. Lord and Lady Valentia have been obliged to retire to Abergavenny, to board in a clergyman's family. This money will be a relief for a time; but unless secured by settlement, I fear it will soon be dissipated. Lord Westcote will possess Hagley and some estate immediately; the rest, I suppose, will be his after the death of the two dowager Lady Lytteltons. Lord

Lyttelton's speech the first day of the meeting of Parliament, in which he talked of his principles and his patriotism, made one laugh, but his death turned farce into tragedy. There was an elaborate encomium upon him in my newspaper to-day. It is the fashion, and a very pernicious one, to make a man's parts a kind of apology for his wickedness, but surely they aggravate guilt in a greater degree than they grace virtue.

"I hope your Grace has done Mr. Jerningham the honour to read his new poem. I think there are many charming lines in it. He has graced the simplicity of an ancient feast with a great deal of elegance, but yet has preserved the character of the wake, which appears more charming than a modern *fête champêtre* or regatta.

"Mr. Cole, who called on me one morning, spoke in raptures of the happiness he enjoyed at Bullstrode. I could easily give credit to all that could be said of the place and its queen, who with her there have enjoyed the happiest days of my life, and that happiness was not the mere result of internal gaiety, and the pleasures which dance away with down upon their feet; but your Grace's conversation and example led me to a way of thinking which makes the happiness of all times and all seasons. You taught me neither to admire nor covet what was not really good.

"I hear there is a very lively letter from Charles Fox to Mr. J. Townshend; it is written by Mr. Tickel. I wait for Mrs. Denoyer to bring it to me; she has not always the earliest intelligence from Parnassus. I believe I must send her a hint to-morrow morning.

"I am happy in the hope of getting a glimpse of your Grace. I dined with the Veseys yesterday, and had the pleasure of meeting Lord Macartney, who is a great favourite of mine. I find Lady Macartney finds this climate too cold for her.

"Lord Shelburne was to make a motion in the House of Lords to-day. Modern patriots treat the constitution of England as apothecaries do their patients; they endeavour to give a motion every day, and fancy that will carry off all distempers. Mr. Smelt called on me this morning, his visit would have made me very happy, if he could have told me the Bath waters had been serviceable to Mrs. Cholmley, but she has had a cold which has delayed her making trial of them; she is to stay at Bath the whole winter.

"When will your Grace settle in town? I own Bullstrode has charms for all seasons, but we who are in this sinful, smoky town want your Grace's society to purify and enliven it."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1780], June 29. Hill Street.—"The obliging letter your Grace did me the honour to write having been directed to Portman Square, where I have not yet any established family, it was not conveyed to me till yesterday. I should have returned my thanks for so kind a remembrance of me last night, but did not get home from my visits till it was too late to send a letter.



"Though I was safe in Berkshire during the riots, the news of them utterly destroyed all the comforts of security, and I felt more than the horrors of personal danger while I considered so many persons so much more valuable were threatened, insulted and injured.

"I can hardly bear to think of the state of things at that time, and less to write about them. Our country is for ever disgraced, and dishonour is the most irretrievable, irremediable of all misfortunes. The doctrines that have been lately preached to the mob prepared them to do mischief, and I must confess I am very apprehensive that there was some deep-laid conspiracy. I imagine the wretches who pulled down houses were like the iron crows they used, mere instruments in the hands of the wicked.

"I came to town last Monday upon business, and also with an intention to hasten the finishing of my new house. I have not had an hour's leisure since my arrival. Six weeks' fresh air and leisure had perfectly restored my health; but I fear, if the weather continues hot and my business comes so thick upon me, I shall not long preserve it. I propose to return to Sandford the first moment I can get those things done which I came to London to accomplish. I am always happiest in the country at this time of year, and the late villainous behaviour of the people has made me almost a misanthrope, and I had rather *walk with the beasts joint-tenant of the shade* than live fellow citizen here with such wretches. Indeed, the baseness of wickedness of some makes the noble character of others appear more excellent and sublime. Lord Mansfield's conduct has been great indeed; I thought I had long had as high a respect for him as was possible, but my respect is heightened to almost adoration.

"There is an idle rumour that a certain peer was killed in the riot disguised like a chimney-sweeper. I rather believe he will live a chimney-sweeper disguised in the robes of a peer.

"Mr. Vesey's health being in a very unpromising way, Dr. Warren seems inclined to send him to drink the Sunning Hill waters.

"I have been so often interrupted since I sat down to write that the third letter-bell has overtaken me at the third page of my letter, by which your Grace will be released sooner than I should have prevailed on myself.

"I shall be anxious to hear that the lovely tranquil scenes of Bullstrode have restored your Grace's health and spirits."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1783, November 22. Portman Square.—"When I had the honour to receive your Grace's letter, I was immersed in vulgar business and vulgar cares, and it would have been strange presumption to have applied the same pen to addressing to the Duchess of Portland which had been used in writing the accounts of a coal-mine. After two months spent at Denton in these low attentions I passed from this purgatory to the Elysian fields of Househam, and converse with the celestial spirits of Mr. and

Mrs. Smelt, and Mr. and Mrs. Cholmley. Persons, things within doors and without, were all wonderfully changed for the better. Denton is an old Gothic mansion, but, like what has been originally vulgar in its character, years have not rendered it venerable. Then, having been built before our union with Scotland, the architect had more attention in making the windows to excluding the arrows and missive weapons of the Scotch, than to admitting the rays of the sun, nor can one discern any object unless standing on tiptoe almost, but the tops of some tall elms.

"Househam was, I believe, built in the days of good Queen Bess, and retains on the outside the serious character, the substantial merit, of those times ; within modern elegance and refined taste render it agreeable. The view from the windows is very pleasing ; you behold a navigable river gently gliding through a green valley adorned with fine trees, and the prospect is much enlivened by barges continually passing. I must confess these provincial rivers, which carry on the commerce and are subservient to the convenience of the country, merely awaken in me ideas more agreeable than the ocean-bearing ships of war with Bellona's thunder in their sides, or the Thames bringing up the spoils of the East Indies, or the produce of the labour of slaves from the West Indies. At least one may affirm the great beneficial stream is more suitable to the characters of the master and mistress of the place than the proud impetuous waves that carry on the business of avarice or schemes of ambition.

"Mr. and Mrs. Cholmley wish not for any power but the power of doing good, nor contend for any superiority but that which transcendent virtue gives ; and all they covet is to make those around them happy. They have built a village very near their house, and fitted up and furnished the houses with all the decent comforts humble life requires, and these habitations are bestowed on their old or married servants who are obliged to retire. The children of the latter are taught to read, write, cast accounts, sew, knit, spin, etc., at a school established by Mr. Cholmley, and well regulated and frequently inspected by Mrs. Cholmley. If in the golden age villages were built and inhabited, I dare say in their modes and their manners they resembled the village at Househam in every respect. Your Grace will not wonder that I thought a week a short visit at such a place and in such society, but business called me to town. However, being very desirous my nephew Montagu should have the advantage of a longer residence with the Virtues of Househam, I gave him leave to continue some days longer there, though Alma Mater called him to keep the term at Cambridge. However wise that old lady may pretend to be, I think she cannot teach any better lesson than how to be good and happy, and that may be learnt from the example and conversation of the Smelts and Cholmleys. I should have made a visit at Mr. and Mrs. Smelt's in my way to Denton, but they were at that time at Whitby for the benefit of the sea air, which proved very serviceable to them. They are now gone to their sweet retreat in a valley adorned by the river Swale.



"I wish that to your Grace's enquiry after my ingenious and good friend Doctor Beattie I could give more ample information. I have not heard from him [for] some months; indeed we are zealous friends but lazy correspondents. Writing letter is unpleasant to him and unwholesome to me, and indeed, unless persons converse often together and live in the same society, literary correspondence cannot go on briskly. I consider familiar epistles to be made up of the thoughts of the moment and the occurrences of the hour; even if the air-balloon, society, should set a post to the moon and stars, I should not know how to address to the sages in Saturn, or the man in the moon. I wrote to Dr. Beattie that I intended to spend the latter part of the summer in Northumberland and hoped he would make me a visit there, but I had not either visit or letter. I have had the comfort of hearing he is pretty well, and the same person informed me that poor Mrs. Beattie's mind was so far restored that she lived again with the Doctor and her children. I dare say your Grace has received great pleasure from Dr. Beattie's Lectures. I think the world much obliged to him and to Dr. Blair for publishing their Lectures. I do not know any works more pleasing, nor more instructive. I have been much rejoiced at a report that Dr. Blair will give us another volume of sermons.

"Miss Hamilton will have given your Grace an account of Mr. and Mrs. Vesey, but the night before last Mr. Vesey was ill, and had he not been cupped instantly, would probably have had a fit. I am not happy about Mrs. Vesey; she has lost her appetite, and, what is worse, in a great degree her hearing; she is very feeble, and her spirits are often low; her corporeal form, always mince and delicate, is much shrunk, and I am almost afraid she should *melt into air, into thin air, and like an insubstantial [pageant] faded, leave not a rack behind.* As to Mr. Vesey, he has all the properties of flesh and blood, and I think he will not spiritualize and vanish like a ghost."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1783.] December 6. Bath.—"I should assume a merit to which I have not the least pretensions, if I attributed to discretion my long forbearance of troubling your Grace with a letter; so I will honestly confess, it has been owing to an inflammation in my eyes. The disorder was not in the extreme degree, but threatened to become worse by any application; it is now so much abated it will allow me to write your Grace a Bath Chronicle, though it would not permit me to transmit you our country journal. I am sorry to say, it may be difficult to determine which would have been the least dull according to La Bruyère, who asserts, *qu'il vaut mieux passer sa vie à ne rien faire, qu'à faire des riens.* [He] would decide in favour of the country journal, and very justly, if the writer was addicted to thinking in seasons of solitude and leisure, but my reveries would be less worthy your Grace's attention than even the history of a Bath life.

“At my arrival here on Monday sennight I found the place very full of company, a multitude of Irish who come in quest of amusement, many English in pursuit of health ; from the days of King Bladud to the present more have been disappointed than have succeeded in their designs on either of these objects. Our happiness and our health depend more on our original formation and constitution than on any other things. The weak stomach may digest a little better, and these waters and the dull and indolent mind may be a little enlivened by balls and assemblies ; but cheerfulness and health are blessings we must receive from the bounty of Heaven, not the contrivances or skill of man.

“For my own part I have not any motive for passing some weeks in this place, but to enjoy the conversation of a friend, who passes most of his time in a distant country. I always make a visit to Bath when the Primate of Ireland comes to England, as I enjoy more of his conversation here than in the bustle of London. I was very happy in the good account his Grace gave me of Lord Mansfield, a health in which the world is much interested. I find Lord Hardwicke has not yet received much benefit from these waters, nor indeed is his case such as to give any flattering hopes of a cure. Lady Grey and Lady Belle Polwarth seem both in good health. The Duke of Northumberland seems in perfect health. Lord Nugent is as gay as he was forty years ago. The summers do not ripen all geniuses, nor the winters wither them. To pass in the different seasons of life from gaiety to discretion, and from discretion to gravity, is the best way of making the journey through this world, but to fall from levity to sadness is terrible ; so, as my Lord Nugent set out on his journey with levity for his guide, I think, as far as the purposes of this life are to be answered, he does right not to quit his merry companion, especially as his levities have been chiefly in discourse. He has improved his fortune, and raised his situation more than often happens to the grave and wise.

“Miss More was so good as to pass a few days with me here. Your Grace knows her enough to be sensible she made those days very agreeable to me. With a great deal of genius she has no less good sense, and a most excellent heart, ever exerting itself in acts of charity and benevolence. She is now encouraging the publication of a most astonishing poetical work of a poor milk-woman at Bristol,\* whose unassisted genius has produced lines which would do honour to Gray or any of our first poets.

“If your Grace has not yet read Bishop Atterbury’s Letters, I think you have a great deal of amusement for the Christmas holidays, which I hear, to my sorrow, your Grace intends to pass in the country ; but I cannot wonder that in such amiable society as Mrs. Delany and Miss Hamilton you should prefer the charming abode of Bullstrode with them to the world of sin and sea coal in London. I propose to be in town the 23rd of this month. I have taken the liberty to send your Grace a copy of some of the milk-woman’s verses, addressed to Miss More. To understand

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\* Mrs. Ann Yearsley.



some part of them I must mention it alludes to her sad own story. Last winter she, her mother, six children, and her husband, in want of every necessary, retired to a stable, where they were found by a charitable person nearly expired; he fetched them food immediately, and all revived but the poor old woman, who held up her hands, blessed him and died; two of the children by cold and famine have lost their hearing. By contributions they are now possessed of two cows and twelve pigs; great riches, but as riches make themselves wings and fly away, we are now endeavouring to raise a subscription for her works, and as I have no great opinion of a genius being an economist, I shall wish to buy her a little annuity of 8*l.* or 10*l.* a year for her life. Miss More says the poor creature is harmless and laborious, and she gives some remarkable proofs of her honesty; but a very few days before she went into the stable she restored two silver spoons to the owner, which she had found by accident. She is very religious, and piety has raised her mind, as well as purified her heart. I have bestowed so much of my paper on the milk-woman's virtues and talents, I have not room left for a description of Mrs. Hastings' jewels, which bear a higher value at Bath; but at Bullstrode they would not, so I think I may be excused for what I have done, and yet I confess your Grace's fine museum does not contain anything so wonderful as a she-Nabob; the animal flower, or the electrical eel are not so much out of the common course of things."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1783,] December 26. London.—"I am set down to wish your Grace a merry Christmas and a happy New Year, though we, who are in London, shall not have so joyous a Christmas, nor so happy a beginning of the new year as you who pass your holidays at Bullstrode. Though mortified and injured by this resolution, I cannot help confessing there is not any place which possesses greater charms at every season than Bullstrode, or any person who has in themselves\* greater resources for gloomy weather and short days than its Lady; indeed, *the gay conscience of a life well spent* gives the only perpetual cheerfulness and unclouded sunshine. Mr. and Mrs. Vesey and Mrs. Hancock arrived in town on Friday. Mr. Vesey seems in perfect health and gay spirits. I cannot affirm the same of Mrs. Vesey, she looks thin and complains her hearing is impaired. It is pity it should be so, as she never listened with pleasure to the whispers of calumny, or the voice of detraction and envy, but with delight to the praises of those whom she esteemed deserving. However, the only truly lamentable deafness is that which oftener belongs to youth than age, turning a deaf ear to the advice of friends, and the precepts of wisdom and virtue.

"There is a new work come from France called '*L'Esprit de la Fronde*': I have purchased, but have not yet begun it. I do not suppose there will be as much spirit and vivacity in this work as

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\* *Sic.*

in the Mémoires of Cardinal de Retz, who seems to have been as much suited by nature for the historian of such a faction as he was for the leader of it. However, I shall be glad to see the picture of those transactions drawn by another hand. Never did any annals, or history of any kind, so strongly paint a national character as the history of La Fronde. About the same time we carried on a civil war in a very different style. The French put *de la gaieté and des graces* into a conspiracy, love intrigue into state policy, and the fierce goddess Bellona is *knit with the Graces and the Loves in dance*, a battle is followed by a ball, and an assassination by a masquerade or a concert. *Une chanson sur le Pont Neuf* consoles them under any military disgrace or political disappointment. *Toujours gai* is the national motto, and after all, as in this state of things it is not always possible to be both merry and wise, is it not best to be merry? Indeed, human life is so short, and made up of such trumpery, that there is not any solid foundation for grief or joy, but, that the good might not be ever without consolation, an unalterable pleasure results from the retrospect of their own actions, and imparts *what nothing earthly gives or can destroy, The soul's calm sunshine and the heart-felt joy*. On this firm foundation, with confidence as well [as] most affectionate zeal, I can venture to present my wishes of a happy New Year to your Grace.

"When I began my letter, which I had not time to finish, I told your Grace Mr. Vesey was in good health, but the other day, when he was to meet some of his friends here at dinner, I had a message to acquaint me he had just had a fit. However, it was a slight one, and when I called on Mrs. Vesey yesterday, I had the pleasure of hearing he was recovering fast, and her apprehensions were abated."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1784], June 20. Sandleford.—"On receiving your Grace's kind and humane letter last night I felt very sensibly that a friend is the medicine of life. The interest you take in my affliction is a balm to it. As I would not do anything that might be a prejudice to Mrs. Alison\* with the world, I shall not (except to my best and dearest friends) say more than that she married without my approbation, but to your Grace I will confess that the precipitation, with which she entered into an engagement with a man she had not known three months, much aggravated my grief. Last October twelve months she went to Edinburgh to visit her brother, who was then newly married; she promised to return to me about the meeting of Parliament, as she would then have opportunity of travelling with some of her friends, who would be coming to London on that occasion; but, instead of doing what she had promised, she made various

\* Dorothea, daughter of Dr. John Gregory, of Edinburgh, had resided with Mrs. Montagu since her father's death in 1773. She married, 14 June, 1784, Archibald Alison, afterwards author of the "Essay on the Nature and Principles of Taste."



excuses and on the 6th of January she wrote me a long letter to tell me all her future happiness depended on my giving my consent to her marrying a Mr. Alison, who had not a shilling fortune, nor any preferment but a curacy at Durham. She accompanied this declaration with the most extravagant commendations of the man, and assurances of his being most deeply in love with her. Your Grace may believe I did not comply with her request. I told her that, though I had always had for her the tenderness of a mother, yet I could not pretend to parental authority, therefore my consent to her marriage was not necessary, but my approbation or countenance to such a marriage I never could give, my respect for the memory of her father, my duty to my own nephews and nieces, and to the world in general, forbade my giving my countenance to imprudent hasty engagements, ever heart-wounding to parents and friends, and too often unfortunate to the young persons who made them. I set before her the miseries attendant on poverty, and perhaps seeing a large posterity destitute of a provision. She had said in her letter she would not marry Mr. Alison till she had an 100*l.* a year in preferment, which she did not doubt but Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate, would soon procure him, and with that she should be perfectly happy. Indeed I hardly thought her in senses from the wildness and extravagance of her manner on receiving my remonstrance on the indiscretion of her matrimonial [project]: she fell into fits as young ladies often do when they cannot obtain consent to an improper marriage. Finding her both too impetuous and firm to be shaken in her project, the only hope to save her was from the calm counsels of time; therefore I told her, if she would return to me and remain with me till Mr. Alison had such preferment as she thought sufficient to marry upon, I would behave to her with my usual kindness, but she must never speak to me on a subject on which we could never agree. This condition was kept on both sides, and I also insisted she should neither see Mr. Alison nor correspond with [him]; all which she promised and, I believe, faithfully observed. But one day this spring she told me she found she could not live without corresponding with Mr. Alison and seeing [him] sometimes; upon which I set forth to her the imprudence of her engagement, on which she fell into hysteric, then fainting fits, and lay as it were dead for some minutes. I saw then she would marry immediately if I did not allow her to see him a few times, as he was then in London, and by this compliance I should retard her indiscreet marriage; so I consented. She even alleged her brother's desire to see her and also that of his dying wife, and she went, as your Grace knows, to Edinburgh. There she prevailed on a Mr. Nairne, a lawyer, who transacts business for Mr. Pulteney and is an old friend of his, to solicit a living of him for Mr. Alison. Mr. Pulteney complied with Mr. Nairne's request, and has bestowed a living of 150*l.* a year on Mr. Alison. Miss Gregory applied again for my consent, I answered as before, that I could not give any approbation, or countenance to the match, so she determined to quit all connection with me, and

married Mr. Alison. I heartily wish her visions of felicity may be realized. I had above a year ago got Mr. Smelt to endeavour to dissuade her from this scheme; he argued the case very seriously with her, but found all argument vain; he hoped, as I did, time might bring her to sober reflection. I never mentioned to any one but Mr. Smelt and Mrs. Smelt, who I knew had great weight with her, the rash step she had taken in making an engagement. I should with great joy have given very solid proofs of my approbation to any man of character and decent circumstances, for happiness does not attend on wealth; but misery dogs poverty at the heels. I am not myself convinced Mr. Alison's addresses to her did not proceed from a hope, that by the friends she had, she would be a better fortune, and procure him more preferment than he would otherwise obtain, for he did not even pretend to have any hopes of a living but through his interest with Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Miss Gregory's behaviour had been so gentle, amiable, and discreet, and with such appearance of affection and attachment to me, that to see her sacrifice all prudent considerations of every kind, and all friendly connection with me, to a man she had not known 10 weeks has been a great affliction, and I believe what the learned faculty called the gout was the effect of great perturbation of mind, for which I ask pardon of the great Disposer of all events, and who has given me, in my nephew Montagu, everything my heart could wish. Mrs. Delany was the first person to whom I mentioned Miss Gregory's approaching nuptials, but had not opportunity to communicate the circumstances which I have written to your Grace, and which I would beg you to impart to her. I am afraid all I have written on this disagreeable subject will appear tiresome. I will now take up the subject that is the most pleasant and excellent, viz. the Smelts. Yesterday sen-  
 night they left the regal bowers of Windsor to visit my cottage. It was doubly charitable to visit me at this time; they made us very happy till Saturday, when they went to Oxford in their road to the north. I was pleased to see my nephew was as unwilling to part with them as I was. We have been alone ever since, but are in hopes of seeing Dr. Beattie and his young Edwin here very soon. The Primate of Ireland\* is just arrived at Bath. When he has taken about 3 weeks of the waters, I flatter myself he will pass some time at Sandleford. There is some degree of presumption in this hope, for betwixt old rooms demolished and new ones not finished enough for habitation my house is in a most horrible condition; the birds and the squirrels are much better accommodated. The pleasure-grounds and woods have been much improved and beautified by the late Mr. Brown, but a distress has arisen to-day, even from what usually produces great pleasure. The person under whose direction Mr. Brown's plan is going forward, has for some time given indications of madness, and yesterday, while he was ordering the workmen how to apply their spades, he fell on his knees and muttered prayers; he is now

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\* Mrs. Montagu's kinsman Richard Robinson first Baron Rokeby of Armagh.



so wild I know not what to do with him. I am going to write to Mr. Lupidge, who is to finish [what] Mr. Brown began, to come with all speed to take care of this poor creature; in the meantime I dare not walk about the grounds. I feel myself in a very improper state for a correspondent. I know your Grace will pardon the freedom I have taken in opening my heart to you. My most affectionate respects attend Mrs. Delany. I cannot express how much we all regretted that we were not at home when she did us the honour to call in Portman Square. I wish she had intimated her kind intentions, and then we should have preferred even half an hour of her conversation to any pleasure the Town could have offered us. Montagu solicits the honour of presenting his humble respects to your Grace and Mrs. Delany."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1784,] July 12. Sandleford.—"Your Grace's kind solicitude for me on account of the poor lunatic makes my present security from him appear of higher value; nothing makes life so precious to one as finding the persons one most esteems and loves interest themselves in its perservation. The history of the poor madman is a very extraordinary one; he began his career of life very ill, a hard drinker, a great boxer, and in short was addicted to every vice which comes into the character of a low and vulgar libertine; but 17 years ago he went mad and was confined for some time; he recovered his reason, and may properly be said to have been since in his sober senses. He left off all his bad habits, drank nothing stronger than small beer, worked in pleasure-grounds under the direction of Mr. Brown, and was placed by him to superintend the making a piece of water and the other works going forward here; and I was much pleased with his diligence and attention and great integrity. There was a wildness in his look, and some singularities, which we attributed to his former illness, but did not apprehend a return of it till lately. I wrote to the person who has the carrying on what Mr. Brown planned for the improvements here, to acquaint him with my apprehensions, and to desire he would take the poor man to London, and I would get him into St. Luke's or Bedlam. I hoped that my lunatic would have willingly accompanied his old friend, this Mr. Lupidge, to London, for we wished to avoid any violence, as he would some hours in the day appear calm and rational. Mr. Lupidge came hither as soon as he could leave the Duke of Devonshire's at Chiswick, where he was employed, and all matters were prepared to carry our lunatic away on Thursday morning; but before the hour intended he knocked down the man who attended him, and ran out of the house where he lodged, and knocked down a man who endeavoured to stop his flight. When these men recovered the blow, the impression of horror still remained, and they durst not follow him till they had collected other assistance, so lost sight of him; and though we have sent people to every neighbouring town, village, and cottage, [we] cannot get any material intelligence, and I am under great apprehensions that it will be difficult

to find him, for in his religious enthusiasm he fancies he must atone for his past offences by living like Nebuchadnezzar, and it has been difficult to persuade him to sleep in a house, and he has endeavoured to eat grass. I am very unhappy about this poor creature's being exposed to every danger and distress, but hope I am not very blameable, as I had committed him to the charge of his master Lupidge, by whom he was employed to direct the workmen and to pay them weekly.

"I have tired your Grace with this long history, for I feared you would be shocked to hear I had been so negligent of a poor wretch as to let him run away. I believe Mr. Lupidge had indiscreetly talked to the persons where he lodged of an intention to carry him to London to be taken care of, and these unfortunate persons dread confinement.

"Dr. Beattie writes me word he cannot leave London at present, and as I expect the Primate of Ireland, Sir Wm. Robinson, and Mr. John Freind next week, my house will then be full, so the doctor will go first to the Bishop of Chester's.

"The means I am taking to enlarge my house in future makes it less for the present; old rooms are pulled down, and the new ones are not yet fit for habitation. It is just now in the most terrible condition, but I flatter myself time will make it such, that I may entertain an ambitious hope that the Duchess of Portland may honour it with her presence: such a hope will make me endure with patience, nay, hear with pleasure, the rumbling of the carts which are bringing bricks, the strokes of the spade, and the squeaking of wheelbarrows, and all the horrid sights, and horrid sounds, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, &c., present to the eye and ear. I have not heard of Mr. and Mrs. Smelt since they left Sandleford, which makes me a little uneasy, as they had promised to write while on the road. I have a flattering vision, a pleasing hope, that they will come to Portman Square next January, time enough to pay their devoirs on his Majesty's birthday."

#### ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1785, April?] 17. Ealing.—"I had the honour of your Grace's obliging card just as I was setting out for Ealing, to which I retreated on my housekeeper being ill of the smallpox, that I might avoid any infection from the imprudence of servants, who are apt to visit, in spite of all injunctions, a fellow servant in that distemper. And as I find the famous operator, Mr. Sutton, has just now inoculated at an easy wholesale price half the common people in town, and then ordered them to run about the streets, I think it will be more prudent for me to avoid coming out of a fresh into an infected air; and as I am to go to Sandleford in a few days, I have determined to forbear coming to town till this spring diversion of inoculation is a little over. I hope, therefore, your Grace will excuse my not doing myself the honour to wait on you on Sunday, which is indeed a great mortification to me. I am not totally indifferent to the amusements of London, but when Whitehall



presents itself to my imagination, then the town appears most delightful, and the primroses and violets lose their sweetness in my estimation. I have the pleasure of talking of the Duchess of Portland with Mr. Botham, who has experienced her goodness. The poor man has got a gout that would better become the velvet cushion of a dean, but he hopes to be well enough to stand in the pulpit on Sunday. Had the malady been in his finger or thumb, I flatter myself I could have written as orthodox a sermon as the vicar himself; indeed I have often offered my service to do so, but he chooses to edify his parish his own way. I believe my sermon would be more lively, his more solid. I have the comfort to find Miss Botham in better health than when she was with me at Sandleford. I feel so much interested for all these poor girls I am afraid of dreaming at night that I am a parson's wife with five children; a horrible vision it would be, and I imagine I should start in my sleep if it presented itself to me. Indeed, my dear Lady Duchess, I cannot express to you how much I regret losing the agreeable day I might pass at Whitehall, a day that would be so pleasing while it was present, and rendered more delightful by the recollection of those past and gone. However from the happy faculty of memory I shall retain a sense of the honour and happiness I have enjoyed in your Grace's friendship."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1785,] July. Portman Square.—"It is impossible for me to describe the anguish I felt last night on hearing your Grace had been ill of a fever; happy for me I did not hear it, till I was also informed that you were recovering of it. I went into Berkshire the 13th of May, and staid till the 30th of June. On that day I came to Mrs. Garrick's at Hampton. I came to London yesterday morning, and spent the evening with Mrs. Vesey, when to my infinite concern I heard of your Grace's illness. I beg to know how you are to-day. I am going back to Hampton this evening, but shall return to London in two or three days to sign my nephew's marriage-settlement, an operation I had hoped would have been over long before this time, but the lawyers are not of Hudibras's opinion that *brevity is very good, in things that are or are not understood*. 50 skins of parchment and 50 forms of law were to be used on the occasion. In the mean time the lover languished, and the aunt waited, and neither of us knew how long the gentlemen of the robe would keep us in that state, and as London disagrees with my health at this season of the year, I remained at Sandleford in perfect ignorance of what was passing in the world till last night that I was at my dear Mrs. Vesey's. Oh, Madam! how unworthy was Mr. Vesey of so good a woman!"

## APPENDIX.

(MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDATED CORRESPONDENCE.)

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

[1708?] August 27. Sunday.—“I have told my sister\* why the pass must be in her name, which she likes as well as any, since you will do her the favour to order it so as to give her no uneasiness to travel in her private way.

“I forgot to speak to you for some letters out of Ireland to her, taken in Mr. Arthur’s papers; she says they are only concerning her own affairs, and if they are from one of my nieces, I know that one must be a mother to give so much time as is necessary to read it, but I don’t say this to prevent anybody’s trying: that you will order, and when that is done, if you please to send them to Mr. Guydott, he will give them to my sister.

“I write this with less scruple than ordinary because I am going out of town, and though you should have the goodness to intend me an answer, I shall not be in the way of receiving it.” (Vol. iv. f. 206.)

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.

[1711, April 24]. Thursday.—“The bill about the resumption being to be read this morning it will be thought strange if I should be absent, and therefore cannot receive your favour this morning. In the afternoon this is so public a day at my house that it will be inconvenient to see you here, but if you will allow me to wait on you either at six, seven or eight this afternoon, I shall not fail to come to you, and send a servant on purpose to bring me a verbal answer.” (Vol. vi. f. 51.)

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.

[1711, Spring?] Wednesday.—“Since you have excused my dis-appointing you last night, and allow me to name any time after to-day, I will not fail waiting on you at your house to-morrow at half an hour past eight in the evening, if I hear nothing from you to the contrary.

“I hear from many hands that something extraordinary is designed but cannot learn what; I hope the Queen has notice, and that she will to some of her leading ministers and servants speak in a manner, that if they know what is designed, she expects to be let into the secret, and if they do not, that they should oppose all motions that may raise heat and create divisions, but go on with the public business and finish the supplies, that our

\* Lady Tyrconnell.



friends and enemies abroad may not discover that we are so much in need of peace at home, since such a thought would certainly prevent our having it abroad. If in any particular I can be of use to you, be pleased to let me know it, who am perfectly disposed to serve to the best of my power." (*Ib.* f. 46.)

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.

[1711, Spring?] Wednesday night.—"I have discoursed with the Queen upon the subject of your letter; she is convinced of the reasonableness of your arguments, but knows not how to prevail with a certain person to give way to them, and thinks, if she should resolve positively to refuse his demands, that it would be an absolute breach. There will be more time to consider of this particular. The pain her Majesty has been in has hindered her writing to-night, and I was unwilling to talk too long and too much to her on a subject which gave her disquiet at the same time her disease was troublesome likewise.

I confess I think myself under some hardship to have made such promises to Mr. Sm.\* and not be enabled to perform them unless by expectation, but provided the public service do not suffer, and we by our unsteadiness are not made a jest, I will submit readily.

"Her Majesty desires you to be here to-morrow night before nine.

"I am every day more and more convinced that something of what I said to Mr. St. John must be resolved; we must have somebody among us who, if they are positive, will be it, with better sense and more uniform to the main design than that which governs and will embroil everthing.

"I have time to say no more, but confess I think the step going to be made with relation to Mr. S. a very unlucky one.

"Surely this letter of Petcum's should be both prosecuted and answered, if it were only to show it is not a true one, as it is believed by some ignorant people in the country." (*Ib.* f. 47.)

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the [EARL OF OXFORD].

[1711, November?] Wednesday night.—"My indisposition, God be thanked, has ended in a short fit of the gout. I waited on the Queen this evening to give her joy of the compliance Holland has shown. I perfectly agree that should be returned by a confidence on our side, and what your Lordship proposes to be said to M. Buys † is very right, and nobody so proper upon all accounts to speak to him as yourself, who are best able to explain to him our Articles relating to the Assiento and the Commerce, so as to take away their objections; and if those were once over, we should have nothing more to do but treat unitedly and like friends to get the best barrier we can for Holland, and the best terms can be got for the rest of the Allies.

\* Perhaps the late Speaker Smith, afterwards one of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

† Cf. Report on Portland MSS. vii. 71.

"I hinted to her Majesty to-night that I wished she were soon in London. There is no probability that her health will permit her to take any benefit of the country air before she will be forced to to come to London; and in this very busy time between the affairs of the Parliament and the peace this small distance from London loses too much time.

"I hope the North Britain Lords will come in time and good humour; some of their own countrymen seem to doubt of both, but I hope that is only because they are not so necessary as they would be. I have writ to Lord Cardigan, who designed not to come yet; I hope I shall prevail with him.

"I heartily rejoice that your Lordship finds yourself better, and has thoughts of going abroad, but earnestly recommend to you not to venture too soon and to be careful when you do. It is so obvious what would be the consequence of your ill health that I will not offend your modesty to enlarge upon it, but remember a line in Spenser on the death of Sir Philip Sidney—"Great loss to all, but greatest loss to me." (*Ib.* f. 71.)

#### THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, September 19. Friday morning.—"The Queen has rested so well to-night that I hope her indisposition is over, which I believe was occasioned by a cold she got taking the air last Tuesday in her chaise, whilst the sun was warm, but the wind easterly and so sharp, that at the same time it was very hot or very cold as her Majesty turned her face to or from the wind. I am glad Lord Rivers has at last taken so good a resolution; I suppose it will ease us of a good deal of trouble. I shall be ready any time next week to attend your Lordship's commands about the jewels." (*Ib.* f. 80.)

#### AN INVENTORY of MARGARET CAVENDISHE, DUCHESS OF PORTLAND'S wedding cloaths and linen, July 11th, 1734.

1 Gown and petticoat of white Padusoy richly imbroidred with gold and all coulours.

1 Gown and petticoat of pink armeseen, both gown and petticoat quite covered all over with a rich silver trimming mixed with coulered flowers.

1 Gown and petticoat, white and silver lutestring.

1 Gown and petticoat of white lutestring, clouded with pink and brown.

1 Gown and petticoat of blue lutestring.

1 Gown and petticoat of green damask.

1 Night gown of white lutestring, imbroidered all over the faceing and robings with silver and purple.

1 Night gown of gold lutestring, with coulours.

1 Night gown of pink damask.

1 Night gown of yellow lutestring.

1 White sattin wrapper.

2 Fine calico quilted bed gowns.



1 White satten quilted petticoat with a silver triming round the bottom.

3 White fine callico quilted petticoats to ware over the Hoop.

3 White dimity under petticoats.

4 Flanell petticoats.

1 Hoop of white lutestring.

1 Brown Alapine habit laced with silver.

1 Couloured quilted petticoat to wear with the habit.

1 Drab cloath great coat.

1 Pair of shoes, white satten, braded with gold and open lace up them.

1 Pair of shoes of silver tishue braded with silver, lace of silver up them.

1 Pair of shoes of blue satten, braded with the same coulour.

1 Pair of shoes of green satten, braded with the same coulour.

1 Pair of slippers of silver and an open lace up them and a deep fringe round.

1 Pair of cloges of blue velvet.

2 Colmar fans.

2 Pair of gold loopings for gloves.

1 Pair of silver loopings for gloves.

1 Pair of pink and silver loopings for gloves.

1 Gold girdle, 1 Silver girdle.

2 Pair of stays, 2 Pair of locks.

#### Laces and Linen.

1 Very fine point head and 3 double ruffles and tucker.

1 Very fine loopt Brusells head and three double ruffles, and tucker of half breadth lace and tippet.

1 Suit of dressed night close, the lappets all lace of fine Brusells lace and three double ruffles and tucker half breadth lace and a neck handkercheif.

1 Suit of drest night close of very fine loopt Mackleen half breadth lace, double ruffles and tucker and neck handkercheif.

1 Suit of dressed night close of fine loopt Brusells lace, double ruffles and tucker and neck handkerchief.

1 Mob, double ruffles and tucker, and hood, all lace round with a fine Brusells lace.

1 Mob, double ruffles and tucker and hood and double neck handkercheif, all laced round with a loopt Mackleen lace with a great deal of basket work in the lace.

1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, and short hood, all laced round with a loopt lace with a litle basket work in the lace.

1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, short hood and double neck handkercheif of spotted lawn, all laced round with a very fine Mackleen lace.

1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, laced round with a ground Mackleen lace.

1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, laced round with a Mackleen lace, all pattern, no ground.

1 Double mob and double ruffles and tucker, all laced round with a Brusells lace.

1 Double mob and double ruffles and tucker, laced all round with a ground Mackleen lace, the pattern oak leaves.

1 Double mob and double ruffles, tucker, laced all round with a fine loopt lace.

6 Pair of double ruffles, laced.

6 Laced tuckers.

8 Pair of double ruffles of plain cambrick.

6 Pair of single ruffles of plain cambrick.

14 Tuckers of plain cambrick.

6 Night caps, laced round.

6 Under night caps, laced round.

4 Workt muslin neck handkercheifs and one plaine one.

30 Pocket handkercheifs.

1 Cambrick apron, laced round with a very fine Brusells lace.

1 Spotted lawn apron, laced round with a fine Mackleen lace.

1 Flowered lawn apron.

1 Spotted cambrick apron.

1 Fine callico apron, workt round in a border in the Indian way.

6 Fine Holland aprons.

6 Fine cambrick aprons.

2 Combing cloaths.

4 Pair of dimity pockets.

2 Laced riding shirts.

5 Quilted dressing caps.

14 Pair of white threed stockings.

2 Pair of scarlet stockings.

1 Pair of white silk stockings with imbroidered clocks.

28 Day shifts.

(Vol. x. f. 185.)

#### ELIZABETH ELSTOB to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1738, December 27. Bath. --“The great honour and happiness and the salary your Grace has so generously vouchsafed to confer and bestow upon me, so long before I can have an opportunity of endeavouring to deserve them, commands infinitely greater and more worthy acknowledgments than I am able to offer. And though I am truly sensible I am guilty of great presumption in thus addressing myself to your Grace, yet my indispensable duty will not suffer me to be silent, but compels me most humbly to beseech you, Madam, to accept of the thanks of a heart sincerely grateful, and to be assured that I most earnestly beg the Divine assistance to enable me to perform my duty as I ought, and having that, I hope I need not fear being acceptable to your Grace. I must likewise entreat you, Madam, to believe it shall be my constant and daily practice fervently to beseech Almighty God to pour down the choicest of His blessings on your incomparable self and your whole most noble family, and that He, who has endowed you with so many excellent perfections, will add to them length of days, that you may long be a glorious pattern and example to your sex.”  
(Vol. xiv. f. 86.)



THE EARL OF ORFORD to [CHARLES, third VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND?].

1743, July 24. Houghton.—“I have now writ to Capt. Jackson, to give Lord Tyrawly a ticket as you desired, and am glad to oblige him with it. This place affords no news, no subject of amusement or entertainment, for fine gentlemen of wit and pleasure about town understand not the language nor taste the charms of the inanimate world. My flatterers here are all mutes; the oaks, the beeches, the chesnuts seem to contend who shall please the lord of the manor; they cannot deceive, they will not lie. I sincerely admire them, and I have as many beauties about me as fill up all my hours of dangling; and no disgrace attends me from 67 years of age.

“Within doors we come a little nearer to real life, and admire upon the almost speaking canvas all the airs and graces which the proudest of the town ladies can boast of. With these I am satisfied, because they gratify me with all I wish, and all I want; I expect nothing in return which I cannot give. If these, dear Charles, are any temptations, I heartily invite you to come and partake of them. Shifting the scene has sometimes its recommendation; and from country fare you may possibly return, with a better appetite, to the more delicate entertainments of a refined life.

“Since I wrote the above, we have been surprised with good news from abroad. Too much cannot be said upon it, for it is truly matter of infinite joy, because it is of infinite consequence.” *Copy.* (Vol. xvi. f. 303.)

WILLIAM MURRAY to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1745, June 18.—“Few things can give me so much real pleasure as an opportunity of doing what is in any respect agreeable to your Grace, and therefore, if the case you recommend should exist, I shall think myself very happy in an occasion of contributing the utmost of my power to what you wish. I think you conclude too hastily from the D[uke] of N[ewcastle]’s silence. Nothing is now open, and he might be afraid of taking the thing wholly upon himself beforehand, under the present uncertainty of his being able to make such an undertaking good without much difficulty. If I was the Doctor, under your protection I would not despair of Windsor, at least not in prose, whatever I did in verse when the night inspired melancholy thoughts. I return the enclosed with many thanks. I never saw the spirit and diction and simplicity of an original better kept up in a translation. I wish your Grace a good journey and an agreeable summer.” (Vol. xiv. f. 92.)

LORD MANSFIELD to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1757, November 30.—“The French have insisted that Count Poniatowski should be recalled from Petersburg, which may hasten the sending Keith, and the orders may be sudden. I took therefore the resolution of speaking to him to-day, first by way

of asking his advice upon the general plan, which he said a great deal for under all the circumstances. So far his opinion confirms our ideas. I then mentioned to him the carrying Lord Tichfield. He very readily undertook to do everything in his power to make it agreeable to Lord Tichfield. He is not to say a syllable of it. He proposes going to Hamburgh in a man-of-war. He applauds his taking but one servant with him. As to all voitures he don't think of any till he come to Hamburgh. I have in secrecy talked to Czartoryski upon it. He advises it very much upon the single point of Lord Stormont. As to the rest he will put Lord Tichfield into the hands of his sister, and give her very particular instructions. From some letters of hers which he has shewn me, she appears to have all the parts and good sense of her family. But though Keith's departure may be soon, it likewise may not. In the meantime the secret will be absolutely kept. I have asked Keith to dine with me next Friday, and I wish Lord Tichfield would meet him. This is properly a note to Lord Tichfield, though I address it to your Grace." (*ib.* f. 97.)

#### EXTRACT of a LETTER from NAPLES.

1760, December 24. Naples.—“Last Tuesday morning, as I was sitting in my chamber about half an hour after eleven, on a sudden the servants of the house came running into my room, the windows of which command a most noble prospect of Mount Vesuvius and all the circular shores and islands of the Bay of Naples. If I could draw like —— I would send you on this paper a view of this mountain; but as it is, must desire you to help me out by imagining to yourself a mountain higher in itself than most either in England or Wales, but at that time greatly increased in its stature by a dreadful Prussian grenadier's cap of most black smoke, which at that time rose suddenly from its head to the height of many hundred yards perpendicular up to the highest regions of the air. The morning till that instant had been most pleasant and the mountain most quiet and serene. Five minutes after another vast cloud, not indeed black as that on the mountain-top, but rather whitish, burst from the plains about four miles from the mountain, near the sea coast, and about five miles from Herculaneum. In a quarter of an hour the whole horizon from the point of Vesuvius to Caprea, which is said to be farther than from Dover to Calais, was covered (as it continues to this hour, Thursday, one o'clock in the afternoon) in a thick fog, in one part mixed with great surges of flame continually rising and falling. I had liked to have seen this phenomenon to a greater advantage or rather disadvantage, for that very morning Mr. L—— and Mr. F—— (with whom I have had the pleasure of seeing most of the curiosities near Naples) had set out to see the top of Vesuvius, and I should probably have been of the party, if I had not been apprehensive of the great fatigue of so long a walk. When they had reached the Hermit's house, which is a considerable way up Vesuvius (what a situation for a man to choose for his residence during life!) they were informed by him that the last night there



had been a considerable earthquake there, his cottage having shook with it, which to him (who had so studied the mountain) was a plain indication that there would be a considerable eruption within two or three days. From this cottage they proceeded with many weary steps up towards the summit, within 50 paces of which they arrived at half an hour after eleven, when they were surprised with a sudden discharge of ten thousand subterranean cannon under their feet, the ground shaking and pouring forth smoke on all sides with hot water and some red-hot stones. After having contemplated this unexpected scene for some minutes (for all their guides but one had deserted them in the smoke) they began to make as expeditious a retreat as they could in sliding down the sandy side of the mountain, which roared and rocked under them, and now and then not without terror casting up their eyes to that dreadful pitchy cloud which thundered over their heads; nor was it without the greatest fatigue and some bruises that they arrived safe at Naples in the afternoon. By that time news was arrived here of the other much worse particulars of this eruption. All the eruptions before this have been on the point or in some high part of the sides of this tremendous mountain; but the scene of the greatest danger is at present totally changed. About four or five miles distant from the summit of it and about fourteen from Naples, in the middle of a fine plain thick set with large vineyards and farm-houses, this eruption of a sudden broke out, and that immediately under the floor of one of the houses. What is become of that house I need not tell you: the place of it and of seventeen other scattered houses with a palazzo of Signor Corti, and a tract of land of thirty vineyards, is not to be found now. The whole space is taken up by a fiery river, or rather lake, of five miles in length and near two in breadth, rising at one end from thirteen fiery sources and slowly rolling itself, not without great noise, towards the sea, which it is now very nearly arrived at. Sir James Gray, who has been the British Minister here for several years, has never seen before such a spectacle. But how would you have been afflicted with it, and with all the cries, lamentations and desolation of the poor inhabitants. What is surprising, we do not as yet hear of one life being lost, and all danger of further eruptions is now judged to be passed. What is still more surprising, the fiery inundation (or lava, as it is called here) is at present become an object not so much of terror as curiosity. I attended Mr. T. F—— and some other English to the banks of this Cocytus or Phlegethon last night [Dec. 24]. We set out from hence as it grew dark, and in about three hours (through crowded roads) reached it. As we approached, the view was exactly like what the design generally is of the print before the first book of *Paradise Lost*; but the appearance was totally different as we came nearer. We ventured not indeed to the mouth of the volcano, but left it above two miles on our left; we saw, however, sufficient of its smoke and flames, and heard enough of its thunder. You cannot imagine a more dreadful spectacle than the quantities of ignited stones which were continually casting up from it like the flying in the air of red-hot bombs in a

siege. The sight of it, even at the distance of Naples from it (which is ten long miles) is even still more terrible (I write this after sunset the night after Christmas Day). The vast *jets d'eau* of red fire blaze across the Bay of Naples, and by the reflexion of the sea form the most infernal night-prospect; no *jet d'eau* ever cast itself up to half the height. What is scarce credible, a person near the volcano counted four hundred between the time of a great fiery stone being projected to its fall again; its roarings are heard most distinctly even here: such is this new volcano. As for the fiery river that flows from it, it bears very improperly that name, we approached within ten or twenty yards, and might have gone up close to it, as we saw several persons, without the least danger, but we saw not the least mark of anything liquid. Imagine an immense mass of solid burning materials above two thousand yards in breadth and full eight thousand in length, and in height not quite twenty feet; its surface and sides appear fiery only in the night; by day it is covered with dust and smoke; this mass is continually protruded on by an unaccountable power; its motion, indeed, is most slow, scarce now advancing six feet in an hour, but still irresistible, beating down houses, walls etc. The place where we saw it was where it has rolled across the road leading from Calabria to Naples, one of the greatest roads in this kingdom; this road is walled on each side, and thick set with houses and gardens, but the road is now absolutely lost under this vast fiery bank, which is heaped up across it three or four feet higher than the walls, which are about fourteen feet high on each side of the road, and indeed without anything like banks to support its immense weight; consequently its fiery materials are continually falling down from its sides, which discover the flames within, and with the crashing of walls and other edifices that fall before it form a continued most horrid roar. Is there not part of the music in 'Sampson' that expresses something of this kind? But the most horrid scene is that part of the country where this fiery bank has rolled through some woods; the heat having dried all the neighbouring trees, they are continually catching fire one after another, and with the rising of their flames and sound of their fall add perpetually something of fresh terror even to such a scene as this. Indeed I know not how to say I wish you here: we had three small earthquakes the night before last, and know not what will happen when this vast rolling fiery mass shall have reached the sea. It was expected to have fallen into the sea last night, and that very near the place where Pliny's fleet anchored in the first most dreadful eruption in the time of Titus—pray turn to Pliny's Epistles and read the description of it: it is, as you know, in the letter to Tacitus. But I cannot go on; the volcano roars and flames still more terrible, and the summit of the mountain is beginning now to flash with flames of the swiftest whitest lightning.—I take up the pen again, the flames being greatly abated. The Neapolitans, who are used to such spectacles, are very much pleased, as they say, with every eruption, as they think it prevents something much worse. Besides, they say that for one acre of ground which it destroys it fertilizes an hundred. But these observations, though



true I believe, are never made before the fury of the volcano is past. This eruption, however, as we find again this day, is not past; the mountain has been roaring with its subterranean thunder all this day (Dec. 26), and all the windows of the houses throughout Naples have a fresh shock almost every moment. It grows more violent this evening, and gives the more apprehension as all the flames on the mountain or plain are now almost extinguished (6 o'clock in the afternoon), which makes us fear that the eruption is choked up, and struggling for a fresh vent. It resembles exactly the distant discharge of minute guns. The houses shake as those at Westminster on firing the Park guns, excepting only that the discharge of this subterranean artillery is more frequent, above three times each minute. The Solfatara, too, which lies as far from Naples on one side as this eruption does on the other, begins to show marks of its being disturbed with it; all its waters almost boil. December 27.—Excuse me for continuing this black journal; to-day, indeed, the mountain is quiet after a very rough night; orders, however, are given from Court for the cessation of all diversions; opera houses, etc., to be shut for the space of nine days; processions, etc., ordered. A thick cloud of white smoke still hangs over one whole side of the great Bay of Naples. Just now we hear that another mouth is burst open near the new volcano, but everything here is quiet. I hope we shall not have such a night as last night: for many hours the roar and shocks were almost uninterrupted. There has not been such an eruption since the year '37. The prayers of the inhabitants seem to have prevailed, and instead of tending towards the sea the fiery deluge spreads itself over the plain only; several new hills have been cast up by it, of some hundred feet in height; we hope it is now all over. December 28-29.—Being the seventh day of the eruption, all quiet except only that the summit of Vesuvius begins now to cast out some flames and volleys of red-hot stones in a greater degree than it has for some time. The new volcano on the plain is greatly abated. This night both mountain and plain are quiet."

"December 30.—I cannot send you this letter without taking notice to you that there is no danger at present here at Naples, the new volcano being full fourteen miles distant." (Vol. xviii. ff. 183-8.)

#### ALEXANDER MURRAY to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1770, June 13.—"Lord Rockingham called yesterday twice on Lord Mansfield, and found him at night. The business was from the Duke of Portland, who had come to town that morning to speak to him, for Lord Rockingham the day before had dined at Kenwood, and then knew nothing; it was in consequence of your Grace's letter an earnest solicitation to Lord Mansfield to accept of the mediation. Lord Mansfield told him that he had heard from your Grace, and that he had seen the letter to you and your answer, but that for many reasons he had absolutely excused himself from being a referee between you. But in the course of

the conversation he said he had a strong desire to do every service of friendship to your Grace and the Duke of Portland, and would have no objection to see the Duke of Portland and him, the Marquess, and consider with them what might be just and fair and honourable for the Duke to do or wish; that he should have no difficulty in saying to them where he thought him in the wrong and why, because, if he should not be convinced, there was no hurt done, but that he should have great difficulty in telling your Grace how much he was in the wrong. This was accepted with great joy and as what the Marquess thought would be very agreeable to the Duke. We entered a little into the business, and the Marquess agreed strongly that all past accounts must be immediately settled. Lord Mansfield hopes that great good may arise from this, and that it cannot possibly do any hurt; he said that he took for granted your Grace had informed the Duke of his having declined the reference." (Vol. xiv. f. 115.)

JAMES BEATTIE to the DUCHESS DOWAGER OF PORTLAND.

1773, August 7. Arno's Grove.—"Your Grace's letter came to hand yesterday; but the post was gone out for London before I received it. The concern you are pleased to take in my affairs does me the greatest honour, and demands from me the warmest sentiments of gratitude, in which I hope I shall never be deficient. Of all the anxieties with which this long delay has been attended, none has given me greater concern than that it has put it out of my power to pay my respects to your Grace at Bullstrove so soon as I intended. I am afraid I must now give up all thoughts of availing myself of your kind invitation till after your return from Weymouth. My affairs are still in suspense, and I know not how long they may continue so: though I do expect every day to receive some intelligence in regard to their final determination. I had a letter from Lord Dartmouth about ten days ago, informing me that in a very few days they would be concluded, and that, if I should after that have occasion for information or advice, the proper person to apply to would be Mr. Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury. From this and from other circumstances I would flatter myself that I have reason to expect a favourable conclusion at last: but this delay, which none of my friends can account for, bears very hard upon me, and by the anxieties, which it is not possible for me to guard against, has greatly impaired my health, as well as Mrs. Beattie's. Mrs. Montagu writes me that she intends to go to Tunbridge next week, as her health for some time past has been very indifferent. She has the goodness to ask Mrs. Beattie and me to go along with her; which would certainly be of very great consequence to us both; for our complaints arise chiefly from stomach-disorders, which the waters of that place are said to be very effectual in removing. But whether it will be in our power to accomplish this, we cannot as yet determine. I intend to go to town on Tuesday next, and endeavour, if possible, to procure access to some of the people in



power (for Lord Dartmouth, I hear, is gone into Staffordshire), and I would fain hope I shall be able either to prevail with them to bring my business to a conclusion, or to obtain their permission to go for a week or two to Tunbridge for the recovery of my health. As soon as any change happens in my affairs or situation, I will do myself the honour to inform your Grace of it. Mrs. Beattie joins me in offering most respectful compliments to your Grace and to Mrs. Delany." (*Ib.* f. 128.)

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## HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,  
CHANCERY LANE,  
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HIS MAJESTY THE KING has been pleased to ratify and confirm the terms of the Commission issued by Her late Majesty, appointing certain Commissioners to ascertain what unpublished MSS. are extant in the collections of private persons and in institutions which are calculated to throw light upon subjects connected with the Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, or Scientific History of this country; and to appoint certain additional Commissioners for the same purposes. The present Commissioners are:—

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R. A. ROBERTS, *Secretary.*



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This Report has been edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by Mrs. S. C. Lomas, who has also compiled the index.

## INTRODUCTION.

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THE papers calendared in the present volume are those which now rank as Vols. I. and II. of the Harley Papers at Longleat (*see* Report on the Marquess of Bath's MSS., vol. i., Introduction, p. i) under the title of "Select Autograph Letters, &c., 1516 to the middle of the 18th century." In the Catalogue of the Longleat MSS. in Report iii of the Hist. MSS. Commission, they are placed under the heading of "Letters, &c., in the Library."

These Harley papers were taken to Longleat by the Lady Elizabeth Bentinck (eldest daughter of the 2nd Duke of Portland, and grand-daughter of the 2nd Earl of Oxford), who married Thomas, Viscount Weymouth, afterwards created Marquis of Bath.

Some of these "Select Autographs"—viz., those of the 16th century—were seen by Strype, and many of them were printed, or partially printed, by him in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Life of Cranmer, &c.* He gives them as being "*penes D. G. H. Eq. aur.*" No name with these initials is found amongst his list of sources, but in the Preface to the *Memorials* he states that he has had access to the papers "of a gentleman of quality, descended from a secretary of the Lord Treasurer Burghley under Queen Elizabeth." This secretary was Michael Hicks, and the gentleman of quality was Sir William Hicks, of Ruckholt, bart.—i.e., "*Dominus Guillelmus Hicks, Eques auratus,*" this being the exact form in which his name appears upon his monument.

It is evident that Strype not only had the perusal of these documents, but got possession of them. He stated that some of the Ruckholt papers had actually been given to him by Sir William, others being a loan. The statement was in reference to what are known as the Fox papers, but no doubt it applied to the Hicks papers as well. In 1699 Sir William was declared a lunatic; the papers remained in Strype's hands, and in 1711 he sold the Fox papers, and evidently the Hicks papers also, to Robert Harley. [*See article on Strype in the Dict. Nat. Biog.*]

The Fox papers were included in the collection sold to the British Museum, but the Hicks papers, or most of them, remained at Welbeck until carried, with others, to Longleat by Lady Elizabeth. What her method of selection was we cannot tell, but that there was a selection is evident from the fact that many of these early papers are endorsed with Roman numerals of a distinctive type, and that numerals of exactly the same form are found upon papers still at Welbeck—viz., those calendared in Vol. II. of the Report on the Portland MSS., under the heading of "Royal and other letters and papers" (pp. 5-21).

The papers of the time of Henry VIII. include three sign manuals of the King and five letters from Cardinal Wolsey, all signed by himself, and one of them holograph. Also letters from the Princess Mary, Archbishop Cranmer, the Earl of Southampton, Thomas



Cromwell, and Richard Pace, the ambassador ; all signed originals, and most of them holograph. Such of these as have been printed by Strype are only briefly calendared in the present volume ; a long and interesting despatch from Wolsey to William Knight, ambassador with the Archduchess Margaret, has, however, been given in full (p. 1), as it is only partially printed by Strype, and Mr. Brewer, in his Calendar, lamented that the original had not been found.

Of the reign of Edward VI. there are many letters from Archbishop Cranmer to Cecil, and a letter from the Earl of Warwick to Lord Chamberlain Darcy, in relation to the proposed match between the young King and the Lady Isobel of France (p. 11).

Philip and Mary's reign is characteristically represented by an order for the bestowal upon Weybridge Church of certain "parcels of stuff" for use in the ancient services of the church, now restored, consisting of two vestments, "with all the apparels," and three altar frontals.

A detailed description of two of the frontals is given. Each of them was apparently composed of seven strips—a purple velvet one, "with roses crowned" in the centre, and three other strips, of cloth of gold, white baudekin and purple baudekin, on each side—suggesting the idea that they had been "composed" from materials in the royal wardrobe, including embroideries bearing the Tudor rose. It was not an uncommon thing for dresses to be given or bequeathed in order to be utilized for the services of the church.\* It is, of course, possible that they were old goods of the church found and restored, but it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion in the matter, as, unfortunately, the 1552 inventory for Weybridge is lacking in the fine Surrey series, and we have only the certificate in 1553, stating that one chalice, a vestment, and a cloth for the communion table had been left for the use of the church ; two chalices and the latten and brass "received to the King's use," and "all the ornaments" sold to one John Bagnall (*Augmentation Office Misc. Books*, Vol. 511).

These early papers were doubtless "collected" by Michael Hicks, who as secretary to Lord Burghley, and afterwards to Sir Robert Cecil, would have unusual facilities for obtaining possession of old documents ; but with the reign of Elizabeth we come to papers which probably came directly into Hicks' hands.

On p. 16 is a letter from Cecil to Randolph, English agent in Scotland, sent at the same time as a memorial now at Hatfield (*See Calendar of Cecil MSS.*, i, 258), warmly seconding its object, but giving Randolph powers to "suspend" any parts of its contents which he might think mete not to put before the Scottish government. Following this is a pathetic note from Katherine Gray, sister of Lady Jane, to her imprisoned husband, the young Earl of Hertford, and a long and interesting letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Queen touching the "waytye matter" of her Majesty's marriage. The Archduke, Don Carlos, with whom negotiations were on foot, had demanded freedom to practice his own religion, using

\* Thus, Sir Ralph Verney, in his will, made in 1525, left the gowns of his second wife "to make vestments." *Verney Memoirs*, i, 38.

the argument that foreign ambassadors in England had such liberty. But there was a great difference, Norfolk said, between the Queen's husband and an ambassador, "who neither cares for us nor we for him, longer than the time of his negotiation," and of whose doings "no man takes patterne." And of one thing he was certain:—"Ingland cane beare no more changys in relygyon; ytt hathe bene bowyd so ofte that yff ytt schuld be bente ageyn, ytt wolde breke." But he believed it would not be difficult to persuade the Prince to abandon his demands after the marriage was concluded, and, all things considered, was in favour of the alliance (*cf.*, a letter written to Cecil at this same time, preserved amongst the State Papers. S. P., Dom. Eliz., XLIV., 42).

Two papers in what may be termed the Hicks portion of the collection have relation to Mary Queen of Scots. The first is the drawing of a shield, boldly blazoned in heraldic colours, of Queen Mary's own arms of Scotland and France, but bearing a scutcheon of pretence with the arms of England as used by Elizabeth—*i.e.*, of England and France quarterly. This is endorsed by Cecil: "The first devise to sett the armes of England in the Scot. Quene's name."

The second is a much more interesting document. It is endorsed: "A note of things written in the glasse windowes at Buxtons," and is a sort of diagram in four columns. The windows were probably those of the great guest hall which had been lately built by the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose custody Mary then was. It will be recollected that he several times obtained permission to take his charge there, rather against Elizabeth's inclination, and that the latter was much annoyed by persons of quality resorting thither at the time of the Scots Queen's visits.

The contents of the diagram are very varied:—Anagrams of the names of the Queen and the young King of Scots; monograms of their initials; verses written either by or in the name of the Queen, bemoaning her sad lot, and others in honour of St. Anna (the patron saint of the wells) and of Buxton itself; lines in Latin, French, Italian or English by various well-known people of the time, and little sketches of flowers with appropriate words. The dates are 1573, 1575, 1576, and 1580, these being precisely the years when Queen Mary was at Buxton; and amongst the contributors to this curious "album" are the Queen herself, the Earls of Leicester and Pembroke, Lord and Lady Talbot (Shrewsbury's son and daughter-in-law), Sir W. Knollys, the Countesses of Essex and Sussex, and James Nau, the Queen's secretary. Amongst the verses written by Nau are six lines of Greek, of which Mr. Blackburne-Daniell has kindly offered the following version:—

"Hail, ye nymphs of the holy springs of Buxton,  
Hail, ye fair-haired nymphs of the mountains!  
For the Goddess, the Queen of the Muses and Graces,  
Came to your spring, the soother of pains.  
There the maidens from the band of chaste Artemis  
Bathed her and anointed her with ambrosial oil."

The drawings are by a man who signs T. G., or in one case T. Gter (or Gler). Probably the whole sheet is in one handwriting, but there is an evident attempt to imitate the signatures; that of Leicester, for instance, being remarkably like his own hand.



Nau's signature raises a rather interesting point. It occurs twice, clearly written "Jac. Nau fac," whereas the Christian name of Queen Mary's secretary is usually stated to be Claude, and is so given in the *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*. He signs his letters with his surname only, and amongst the State Papers relating to the Queen of Scots at the Public Record Office, I have only in one instance found the Christian name, but in that one instance the name is James, not Claude. In October, 1581, Queen Mary issued a commission to Dr. Betoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, and others, to negotiate concerning her son's claims, and one of the commissioners was "nostre cher et bien ame Jacques Nau, conseiller et secretaire de noz communes finances." Father Stevenson, who saw this commission, notes (in his edition of the Fragment of Nau's History of Mary Stuart) that it shows that the Queen had two Naus in her service. But it is improbable that the second Nau, if he existed, should have filled exactly the same offices as his more distinguished relative. We find no mention of another amongst the Queen's household, nor, in any of the very numerous allusions to "Nau the secretary" in the correspondence of those about the Queen, is there the slightest hint that there were two of the name. It is unlikely that the more important man would be passed over and the less important chosen for such a commission as that above mentioned, especially bearing in mind that *the* Nau was employed by his mistress on a mission into Scotland shortly afterwards; and equally unlikely that Queen Mary would take both Naus with her to Buxton, considering how very few attendants she was allowed there.

The occurrence of Claude as Nau's Christian name in the *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse* might be accounted for in two ways. It may be a mistake originating in a confusion between Secretary Nau, ennobled by Henry IV., and the better known family in Anjou, whose head at this time bore the name of Claude. The compiler of the Dictionary does not seem himself to have consulted the original authorities, as he gives his statement "suivant un memoire domestique qui nous a ete communiqué." On the other hand, Nau's name may have been Jacques Claude, and he may have elected to drop the first of these when he received the title of Sieur de la Boisselière.

Shrewsbury's guest hall was burnt down in 1670, and there is no mention of these writings in any of the old notices of Buxton. Possibly they were destroyed at the time of the Scottish Queen's death.

Passing by original letters of Archbishop Whitgift and Sir Francis Drake, printed by Strype, and of Sir Walter Raleigh, printed in Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, we come to two letters in relation to the dispute at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1588, when Anthony Hickman was put out of his fellowship. The first of these letters is from the Archbishop to Burghley (Chancellor of the University), upholding the Master's action against Hickman; the second from Hickman himself, protesting that the proceedings were contrary to the statutes of the College (pp. 29, 30).

On pp. 32 *et seq.* are three letters from Thomas Bodley, the Queen's agent and counsellor at the Hague, written in 1589, after

Lord Willoughby had resigned his command in the Netherlands, leaving Sir Francis Vere in charge of the English forces there, but without the status of his predecessors; the supreme command, formerly divided between Maurice of Nassau and the English General, being now vested in the young Prince alone. Bodley wrote of Maurice in very warm terms, and gave the new titles bestowed upon him by the States General, "high-born Prince," "your Princely Grace" and "your Excellency." As to this last, however, the States had resolved, after the departure of the Earl of Leicester at the end of 1587, that Maurice should have the title of Excellency, and he is constantly so addressed and denominated in the papers of 1588.

When Bodley wrote, Sir Francis Vere was about to start with Count Neuwenar (or the Count de Mœurs, as the English generally called him) to the relief of Rheinberg. His second letter relates the successful encounter of the English with the enemy, as a result of which provisions were safely taken into Rheinberg.

Some further enterprise against Gröningen was at this time projected, and counsel had been taken thereupon with Colonel Sonoy, who is best known for his determined opposition to the States' authority, at Medemblicq, after the Earl of Leicester's resignation. The enterprise was said to be both "easy and assured," requiring only secrecy and speed, but Bodley had had too many negotiations with the States to be very sanguine; knowing how often they built "great assurances upon slender likelihoods." Just at this point there arrived the news of the death of Count Neuwenar and of the rising discontent of the followers of the famous free lance, Martin Schenk, two facts of very ill omen as regards future successes in that direction.

These three letters fill up a gap in the series of Bodley's despatches at the Public Record Office.

Passing at this point from warlike operations abroad to measures of defence at home, we have a thoughtful letter from the Earl of Pembroke concerning the protection of Milford Haven, then a port of great importance, especially in regard to traffic with Ireland. He advocated a strong guard of able soldiers rather than "dead fortifications," consisting of petty blockhouses with a few warders in them, seeing that three thousand men might withstand the landing of the enemy when a hundred thousand could not expel them if they were once there (p. 35).

The next letters are from Sir Robert Cecil (congratulating Hicks on his absence from the Court, which had been given up to tedious suits and suitors) and from Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, enumerating the many wants of the troops in Ireland, and praying Hicks to "remember" the Treasurer of the matter.

These are followed by letters from Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins to Burghley on the subject of the prize carrack, *Madre de Dios*, and by others from Raleigh, which, being only partially and not very accurately printed by Strype and Edwards, are here given in full.

A curious document, doubtfully dated, but endorsed 1595, is a fragment of *Titus Andronicus*, partly taken from the 1st act, partly from the 5th, with a delicate pen and ink drawing above, the whole



being, as stated in the old endorsement, in the hand of Henry Peacham, the author and artist (p. 43).

Under date July 8, 1596, is a spirited and detailed account by Lord Admiral Howard of the descent on Cadiz, the taking or burning of the ships there, and the capture of the town. The only person of note lost in this exploit was Sir John Wingfield (brother-in-law of Lord Willoughby), who "was hurte first without the towne, where he did most bravelie, and yet would needes enter the towne with the Earle, and in the markett place was shott into the head and died presentlie." Thus this brave but not very wise man atoned for his surrender of Geertrudenberg to the Spaniards in 1589.

The first document of James I.'s reign is a signed letter from the King himself, confirming Sir Henry Cocke in the place of Cofferer of the Household, which he had held under the late Queen. This is followed by a note of the later stages of the new King's journey to his capital.

In August, 1603, a short holograph note, written to Hicks, gives Cecil's opinion on the result of the investigation of the charges against Cobham, Raleigh and their companions.

"Whatever you hear of innocency, know they are all in the King's mercy. For Sir W. Raleigh, his contempts are high, howsoever his crimes may fall *in foro judicii*."

This was, perhaps, written on the receipt of a letter from Sir W. Waad, deputy-lieutenant of the Tower and commissioner for examining the suspected persons, stating that their late labours had greatly implicated Raleigh (*See Cal. S. P. Dom. under date August 24*).

Whether Cecil believed in his guilt or not, he proved himself a good friend to Raleigh in his disgrace, as is shown by many letters in the Hatfield collection. The popular view of Raleigh's religious opinions (although a very mistaken one) is probably expressed by the doggerel verses ascribed to him, printed on p. 52.

A short holograph letter from Raleigh to Hicks, written in November, 1604, is followed by a longer and more important one, without address (p. 54). A cancelled endorsement appears to suggest that it was written to Sir Robert Carr, but this is hardly possible.

In Raleigh's well-known letter of Dec., 1608, he distinctly says that he knows Carr only "by an honorable fame," but in the letter on p. 54, evidently written at an earlier date, he speaks of a personal meeting with his correspondent. The King's grants, to which he alludes, were made in July, 1604; his hope that the King has been told that when Cobham expected death (in 1603) he withdrew his charges against Raleigh, would seem to point to a time not very long after that time, probably to the end of 1604. His correspondent was a man in power, of influence with the King, and offering some composition to Raleigh. On the whole, Cecil seems best to fulfil the requirements (*cf., letters in Edward's "Life," II., 303, 311, 316, and especially a letter of Jan., 1608, p. 323*), in which Raleigh demurs to making certain grants, and mentions Mr. Thelwall as negotiating between himself and Salisbury); but some points in the letter militate against this theory, and Raleigh had many suits at different times about his lands. It is even possible that the letter may relate to his negotiation with the Earl of Cork for his

Irish lands, a negotiation which was only brought to a close after the confiscation and assignment of his English estate in 1604. One difficulty in regard to so early a date as 1604 is that Raleigh had then only one son—Walter, born in 1693, Carew, the second boy, not being born until the beginning of 1604–5; but as Lady Raleigh was known to be with child, Sir Walter might think of it as in existence, though not yet born into the world. Otherwise, the letter cannot be earlier than 1604–5, which would preclude the possibility of its being addressed to Lord Cork. The next letter from Raleigh is that already alluded to, written to Sir Robert Carr upon the news that the favourite had obtained a grant of the Sherborne estate (p. 56). It is given in full, as there are several verbal differences between this copy and that at the British Museum, from which it was printed by Edwards. There is one more letter of Raleigh's in the collection (p. 64), but it has been printed by Edwards.

A letter from Sir Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, to Prince Henry, written in December, 1608, after many complimentary expressions, states that he had sent his lately married son, Lord Cranbourne, abroad, having "broken Moses' law, by which the married couple should for the first year rejoice together" (p. 56).

In one of Chamberlain's letters amongst the State Papers, written on Dec. 9, there is a reference to the same matter (*S. P. Dom. James I., Vol. XXXVIII., 17*).

On p. 57 is a letter from Queen Anne of Denmark to her husband, undated, as are most of her extant letters. Her statement that she had no maids of honour, and her suit about her Chamberlain, appear to point to the very beginning of the reign; but she was with the King in his progress to Salisbury in 1603; also her promise to reform what was amiss at Oatlands would fit better after the King had given her that house, in 1611.

In 1615 she was to have met the King at Salisbury, but being indisposed, went to the Bath instead; but there is no reason to believe that at that time she was without maids of honour. The internal evidence being so conflicting, the letter has been calendared just where it stands in the volume.

In two letters to the Prince of Wales, widely differing in character, Sir Edward Cecil gives the latest news from the Low Countries, and Dr. Donne, with many high-flown expressions, offers one of his books for his Highness' acceptance (pp. 58, 59).

In the summer of 1611, Sir William Monson reports the capture of Lady Arabella Stuart and her ladies, on their way to France, and the absence of all news of her husband, Mr. Seymour, in the *Charles*; and a year later Prince Henry lays before his father his views concerning matrimonial negotiations with France and Spain, and the Marquis of Hamilton offers his thanks to the Prince for support of his claim to the Duchy of Chatelherault (pp. 59, 60, 62).

In this year, 1612, the Earl of Salisbury died; Michael Hicks ceased to be secretary, and it is impossible to say how the documents of the next three or four decades came into the Harley collection.

On p. 61 is a very curious advertisement of a "raffle," at which many rare and costly things were to be won by "chance at dice," and where ladies were promised a separate room, "and a banquet



for them that venture money." The whole thing looks like a plan to evade the laws against gambling. One of the articles mentioned is a "china bedstead;" the word china at that time meaning not only porcelain, but what we now call lacquer-work.

There are several original letters from Sir Henry Wotton, but all have been printed in the *Reliquiæ*, excepting one to Lord Treasurer Suffolk, dated from Venice in 1618, and describing the "horror and confusion" there on discovery of a conspiracy planned by the French. In the general panic, when men were being strangled, drowned and hanged, Sir Henry thought that he himself had had rather a narrow escape, as it was hardly to have been expected that "in the common massacre [of foreigners], public ministers would have been distinguished from other men" (p. 66).

On p. 63 is a letter from the Earl of Suffolk advocating the claims of the Old Merchant Adventurers' Company against its younger rival, and this is followed by a holograph note from the young Electress Palatine to her "only dear brother," Prince Charles, and two letters from her husband the Elector to King James, giving an account of his negotiations with the Princes of the Empire in connexion with the approaching election of the Emperor, for which high office the Duke of Bavaria and Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, were the chief candidates. As is well known, Ferdinand won the Imperial crown, but lost Bohemia in doing so. In both letters Frederic alludes to the approaching "heureux accouchement" of his "tres chere compaignon," the King's daughter (pp. 64-66).

There is one other letter from the Electress (under her later title of Queen of Bohemia) written on the death of the Earl of Southampton in 1624 (p. 73).

Bearing date "Midsummer Eve, 1618," is a gossiping letter of news. The Spanish complaints against Raleigh; rumours as to the "pretenders" for the vacant office of Secretary of State, in which the name of the successful candidate, Sir George Calvert, does not appear; the Star Chamber censure on a "minister of London," for Jewish opinions, the new creation of peers, and Buckingham's hospitalities to King and Prince are all touched upon in turn (p. 67).

Towards the end of 1621, the Duc de Rohan addressed an urgent appeal to King James on behalf of the French huguenots, which forms a curious contrast to the two letters from the Marquis of Buckingham to his "dear dad and gossope," which immediately follow it. Both these letters are holograph, and signed "Your Majesties most humble slave and doge Steenie" (pp. 70, 71).

Only two documents in the collection bear upon the Spanish match—a letter written when it seemed almost a *fait accompli*, and a list of the very magnificent "gifts and presents" of Prince Charles at his departure out of Spain (pp. 71, 72).

The documents of the time of the Long Parliament and Civil War are few and miscellaneous. They include two letters from Secretary Windebank to his eldest son, written after his flight to France (pp. 75, 76); a letter from Sir Kenelm Digby to Sir Robert Harley, praying for his help in obtaining release from constraint (p. 77); holograph notes—(1) from Prince Maurice on behalf of certain merchants, and (2) from King Charles to one of his nephews, probably

Maurice, then in the West (p. 78); and lastly, a letter from Lord Craven to Major-Gen. Massey in relation to Massey's project of taking service under the States of Venice (p. 79). This last has the two small black seals over strands of silk, so familiar to readers of the letters of the Queen of Bohemia.

The above letters may have been gathered together by one or another member of the Harley family, but at this point we come to a series of papers which have found their way into the collection from quite a different source—viz., the correspondence and other papers of Col. Gervase Holles. It will be remembered that Edward, 2nd Lord Harley, married Henrietta, daughter and heir of John Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle. These letters were probably amongst her family papers. Running parallel with them is another series, consisting of holograph letters from Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, mostly addressed to his wife, immediately before and during his embassy to Spain (with Lord Cottington), in 1649–51. It might be surmised that these letters were sent by Lady Hyde to Col. Holles and never returned; but there are also later letters from Clarendon to his daughter-in-law, written during his exile; it is, perhaps, therefore, more likely that they were acquired by the Harleys in a different way. Hyde's letters, beginning at an earlier date than the Holles correspondence, may be taken first. He writes to his wife very affectionately, lamenting his absence, and looking eagerly forward to the time when they shall be together again. Meanwhile, he implores her repeatedly not to be "melancolique," but as merry as possible, promising her that although she is now very "lean," yet if she will be cheerful and drink chocolate in the morning, she will grow fat. From France he wrote that, though he could not complain of the air, yet he was not at all taken with the delights of the country, and preferred "old England," for meat, drink, lodging, and even for wine. As the travellers approached Spain the weather became stormy and cold. At St. Sebastian, which they reached at the end of October, they could get no fire, were laughed at "for asking for a chimney," and were compelled to "clap on" as many garments as they possibly could, to keep themselves warm. "This," exclaimed Sir Edward, "is your hot air of Spain." On their tedious journey to Madrid, they found the accommodation so bad, that, as he said, the little inn in his village of Picton at home was better than the best in that country. They reached the capital in time to see the "gallantry and glory" of the entertainments attending the Spanish Queen's entry there, and as the spring approached the climate became much more to Hyde's liking, the weather in February being warmer than an English May.

In the autumn, Hyde had hoped that King Charles would go to Ireland, and quickly gain possession of the island (p. 84), but after this project was abandoned he became much less sanguine about the future. Meanwhile, he thought it wiser and more honest for the King's followers to leave England, the "madness" there being such that he did not see how they could "sleep quietly in that cursed air, or be long out of a gaol," except by straining their consciences.



In his letter of March 25, 1650, is the following passage :—

"That thou mayest see how ill a husbände I am in comparison of others, we have a whole English family comminge to this towne. Dick Fanshaw, whome I gave over for lost in Ireland, this last night writt to me, that he and his wife are landed at Malaga . . . and are comminge hither as fast as they can. What they will do heare, or how they will be able to lyve, God knowes ; that woman will undoe him ; if he had come by himselfe he should have bene with us and wanted nothing ; but he had neede have brought good store of money with him to keepe such a trayne. Though I would purchase thy company at any pryce that is in my power to pay, I assure thee I do not wish thee heare with me, it beinge I thinke, the most uncomfortable place for women to lyve in that is in the world" (p. 89).

There is a letter to Nicholas on the same subject in the *Clarendon State Papers* (Vol. iii., p. 16).

Fanshaw was sent to Hyde and Cottington by the King, but although he remained with them for some time in Madrid, nothing was accomplished, the Spaniards being put to such shifts to provide themselves with money that they had nothing to spare save good words and professions ; therefore, in the July of 1650, Fanshaw was sent back to the King (*see Report on Mr. Heathcote's MSS.*, pp. 3, 4). At this time, Hyde was seriously thinking of trying to sell some of his lands at Picton, by treaty between Lady Hyde's brother, Will Aylesbury, and his friend Mr. Ash—an influential member of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents. If a reasonable sum could be got for it, it would be no ill husbandry, for "whosoever lookes to have it given to them by their new state will be glad of a better title by his consent whose in truth it is." In this point, Hyde argued truly enough. A very reasonable anxiety was felt as to the safety of the tenure (held from an authority which might at any time come to an end) of lands whose rightful owners would certainly claim them if the King came to his own again,\* and the Trustees at Drury House often had great difficulty in finding purchasers for the property of the so-called traitors.

At the end of February, 1651, Hyde was at last able to leave Madrid and set out for home. This time the journey was taken alone, for Lord Cottington liked the Spanish air so well that he had taken a house in Valladolid, and intended to live and die there (p. 95). Cottington had spent much time in the country in earlier days, first as secretary to the English Embassy, and then as envoy, but he was not destined to enjoy the Spanish air much longer, as he died in 1652.

Hyde was detained some time on his way home by a severe attack of the gout (p. 96), but reached Antwerp at the beginning of June. During his absence, his wife had taken a fresh house. The only two wishes expressed by Hyde on this subject were : that he must have a study, and, if possible, a garden. His letters show the patience and brave endurance of hardships, characteristic of the King's chief followers as a whole in that sad time of exile. So long as he had his wife and children with him he could live with great content on very little ; indeed, he desired nothing so much as to

\* See, for instance, the case of certain purchasers of Lord Hopton's land, who conceived themselves secured by a grant from Hopton himself, and declared that they would never have paid the sums they did "for a mere Drury-House title" (*Calendar of the MSS. of the House of Lords, Hist. MSS. Com., Report VIII.*, p. 125b.)

be quiet, provided he omitted no duty in order to obtain that great blessing (pp. 84, 88, 92). He occupied the tedious time in Madrid by collecting books and learning Spanish, and urged his wife to see that the children studied French, "the girl as well as the boys," so that they might have tongues enough amongst them (pp. 87, 95).

There are many letters from Hyde to Col. Holles, in 1652-4 and in 1657-60; but as these are chiefly in relation to Holles' own affairs, and especially his proposed journey to England, they may better be noticed with that correspondence.

Three letters, written after the Restoration, bring this fine series of Hyde's letters to an end. The first of these was addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, assuring him of his own affection, but warning him that the "world" was not being just to him in his absence abroad, and even hinting that it might be well if he were rather more prudent; the other two are graceful, affectionate notes to his "dear daughter," Lady Cornbury, telling her that as his sons will not write to him, she and her "sisters" must make up for their deficiencies; desiring very greatly that her husband would bring her to visit him; rallying her about her health, and promising her the gossip of the little place (Moulin) where he was then living, and where

"there dyed this weeke a good woman that had lyved a widdow full three skore and ten yeares since her husband's death; and the good capuchinn in whose armes shee dyed, assured me that he did believe in his conscience that if she had lyved so much longer shee would never have married" (p. 154).

The Holles papers in this collection chiefly consist of letters written to Col. Gervase Holles during the exile. Gervase Holles was the son of Freschville Holles of Lincolnshire, a "cousin" of the Earl of Clare, of Denzil, afterwards Lord Holles, and also of the young Earl of Strafford, the first Earl's second wife (and the mother of his son), being a daughter of Lord Clare. Gervase Holles sat for Grimsby in the Long Parliament, but was disabled in 1642. He raised a foot regiment for the King, was present at many of the battles of the Civil War, and was taken prisoner at the siege of Colchester in 1648. He was not very severely treated, as is shown by a pass given to him by Fairfax in the November of that year, permitting him to go on parole to London and thence into Lincolnshire, on his engagement to render himself to the Marshal General within three months, and meanwhile not to act against the Parliament (p. 79). Just at the end of the three months, the young Earl of Strafford sent Holles an friendly letter, urging him to go abroad if possible, and offering Mrs. Holles a home with his sisters,<sup>1</sup> if her husband could not better dispose of her. Holles could not, at that time, obtain the desired permission, but later in the year he was allowed to go to Holland, where he remained until the Restoration.

One of his correspondents was Sir George Radcliffe, to whom he was probably drawn by their mutual interest in the young Earl of Strafford. In the early days of the Civil War, Radcliffe had been placed by Charles I. about the person of the Duke of York, and in 1649, Charles II. again gave him a position in the Duke's house-



hold, of which Lord Byron was the head.\* In the autumn of 1650, the Duke, with some of his friends, left Paris against the Queen's wishes, and went to Brussels. Here he was met "the very night of his arrival" by Sir George Radcliffe, who, as Byron declared, "upon the pretence of orders from the King, entered upon the government of all his Highness's household affairs." When Byron demanded an explanation of the Prince's conduct, Radcliffe answered that he was tied to secrecy, and being a privy counsellor, might be intrusted with many things which he might not reveal (p. 97).

This was a hit at Byron's own position at this time, he having fallen into disfavour with the King, and been obliged to resign his post in the bedchamber. Hearing that Radcliffe had carried the prince to 'several masses,' including one upon occasion of the taking of Monson from the French, Byron became alarmed, thinking it "of very ill-consequence, both in regard of those rigid and jealous people his Majesty had then to do withall in Scotland and of the offence it might justly give to the crown of France." He went himself to the Hague to consult the Princess Royal, but arrived there just after the death of her husband, the Prince of Orange (on November 6, n.s., 1650), when she was not able to take any action in the matter. Both Radcliffe and Byron wished the Duke to go to his sister, but she thought it would prejudice her affairs, and therefore put a stop to his journey (p. 98). The above narrative, although by Lord Byron, is in Radcliffe's handwriting; probably a copy sent to Holles in his letter of Feb. 10, 1652, n.s. In this letter he states that an end had been now made of the business. The King had cleared him, but it was decided that he ought not to have gone to the Duke at Brussels, "notwithstanding that I was his servant, and had the King's promise to be one of his officers." The King was anxious to "bring my Lord Byron off," and commanded the two to be friends; Radcliffe had leave to go to the Duke, and so the matter ended. For the rest, Radcliffe writes to Holles of the proceedings at and intrigues of the little court, discusses the situation of affairs in England, and gives scraps of news about the French King and court and the movements of the Fronde. As regards this last, the most interesting of the letters is that written on May 5-15, 1652, when Paris was in the hands of the Prince of Condé, with the King's army lying outside. Paris was

"generally for the Princes . . . but here are in this town men of several interests and arts to raise jealousies, wherein they say the new Cardinal of Retz is active. He is neither for Mazarine nor for the Prince of Condé, but, they say, endeavours to gain the Duke of Orleans to set up apart for himself. . . . Our King [Charles II.] made an overture of a treaty for peace, which was embraced on both sides, but quickly ended in nothing, Cardinal Mazarine being the apple of contention. The Princes will accept of nothing without his banishment, which the King of France will not give way to" (p. 103).

In the same letter Radcliffe alluded to a rumour that the sale of delinquents' lands was to be laid aside, saying, 'I am a little concerned there'in, yet that little is all to me.' In one or two of his former letters he had referred to reports of an Act of Oblivion in England. The "Act of Pardon" was duly passed in February, 1652; but it related only to estates not sequestered before December,

\* The commission, appointing Byron Superintendent-General of the Duke's household, is dated April 30, 1651, but he had held some such post before this.

1651 ; whereas Sir George's estates had been included by Parliament in the first Act of Sale (July 16, 1651). So far from "laying aside the sale," a second Act was passed in August, 1652, and this was followed in November by a far more sweeping one, including upwards of 600 names.

Sir Edward Hyde's letters to Holles, partly written from Paris in 1652-4, partly from Flanders, 1657-9, show that the two men were on very friendly terms. The contents mostly relate to Holles' own affairs, and especially to a proposed mission to England. The King's orders, as transmitted by Hyde, were as follows :—Holles was to go to Lincolnshire (his own county) and with all secrecy "raise the spirits" of those whom he dared trust by assuring them that the King would come as soon as he could, and sooner than was generally believed. They were to do nothing rash, but on news of his Majesty's landing, or of the declaring of a considerable force for him, Holles was to possess himself of Boston. This was in 1658, but Holles' journey was put off. In July, 1659, when it was known that royalist risings had been arranged in divers parts, it was again proposed that he should visit England, carrying with him commissions for horse and foot. Hyde hoped that he would find many of his country "who were heretofore of another mind, very well engaged to serve the King," in which case he conjured Holles

"to forgett all that is paste, and without the least mencion of it, to join heartily with them ; and if ther present professyons be not to that full height with yours, make no dispute, but assure yourselfe al will be as it should be. . . . But if contrary to expectations you finde all quyett ther, and that nothing is prepared at Boston, in God's name then proceede as you thinke fitt, and lett not our frends ther looke on whilst the rebells apply all ther power to suppresse ther neighbours." (p. 138).

But before Holles had started, the news came of the suppression of the risings in England, and the downfall, for the moment, of all hopes of a speedy restoration. These hopes soon revived, however, and the next letter from Hyde to Holles, written in the March of 1659-60, no longer proposes his going quietly into Lincolnshire, but urges him to hasten to London (where he might now be in all security), not to attempt anything himself on the King's behalf, "otherwise than it shall be directed there," but to strengthen timid hearts, and to send intelligence and advice to the King and his counsellors.

Even on the very eve of the Restoration, the Royalists were still in the direst straits, their "old disease of wants and beggary being as strong as ever," and Holles found it impossible to leave Holland, as the small allowance which the King sent him was not enough to pay to his pressing debts. Hyde good naturedly apologised for having urged his departure, and hoped that "good news would come so fast" that the King would soon have money enough to free his friends from all their difficulties (p. 145).

This is the last letter from Hyde to Holles in the collection.

Holles' most diligent correspondent was Thomas Ross, a royalist refugee in Holland, having under his charge a young Mr. Stanley. Who this Mr. Stanley was does not appear, but he was evidently a cadet of the House of Derby, and a young fellow of considerable importance. In a letter to Ormond (amongst the *Clarendon State Papers*) Holles gave a message from the Countess of Derby, entreating



Ormond's favour towards "planting Mr. Stanley in the King's good opinion" (Cal. Clar. S. P. II., 391). When the King planned his visit to Germany, and appointed those to go with him, he named "in the first place Mr. Stanley, to whom his kindness is extraordinary great" (p. 122); it was hoped that he would be made a gentleman of the Bedchamber, both Nicholas and Lord Gerard having promised their assistance (p. 124). When Stanley and Lord Newburgh had a quarrel, the King "composed" it himself, and both the Prince of Condé and the Prince de Liques offered their services; and when Charles went to France (on his way to Fuentarabia) in 1659, young Stanley was in his train. The most likely hypothesis is that he was Edward Stanley, second son of the late Earl of Derby. Edward Stanley was certainly abroad at this time, and was at Calais with the Duke of York after the King's departure thence for the Pyrenees (see *Life of James II.*, i, 374).

Thomas Ross appears frequently in the royalist papers of this period, but we find hardly any allusions to his private history. That Ross was his real name, and not a pseudonym, is shown by the arms upon his seal. He was one of the few English attendants allowed to remain with Charles II. in Scotland; was much employed by the King during the following years as an emissary, venturing repeatedly to England in his service, and was chosen by Charles in 1658 to take his little son "James Crofts" out of the hands of his mother. Mrs. Ross was as zealous as her husband; carried messages to and fro, and on one occasion appears to have narrowly escaped drowning in consequence (p. 136).

Ross's letters are good specimens of the correspondence of an intelligent follower of the King, and of the knowledge obtained of the course of affairs in England. It has been sometimes said that the royalists were not fully aware of the influences working for them there, but on the contrary they seem to have been remarkably well-informed. Their chief (and, as it proved, well-founded) hopes lay in two things—1st, the death of the Protector Oliver; 2nd, the dissensions amongst the various parties in England, which were sure to follow if that event happened. At the same time, they never lost sight of the fact that although these parties might quarrel amongst themselves, they would probably join forces to oppose the return of the King. In a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas, written in June, 1659, this point is emphasised. "I am of your opinion," he wrote in answer to something said by Holles, "that notwithstanding the jarrings and murmurings among the rebels in England, they will not fall to blows against each other. They every day endeavour to supplant one another's faction, but they will not fight, knowing their danger if they should" (p. 133).

Early in 1659 the exiles began to fear that a Commonwealth was likely to be the issue of the differences in Parliament (p. 128), but "one of the great ones" (probably Hyde) spoke very sanguinely to Ross as to the prospects of the future:—

"After many positive assurances that all things in England were in as good a condition as we could wish them towards a change, he gave this knocking expression, viz. :—'If thou and I were now in the House, and were resolved with all art and cunning to do our master's business (without point-blank declaring for him), we could not bring it to a better temper than now it is, for the scale is carried so even that the two factions of Protector and Republic cannot close; he [Richard]

being voted Protector, but so far from being acknowledged that they have not yet made any civil application to him by letter or otherwise, but leave him naked of all power, and only make use of the Republicans to bandy against him and divide his army" (p. 129).

The party most likely to be persuaded to join the royalists in promoting the Restoration was, of course, the Presbyterian, as being generally favourable to a state church, and not averse to monarchy; and no pains were spared to effect a union of interests. Some concessions would have to be made, "some chains" hung upon the King's followers, but these they were willing to bear, if the Presbyterians would help in the great work (pp. 127, 131).

On June 4, Ross triumphantly announced that "the game is already begun," the Parliament in distraction, the army not satisfied even with a vote for the payment of all arrears. They had

"voted old Cromwell a tyrant, caused his statute to be demolished in Westminster, and sent Dick to grass in the country. But in the meantime, his brother Harry in Ireland is not so tame . . . and very boldly hath declared those at Westminster rebels. . . . All this the army does not so well like as to be all unanimous, and our friends very confidently say that in a few days the inferior officers and soldiers will pull them once more out by the ears" (p. 132).

Rumours of royalist risings began to arrive, and it was still believed that the army meant to dissolve the Parliament,

"though they are brisk in their authority; for the army is divided, the foot against the horse; these for a republic, and the other for a single person; and so furious some of them are, that an officer meeting Sir Harry Vane took him by the throat, and told him that unless he did desist from driving that faction which he now heads he would cut his throat"\* (p. 135).

Meanwhile, the city was "highly dissatisfied," Monck "very refractory in Scotland," and within the next week or two the royalists "up almost in all parts of the Kingdom" (p. 136).

When Ross wrote his next letter, on Sept. 14, all these fair hopes had been blighted by the defeat of Sir George Booth by Lambert on August 27. There were loud complaints from England of treachery and baseness, and it was said that Sir George Booth raged most horribly, and vowed the discovery of all those that promised to join with him, and most unworthily failed. For the present, however, Sir George was securely shut up in the Tower, there was, apparently, nothing to be done in England, and the eyes of the Royalists turned towards the Treaty of the Pyrenees and the chance of a restoration by means of France or Spain. But Charles' advisers were anxious if possible to avoid the intervention of a foreign power, and secret measures were being taken at this time to negotiate with General Monck in Scotland by means of his kinsman, Nicholas Monck, who was sent to him in August, 1659. This was not, however, generally known to the King's followers. Early in November Ross wrote to Holles:—

"I believe you are not ignorant that Monck is marching towards England, and that Lambert marched out on Monday was a sennight towards him. Monck declares for the dissolved men at Westminster, Lambert for the Junto at Wallingford House; but his men as they went out of London professed they would not fight against Monck unless he declared for the King, which some letters here say he hath done, but I do not believe it; nay, I fear we have never yet done anything to invite him to it" (p. 141).

\* The officer was Sir Arthur Hesilrige, the cause, Vane's opposition to the proposed engagement against a single person. See Nicholas's letter, Cal. S. P. Dom., 1659-60, p. 207.



The next letter gives an account of the reassembling of Parliament under Monck's auspices in February, when the secluded members, headed by Prynne, "with basket hilt at his side," triumphantly marched in, and "the leading rogues—viz., Hesilrige, Scot, Mildmay, &c.—sneaked out without speaking a word." Everything now looked fair for the re-establishment of the King, but Ross did not "expect the way should be without some little rubs, because its believed the sectaries, like mad dogs, will die biting."

Monck's own views were even yet an enigma. The manifesto from himself and his officers and their friends in Scotland and Ireland was largely discussed, and it was generally believed that he wrote thus "to cajole his army and officers, of all of whom he is not over confident." Even if this was not so, it was hoped that matters had now got to such a point that he could not overthrow what was designed. The commissioners for the Militia in London were said to be "a medley of knaves and honest men, but the latter sort in number much exceeding the former, none of which are engaged in the King's blood." Ross goes on to enumerate the disqualifications for election to the new Parliament—viz., those who had actually been in arms for the King ("yet may they have their voices in choosing"); (2) fanatic sectaries; (3) papists. This cut off the extreme men on both sides; but, as Ross observed, there was "room enough for honest men to get in." The battles of the Civil Wars (except the affair of Worcester, in which comparatively few Englishmen were engaged) had come to an end many years ago, and there was an ample supply of the younger generation of loyal gentlemen to offer themselves as candidates, besides many lawyers and others who had never taken arms, and the large number of moderate men who, as time went on, had veered round to the King's side.

Amongst these papers is a MS. copy of a squib which was first printed in 1659, but which appears to have been put together, or at any rate modified, at different times during the Protectorate. The Longleat copy, which has many variants from that in Somers' Tracts, is endorsed 1654, but internal evidence points to January, 1655-6, as its true date.

Thus *Montague* says: "They make me play at a game I never saw played at in my life," on which Blake promises to teach him the game; plainly pointing to the appointment of Montagu as General (conjointly with Blake) in Jan., 1655-6; *Lawson* threatens to throw up his cards (he resigned early in 1656); *Venables* complains that he "went out for the diamonds and met with nothing but clubs," an evident allusion to his unsuccessful expedition to the West Indies in 1655.

*Newdigate* says that he lost by play, but gains by leaving off, probably meaning that he is making more at the bar (to which he returned on his dismissal from the Upper Bench in 1655) than he did as a judge.

*Pride* observes that he and Barkstead "are at the old foolish Christmas game with honours," an allusion to the knighthood conferred on them by Cromwell in Jan., 1655-6.

When *Strickland* says that in Holland they play by turns, the reference no doubt is to the custom in the States General of the Deputies acting in rotation as President. *Henry Cromwell's speech*—

that the cards he holds would be leading ones at another game, but are nothing worth at this—probably points to the general belief that he was in favour of his father taking the title of King. *Lenthall* alludes to Cromwell's "interruptions" of the Parliament. The *Upper Bench* refers to the fact that one of its Judges (Nicholas) had gone over to the Exchequer; the *Duchy of Lancaster* bemoans the fact that it is "blank" (i.e., without Chancellor); young *Jack Trevor* boasts that the Protector has given him "a stock" (he was made Commissioner for Trade, November, 1655), and *Sir John Price*, a royalist, who had accepted a post as chaplain to Monck's army, declares that he had almost lost all by play, but has saved himself by betting on the Protector's hand (p. 116).

Of other papers relating to the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the following may be mentioned:—

Two copies of letters from Oliver Cromwell, the first to Anthony Hungerford, a connexion of Cromwell's through the Dunches, concerning some marriage project; the second, a recommendation to his friend, Col. "Dick" Norton, of Col. Goffe, Major-General for Hants, Sussex, &c. (pp. 106, 113):

Two letters from the Marquis of Ormond to Major-Gen. Massey, chiefly in regard to a book "containing a narration of all the proceedings in Scotland," in the publication of which Massey had had some part, and the contents of which were not approved by the King (pp. 107, 108):

A letter from Dr. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, congratulating Holles on recovery from illness without the "help of a physician, "which is commonly but another kind of disease, and sometimes the worse of the two," and regretting that he cannot promise to procure help for Mr. Dugdale in his "worthy work" (probably the *Monasticon* is meant) as another great work of public concernment is now in hand—viz., the Polyglot Bible, "the charge whereof will amount to near 20,000*l.* and most of the eminently learned in the tongues of our nation are now employed in it" (p. 110).

There is a short holograph letter from Charles II. to one who had, apparently, but recently gone over to the royal cause; possibly it was written to the Earl of Clare, but no doubt many such were sent to England on the eve of the Restoration (*cf.*, letter to Morice, *Thurloe VII.*, 858); and finally, a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas (an earlier one has been already alluded to), written upon the very day on which the Convention Parliament met, by whom the die was to be cast (p. 145).

Even at this eleventh hour, although the tone of "the good old secretary" was hopeful, it was by no means confident. He hoped that the good time was at hand, and had "reason to believe" that the militia of London were well-affected, and would incline the Parliament to the like affections, but no one yet knew what the views of that Parliament really were, and up to the last, those were not wanting who believed that Monck's object was not to restore the King, but to raise himself to the supreme power.

The first series of letters after the Restoration are from or in relation to the young Earl of Strafford. A few notices of him occur in the earlier part of the volume; allusions to his "entangled"



estate, and rumoured unkindness to his unmarried sister Arabella (p. 131), but this latter report is not supported by their letters, in which they write very affectionately of each other.

Roused by accusations of indolence and disinclination for active employment (which he declared had no better foundation than "an ill custom of being often late in a morning"), the young Earl had applied to the King for permission to go to sea with the Duke of York in 1664. His sister, greatly alarmed at the risk about to be run by the "honor and hopes" of the family, implored Holles to persuade him to show his energy in some other way than in this "desperate design," and suggested that he would be much better employed in looking after his own affairs. The Earl laughed at his sister's fears, but yielded to the representations evidently made by Holles that it would be impossible to "furnish" him in time. If this were really so, there was no more to be said (p. 148). He thought himself hardly used by not being offered any employment, and it is certainly strange that although he was restored to his estates and received the Garter after the Restoration, no official employment was conferred upon him. He was not even a Privy Councillor until 1674, and the only post held by him before that date was the insignificant one of "Keeper of the King's game at Wentworth Woodhouse," where his own estates lay. This neglect was the more marked, as not only had his father fallen a martyr in the Royal cause, but his wife's father also, he having married a daughter of James, Earl of Derby. But the house of Stanley had even less cause for gratitude to Charles II. than had the son of Strafford. He was an intelligent man, a member of the Royal Society, and he was certainly more broad-minded than most of his contemporaries, for he repeatedly advocated concessions both to Nonconformists and to Papists, that all might "live like good subjects together, and in Christian charity."

On pp. 156, 157 are letters from John Evelyn, Dr. Tillotson (then Dean of Canterbury), and William Dugdale; and these are followed by many letters from Henry Savile to his friend the Earl of Rochester. They are full of society gossip, told in a very lively fashion, but, as might be expected, something too broad in their allusions.

One of Savile and Rochester's intimate friends was William Fanshawe, who had married a sister of the Duke of Monmouth, a daughter of Lucy Walters. She was not acknowledged by the King as his child, and probably was not so, but she appears to have either believed or professed to believe that she was. Savile tells Rochester in 1677 that Fanshawe is in perfect happiness

"for his having a daughter a princess, who yet remains in paganism for want of baptism, which the fond father delays to take some prudent resolution concerning the godfathers. He thinks the King ought to be kept for a son, and the Duke of Monmouth does not yet own the alliance enough to hold his niece at the font" (p. 158).

In 1681, a broad sheet was published (of which there is a copy in this collection, p. 169) entitled "a true and wonderful account of a cure of the King's evil by Mrs. Fanshaw, sister to his Grace the Duke of Monmouth." This was evidently a skit. It will be remembered that Monmouth himself touched for the evil, but this was after he had taken upon himself the title of King.

Amongst many persons alluded to and joked over by Savile is the Earl of Manchester, who had astonished everybody by appearing in a new suit of clothes; but it was black, "and therefore foully suspected it was left him by his sister Irwyn for mourning, else, his Majesty concludes, that ceremony [*i.e.*, the funeral] had been performed in the ancient russet his Lordship used to wear upon the like occasions." Savile sighs over the "clouds of dulness" which had been brought down upon the court by the Dutchmen attending on the Prince of Orange in England for his wedding; laments the falling off of Edmond Waller, in his verses to the Princess Mary, and of Butler in the third volume of his *Hudibras*; gossips about Mrs. Barry the actress, Lady Portsmouth, the visit of a troupe of French comedians, the chances of war with France, the "unkind" reception of the Duke of Hamilton and the other Scottish lords, the appointment of Staggins as Master of the Music, the scandal concerning Ralph Montagu and Lady Sussex in Paris, and many other society topics.

In the midst of this we are reminded that these same frivolous courtiers were diplomatists of no mean order, for in July, 1678, "there being an affair of some difficulty to be performed in France," the King sent Savile off at only 24 hours' warning (*cf.*, *his letter to Lord Roos in the Report on the Rutland MSS.*, II., 52). He expected to remain only about three weeks, but he was detained there for three months (*see Savile Correspondence*). At the beginning of 1679 he went again, and the last two of his letters in this collection are dated from Paris in the June of that year.

A letter written in 1671 relates an escapade of Henry Savile's in connexion with the beautiful Countess of Northumberland, who had been left a widow in 1670, and whom Savile appears to have been courting (p. 152). She was staying with her brother, Lord Sunderland, at the time, and the family were so angry that, as the writer says, they "breathed nothing but battle, murder and sudden death" against the disconsolate suitor."

On p. 170 is the Declaration of the Duke of Monmouth on June 21, after taking the title of King. This document (which must not be confused with the earlier Manifesto put forth at Lyme on June 11) is both interesting and valuable, as it is apparently the only copy known to be in existence. Roberts, the historian of Monmouth's Rebellion, who was a most careful and patient searcher, stated that no copy of it was to be found. "The punishment of death to anyone publishing, dispersing, or failing to declare the possessor of a copy accounts for none having been preserved. . . . The Rev. Mr. Axe speaks of it in these words: 'The purport of the Declaration was to excuse his breach of promise in allowing himself to be made King contrary to the terms of his first Declaration. The excuse was the importunities of the people'' (*Life of Monmouth*, I., 332). Mr. Axe was a contemporary who wrote a narrative of the rebellion and had the honour of reading it to King James. His description of the document is very accurate. In the earlier Declaration, Monmouth had left the determination of his title to "a Parliament legally chosen, and acting with freedom," but in this one he declares:—

"All our loving subjects have with warm and repeated solicitations importuned us to exert and take upon us our sovereign and royal authority of King . . . .



We could not but with great reluctance incline to consent to anything that might seem to be a departure from our said Declaration; . . . but as the said clause in the said Declaration was inserted under this prospect, to convince the world that we postponed all things to the safety and welfare of our people, and that we consulted not so much our own interest as their prosperity, . . . we have, therefore, suffered ourselves to be prevailed upon, and have complied with the earnest importunities and necessities of our people . . . which we hereby solemnly declare we have consented unto out of tenderness and for the interest of all our loving subjects, and not upon any motives arising from ourself."

There are copies of other papers relating to Monmouth, but nothing that is not to be found elsewhere.

The next noteworthy paper is a letter from Sir Winston Churchill to "Blue Mantle" concerning his arms, in which he gives the pedigree of his family. There are many discrepancies between his statements and the Churchill pedigree as given by Collins (with due reserve) from Anderson, or in Lipscombe's Buckinghamshire; but there is the same confident assertion of descent from the Roger de Courcelle of Doomsday Book, and the same absence of evidence to support the assertion.\* Also, after stating correctly, that "the forfeited estates of Brietric and Bond, Englishmen of great note in the west," were bestowed upon Roger de Courcelle by William the Conqueror, he goes on to say that Roger's grandson, Hugh, "having the estate of the aforesaid Bond given to him in frank marriage with his [Bond's] only daughter, his posterity assumed the name and arms of the said Bond, who was lord of Fisherton in Somersetshire, viz., in a field sable, a fesse or" (pp. 173-4). There is a pleasant sense of poetic justice in the idea of a scion of the usurping race marrying the daughter of the old possessor of Fisherton, but it is permissible to doubt whether the arms in question were actually borne by Bond the Englishman, *tempore regis Edwardi*.

For the reign of William III. there are autograph letters from John Locke, the Princess Anne, Sir Cloudesley Shovell, and Dr. Atterbury; in that of Queen Anne, a letter from Hearne, the antiquary, on the subject of Chaucer, and a curious account by John Talman, the architect, of a great feast and entertainment given by him in Rome, in 1711. On p. 180 is a letter from Caroline, Princess of Wales, to the Duchess of Marlborough, and on p. 181 another, written in 1722, to condole upon the Duke's death.

Two or three interesting letters bear upon the subject of the acquisition of the Harley MSS. for the nation (p. 182). The Countess of Oxford thought that 20,000*l.* should be "the lowest price to ask," but left the matter entirely in the hands of her daughter and the Duke of Portland, who, as is well known, decided to carry out what they believed would have been Lord Oxford's wish, even though the 10,000*l.* offered could not possibly be considered "an adequate price" (pp. 182, 183, 185).

Several letters from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, written in 1753 and 1754, and short notes from the Princess Amelia and David Garrick, bring the Report to a conclusion.

S. C. LOMAS.

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\* On this point, see Baker's Northamptonshire, I., 198*n*

THE MANUSCRIPTS  
OF THE MOST HONOURABLE  
THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

VOL. II.

THE HARLEY PAPERS—*continued*

HENRY VIII. to SIR HUGH VAUGHAN and the BAILIFFS and JURATS  
of the Isle of Jersey.

[1515 ?] August 2. Richmond.—Commanding them not to levy any sums of money on the inhabitants of Jersey without special licence, unless in time of war, for the defence of the island. *Sign Manual*.

HENRY VIII. to the BAILIFFS, JURATS and INHABITANTS of Jersey.

1516, August 8. The Court at Winchester.—Telling them that, as he has directed Sir Hugh Vaughan on his return to treat them with all affection and gentleness and not to bear them any ill will on account of their recent differences, so he now wills and commands that they give to the said Sir Hugh the obedience and deference due to their captain and governor.

Also that—it appearing that ships loading grain in the island have not of late paid the accustomed dues (*i.e.*, 4*d.* sterling per quarter)—he has ordered Sir Hugh to take care that in future these dues are regularly levied. *French. Sign Manual*. Countersigned, T. Car<sup>lis</sup> Ebor. [Wolsey].

HENRY VIII. to RICHARD PACE, Principal Secretary, sent to the  
State of Venice.

[1522, June 29. Bishop's Waltham ?]—Instructions for his guidance at the Court of Venice. *Sign Manual*. Signed also at the end. [*Printed in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Henry VIII., Vol. I., Part II., p. 36. Ed. 1822. Summarized (from the Lambeth copy) in the Calendar of Hen. VIII. Letters and papers, Vol. III., p. 1056. For date, see letter from Pace, Ibid., p. 1028.*]

CARDINAL WOLSEY to WILLIAM KNIGHT, Ambassador to the Lady  
Margaret.

[1524,] March 2. At my place beside Westminster.—“I com-  
mende me unto you in my right herty maner, and have receyved



your lettres dated at Meghlyn the ixth day of this instant moneth,\* perceyvyng by tenor of the same the difficulte made by the burghmasters counsail and commons of Antwarp for contynnance and remaynyng of the Kinges gonnepowder any lenger in the Englysshe house, with the offres that they have made unto certen Englysshe merchauntes to bere the charges of removing therof and also to assigne a sufficient stronge towre for saufigarde of the same, wherunto ye have avised the said merchantes to condescende and agree. As herunto the Kinges highnes is right wel contented with ther said advice geven in that behalf and wylleth that for satisfaccion of the myndes of the said burghmasters counsail and commons the said powder be removed to such a stronge towre if it be not don alredy, so that good respecte and regarde be geven to the suertie therof and som watche to be assigned at the Kinges charges for that purpose. For ye may shewe unto the lady Margaret and also write unto the said burghmasters that if it wer not to have the said powder in more redynes whensoever the common enterprises shalbe set forthe, the same shulde have ben brought unto Calais before this tyme, and for none other cause it is left in Antwarpe but only to be at al sesons more prest and redy when the cace shal require, whiche being don aswel for avauncement of themperours affaires as of the Kinges, his highnes trusteth the seid burghmasters wol regarde accordingly, causing suche way to be taken that the said powdre be not in dangier of any suspect persones as other that favoreth the Frenche partie. As to the divises of Monsr. de Berghes and other for sending over of iij or iiij (*sic*) Englysshemen to lye in garnyson on those frontiers ye shal passe that matier under silence, forasmoeche as the same wer to no purpose but grete charg and coste to the Kinges highnes only for conservacion of those countreys, the burdeyn wherof they seke daily wais and invencions inoughe to put unto the Kinges grace and to spare themselves, whiche thing his highnes and counsail do perceave accordingly.

“Neverthelas remembring the manyfolde inconvenyentes and dangiers whiche may ensue in cace the provost of Utright who alwais hathe ben and is inclined and affeccioned unto Frenche partie shuld be participant of the secrete affaires and counsailes of the Kinges grace and themperour, it is thought unto the Kinges highnes and his counsail right daungerous to tracte the tyme of his expulsion from the same til suche season as the lady Margaret myght sende informacions against him to themperour and receyve aunswere therunto, for whiche cause the Kinges pleasur is that ye making rehersaile unto the said lady Margaret and suche other of the counsail there as ye shal thinke good of the grete peril and dangier wherin the common affaires may be in cace any person so vehemently suspected shulde either be present in the counsailes there or also have commodite by suche famylarite as he hath with any of the counsail to here or understonde the privities and secretenesses of the said common causes, shal instantely desire her on the Kinges behalf incontiently by som good and honorable meanes to remove discharge and expelle the said provost oute of the counsail, exhorting

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\* The letter was evidently begun in February.

avising or compelling him to repaiyre and remayne in suche place and company as of likelihode he shal be voide and destitute from knowlege of any of the said secretes, wherunto it is thought the said lady and counsail for their oune discharge wol be gladly conformable. Notwithstanding if by the parcial favor of any particuler person or otherwise ye shulde perceyve that they be not mynded thus to do, ye shal assure them that the Kinges highnes being informed therof wol from hensforthe forbere to make them privey or participant of any parte of his mynde towching the said common causes ne wol in anywise communicate his affaires with the said Margaret and counsail til suche tyme as the said provost be removed and ordred as is aforesaid. And what answer shalbe made unto you herin with the direccion that they shal take in the same I praye you to advertise by your letters with convenient diligence, lating you wit that themperours ambassadour here resident who thinketh this right expedient in anywise to be don hathe writen to the lady Margaret to the purpose and effect bfore specified wherfore it is undoubtedly thought that they wol not pretermyt this mater but see it performed with all diligence as shal apperteyn.

"Over this, where I lately advertised you by my letters that the Kinges grace intended to sende thider William Gonson to have communicacion with the King of Denmarkes chaunceler for bying of the same Kinges grete ship,\* the Kinges highnes is sens that tyme advertised howe the said ship is verely old and nawght, by mean wherof his grace hath chaunged his determynacion therin not intending to intremedle with her, wherfore by som suche good policie and excuse as ye can best devise ye shal put of that mater. Geving knowlege to the said chaunceler that he may dispose and ordre the said ship selling her where he wol at his pleasur.

"Furthermore I am not mynded eftsones to renewe or reaporte thinges of displeasur ne to have more rehearsalles of the wordes spoken lately at pleasure by the said lady and the lorde Houghstrate. But ye may saye unto her howsoever they were spoken, the on way or the other, she and the said Houghstrate made other interpretations then neded, or that they had cause to do, thoughe the Kinges grace and I for the singuler affection whiche we bere unto the said lady Margaret, knowing her of suche vertue and wisdom that whatsoever they may speke in passion or otherwise ther is no lak or defaulte of her cordial and most herty loving mynde towards his grace, ne of her benivolent good wil and favour towards me, can right wel passe over suche wordes for this tyme. Praying her that whatsoever hathe ben spoken she wol assuredly thinke and persuaide unto her self that she shal fynde of the Kinges highnes as vertuose fast constante and perfite a frende as any that she hathe lyving and me to be alwais her kynde feithful and loving son glad and redy to do unto her honour service and pleasur. And so leving suche rehearsales expedient it shalbe to attende speke and thinke of those thinges whiche may concerne the benefite and avauncement of the said commen causes wherin I shal employe my labour travail and studie to the best of my power as I have alwais

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\* See Cal. Hen. VIII., Letters and Papers, vol. iii., p. 5.



don hitherto not doubting but she and the said counsaill wol do the semblable accordingly.

"Fynally it is reapoorted here that ij shippes commyng oute of Fraunce towards this realme laden with wynes and other merchaundises by vertue of saufe condites bothe of the King themperour and the French king were nowe lately by certein men of warre of Flaundres taken bifore Calais haven and conveyed in to Zeland or som other parties therabowte, and as it is supposed there was in on of them wynes for my provision and for diverse other noble men. It is not yet certainly knowen here what shippes they wer but to whom soever they apertayned if uppon the said saufconduytes they wer commyng hither it is ferre discrepant from good ordre and reason that they shuld be thus taken and interrupted or that the Flemmynges shuld lye in a wayte for their prises bifer Calais haven, wherfore ye shal with al diligence procure and sollicite that the said shippes may incontynently be redelyvered and the goodes intierly to be conserved, suffring them to repaire hither according to the saufconduytes passed in that behalf like as the Kinges highnes dothe dailly permyt and suffre diverse other to passe quyetely to and from Flaundres by like saufconduyt accordingly. And for the dammages susteyned in this behalf it is reason also that recompence be made as shal appertayne, in which matier I have writen at this tyme to the said lady Margaret like as by the copie of my letters whiche with the original I send you herwith ye shall nowe perceyve more at large.

"Bifore the fynissing of this letter I perceyved by other your writings of latter date that the diet prefixed for reduccion of the king of Denmarke shalbe kept at Hamborowgh the xth day of Aprill next ensuyng and that it is thought by my lady Margaret expedient that the ambassadours reasorte to that her courte for knowledge of certaynte of al maters that shalbe requisite for them to be ryped in concernyng those affaires. As herunto I signifie unto you that the Kinges highnes hathe appointed the bisshop of Saint Asse accompanied with Sir John Baker for the acquayntance and langage that he hathe to be present on his graces behalf at the said diet, who be in perfite redynes to take their journey, abiding only knowlege from the said lady Margaret where or in what place they shal mete with themperours ambassadours and who be appointed for his majeste and other princes for that purpose with the maner and forme howe they shal ordre them selves in their journey to thintente that the place, way for their passage, company, and all other requisites as nighe as may be knowen bifore, they may at their setting forthe prepare and ordre them selves accordingly, wherfor ye shal inquiryre the premysse of the lady Margaret and the counsaill there advertising me therof with diligence for their more spedy setting forthe as shal appertayne. And amonges other ye shal specially enserche whither themperours ambassadours shalbe sent to the said diet to trete with any astates or commysioners to be deputed for the realme off Denmarke uppon reduccion of their king or that they shal entende only to compone the causes bitwene the Suedes and him. And semblably whither if nede be themperours said ambassadours shall passe in to Denmarke or not,

for the determynacion and meanyng of the Kinges highnes was and is that his ambassadours shuld be sent in to the realme of Denmarke there to procure labour and sollicite suche thinges as may concerne the said kinges reduccion wherin the specialties wolde be knownen with tharticles and poyntes necessary and mete for them to treate upon, of al whiche thinges I praye you to advertise me as is aforesaid. And thus fare ye hartely well." Signed "Yo<sup>r</sup> lovyng friende, T. Car<sup>lis</sup> Ebor." [*Partially printed by Strype, and (from Strype) summarized in the Cal. Hen: VIII. Letters and Papers, with note that the original has not been found.*]

RICHARD PACE "priest," to HENRY VIII.

[1524,] August 5. "Luca in the province" (Luc in Provence).—*Holograph*. [*Printed in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials. Vol. I., Part II., p. 27.*] Begins "Pleasith hyt your hyghness to be advertisid that upon the xxi day of July we entered the montens namid le Colle de Tenda," but here July is a mistake for June, as is shown by comparing this letter with others printed in the Calendar of Henry VIII. Letters and Papers. By "themprour," repeatedly mentioned in this letter as leading the Imperial army, is meant the Duke of Bourbon, the word being apparently used in the sense of Imperator.

CARDINAL WOLSEY to RICHARD PACE.

[1525,] January 16. At my place beside Westminster.—Instructions to treat with the Venetians for aid to the Emperor against the French. *Signed*. [*Printed ut supra, p. 32.*]

[JOHN CLERK] BISHOP OF BATH and SIR ANTHONY BROWN to  
CARDINAL WOLSEY.

[1527,] July 2. Paris.—Endorsed, "Concerning the Cardinals meeting the [French] King at Amyas [Amiens] and consultation about entring into a war with the Emperor." *Signed by both writers*. [*Printed ut supra, p. 45.*]

CARDINAL WOLSEY to MR. SECRETARY, [STEPHEN GARDINER].

[1529, December.] Esher.—"Myn owne goode inastyr Secretary albeyt I am in such altiracōns and indysspocōn of my hede and body by the increasse of my dayly sorowe and hevynes that I am fer onmet to wryt any long lres yet my trustyng frende Thomas Cromwell retornyng and reparyng onto yow I cowde nott forbere but brevely to put yow in remēbrance howe that aftyr the cōsultacōn takyn by the kynges hyhnes opon myn orderyng wych ye supposyd shudd be on Sonday was sevynygth ye wold nott fayle to advtyse me at the leynt of the spiāltēs therof of the wych to here and have knowleg I have and dayly doe loke for. I py yow therfor at the reverens of God and of thys holy tyme and as ye love and tendyr my poore lyf do so much as to wrytt onto me yo<sup>r</sup> seyde lres wherby



I may take some comfort and rest I nott dowttyg but yo<sup>r</sup> hart ys so gentyl and petyful that havynge knowleg in what agony I am yn ye wole take the payne to send onto me yo<sup>r</sup> seyde cōsollatory lres wherby ye shal nott only deserve towards god but also bynde me to be as I am yo<sup>r</sup> cōtynual bedysman. Wrytten thys mornyng at Asher w<sup>t</sup> the rude hand and sorowful hart of yōs w<sup>t</sup> hart and prayer. T. Car<sup>ll</sup> Ebor. miserrimus."

*Addressed.*—"To the ryght honorable Mr. Secretary."

*Holograph.* [Printed by Strype, but with two or three mis-readings.]

CARDINAL WOLSEY to MR. SECRETARY, [STEPHEN GARDINER].

[1530,] July 23. Southwell.—"Myne awne gentil maister secretary, after my mooste herty recommendacions, these shalbe to thanke you for the greate humanite, lovyng and gentil recule that ye have made unto the poore provost of Beverley [Thomas Winter, Wolsey's son] and specially for that ye have in suche wise addressed hym unto the kynges highnes presence that his grace not onely hathe shewed unto hym that he is his goode and gracious lorde, but also that it hathe pleased his majeste to admitte and accepte hym as his poore oratour and scoler, wherby bothe he and I accompte ourselves so bounden unto you that we cannot telle howe to requite this your gratitude and kyndenes . . .

"And in the wey of charite and for the love that ye bere to vertue *et ad bona studia*, be meane to the kynges highenes for my poore colleges, and specially for the College of Oxford. Suffer not the thinges which by your greate lernyng, studie, counsaile and travaile hathe bene erected, . . . to be dissolved or dismembred. Ye do knowe, no man better, to what use the monasteries suppressed by the popis licence, the kynges consente concurryng with the same, and a pardon for the *premoneri* (*sic*) be converted. . . . I beseche you to be good maister and patrone to the said Colleges, *et non sinas opus manuum tuarum perire aut ad nihilum redegi* . . ."

*Signed.* [Printed in extenso in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Vol. I., Part II, p. 137.]

The SAME to the SAME.

[1530,] August 25. Southwell.—Praying him to befriend him in a suit brought against him by one Strangwishe, for 700*l*. *Signed.* [Printed *Ibid.*, p. 138.]

THOMAS CRANMER to HENRY VIII.

[1531,] September 4. Regensburg.—*Endorsed*:—"Account of the Kinges affaires with the Emperour." *Holograph.* [Printed in Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, ed. 1812, p. 679.]

HENRY VIII.

[1533, January].—"Money geven to the kinges grace for new yeres giftes, anno xxiiij<sup>to</sup> sui regni."

|                                              |               |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Abbey of Westminster . . . . .               | lx <i>l</i> . |
| Bishops of York, Durham and Exeter, each . . | ii.           |

|                                                                                                                                                         |           |        |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------|---------|
| Bishop of Ely and Master of the Rolls, each ..                                                                                                          | xl.       | ijs.   | vjd.    |
| Bishops of Lincoln and Bath, each ..                                                                                                                    | xl.       |        |         |
| Abbot of St. Albans, (xxx sovereigns) ..                                                                                                                | xxxiiijl. | xvs.   |         |
| Duke of Norfolk (xx sovereigns, xxijl. xs. and<br>v pieces of gold at xls. the piece) ..                                                                | xxxijl.   | xs.    |         |
| Bishop of London ..                                                                                                                                     | xxijl.    | xs.    |         |
| Bishop of Hereford, Lord Lisle, Abbots of<br>Peterborough, Rumsey, Abingdon and St.<br>Mary's Abbey, and Prior of Christ Church,<br>Canterbury, each .. | xxl.      |        |         |
| Abbot of Reading ..                                                                                                                                     | xixl.     | xij.s. | vjd.    |
| Bishop of Llandaff ..                                                                                                                                   | xiiijl.   | vijs.  | vjd.    |
| Bishop of Rochester and Master Sydnour [the<br>King's Chaplain], each ..                                                                                | xiiijl.   | vjs.   | viij.d. |
| Dr. Woolman [Dean of Wells], and Sir Henry<br>Wiat, each ..                                                                                             | xjl.      | vs.    |         |
| Earl of Oxford, ix sovereigns ..                                                                                                                        | xl.       | ijs.   | vjd.    |
| Peter Vanne [Latin Secretary], Dean of St.<br>Stephen's, Dr. Lupton [Provost of Eton],<br>and [John] Hasilwood, of the Receipt, each ..                 | xl.       |        |         |
| Lord Darcy, Dean of the Chapel, Sir William<br>Fitzwilliam, and Sir Richard Weston, each ..                                                             | vijl.     | xs.    |         |
| Earl of Rutland, Lord Husey and Dr. Rawson,<br>each ..                                                                                                  | vjl.      | xiijs. | iiij.d. |
| Lord Mountjoye and Sir John Daunce, each ..                                                                                                             | vl.       | xij.s. | vjd.    |
| Total 792l. 10s. 10d.                                                                                                                                   |           |        |         |

[The donors of like sums have been grouped together, to save space. The King's gifts in return will be found in the Calendar of Hen. VIII. Letters and Papers, Vol. VI., p. 14.]

#### THOMAS CRUMWELL, Chief Secretary.

1534, May 20.—Acknowledgment of 10*l.* received from “the noble pryncce, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk,” by the hand of George Wyndham, clerk, for a fee granted by the Duke out of the manor of Snape in Suffolk. *Signed.*

#### THOMAS CRUMWELL to SIR JOHN WALLOP, Ambassador at the Court of France.

[1535,] August 23. Thornbury.—*Endorsed*:—“Directing him in what manner to justify the King's actions in the Divorse and execution of some persons in his realm, as Sir Tho. More, &c.” *Signed.* [Printed in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 247.]

#### The LADY MARY to [THOMAS] WRIOTHESLEY.

[1539,] December 19. Hartford Castle.—“Maister Wriothesley, I have receyved your letters and I do hertely thanke you for your good remembraunce in all my matiers. I had forgotten my foot man, who hathe nothing to ryn in but a ledder jerkyn. He had nothing of the kinges highnes this vi yeres, wherfore if it woll



please you to have hym in remembraunce for a coote to ryn in with housen and other thinges for a footman convenyent suche as shall stande with the kinges pleasure, I trust his highnes wilbe content therwith. And I am glad in hoope that I shall se you shortly, as knoweth god, to whome I comitte you. From Hartford Castle this Friday the xixth of December. Your assured frend duryng my lyef Marye."

*The concluding words only in Lady Mary's hand. [1639 is the only year which satisfies the requirements of time and place.]*

#### HENRY VIII.

[1541,] July 1 to October 29.—The King's removes in his progress northward, "anno xxxii (*sic*) of his reign." Begins "Fridaie, the first of July, to Enfield." (See Hist. MSS. Comm. Report III., 194.)

#### W. EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

1541, August 12. Hatfield.—". . . I have sithens I arrived here at Haitfelde enquired of the waies. And they that knowe tel me that whan the kinges Majeste shalbe past Bawtrei bridge entreng into the towne there, the same shalbe than within the countie of Yorke. And being past the towne entreng into the gate of Skrowbie parke than is his highnes in Notinghamshire. And agayne comming from Scrowbee towards Hatfield being ones past the said gate, than shall his waie be still al alonges within Yorkshire. And furdre, my lordes, having also viewd the passaiges and waies betwixt Gaynesbury and Scrobee as I came, me semeth by reason of the weate [that has] fallan this day and yesterday [and of] the carriages that are past thorough this daye and shall passe to-morrow and after; the waters woll bee so uppe or the wayes worne so depe, that if there be not ordre taken for it, the Kinges Majeste woll herdelie passe to Scrowbee. Therefore me thinketh it shold bee wel done, if it maye bee, to devise one way for his grace to ride and an oodre for the carriages. And thus tholy trinity preserve your lordships. From Hatefeld the xijth of August." *Holograph.*

*Endorsed* :—"From my L. P[rivy] S[eal] . . . anno xxxiiij°."

#### The Confession of the QUEEN KATHERINE HOWARD.

[1541, November.]—"I your grace's most sorrowful subject and most vyle wretche in the world not worthy to make any recomendacions unto your moste excellent majestye do oonely make my most humble submyssion and confession of my fawtz. And where no cawse of mercye is gyven uppon my partie yet of your most accustomed mercy extended unto all other men undeserved most humbly of my haundes and kneez do desire oon sparcle therof to be extended unto me although of all other creaturez most unwourthy eyther to be called your wyff or subject. My sorowe I can by no wrytyng expresse neverthelesse I trust your most benygn nature will have some respect unto my youthe my ignorans my fraylnez

my humble confession of my fawte and playne declaracion of the same referring me holly unto your graces pitie and mercy. Fyrste at the flatering and feire perswacions of Mannoke beyng but a yong gyrl suffred hym at soundry tyme to handle and towche the secrett partz of my body whiche neyther became me with honesty to permytt nor hym to requyre. Also Frauncez Derame by many persuasions procured me to his vicious purpose and obteyned first to lye uppon my bedde with his doblett and hose and after within the bedde and fynally he lay with me nakyd and used me in suche sorte as a man doith his wyff many and sondry tyme but howe often I knowe not and our company ended almost a yere before the Kynges majestye was married to my lady Anne of Cleve and contynued not past oon quarter of a yere or litle above. Nowe the holl trouythe beyng declared unto your majestye I most humble beseche the same to considre the subtyll persuasions of young men and the ignorans and fraylnez of young women. I was so desierous to be taken unto your gracez favor and so blynded with the desier of wordly glorie that I cowde not nor had grace to considre how grett a fawte it was to conceyle my former fawtz from your majestie considering that I intended ever duryng my lyff to be feithfull and true unto your majestie after, and neverthesse the sorowe of my offensez was ever before myn eyez considering the infynyte goodnez of your majestye towards me from tyme to tyme ever encressyng and not dymynysshyng. Nowe I referre the judgement of all myn offensez with my lyff and dethe holly unto your most benygne and mercyfull grace to be considered by no justice of your majestiez lawez but onely by your infynyte goodnez pytie compassion and mercye without the whiche I knowlege myselff worthy of most extreme punnysshement."—Kateryn Howard. *Copy, on the same sheet as the Examination following.*

#### Examination of QUEEN KATHERINE.

1541, November 12. Hampton.—“The Quene saith that my lady Rocheford hath sondry tyme made instans to her to speke with Culpeper declaryng hym to beare her good wyll and favour, wheruppon she did at the last graunte he shuld speke with her, my lady of Rocheford affyrmyng that he desired nothyng elles but to speke with her and that she durst swere uppon a booke he ment nothyng but honestye. And so he spake with hir in a litle galery at the steyer hedd at Lyncoln when it was late in the nyght about x or xj of the clok an hower and more, a nother tyme in her bedde chamber at Pomfrett and a nother tyme in my lady Rocheford chamber at York.

“Item she seith that she wold ever sey to my lady Rocheford when she moved her for hym ‘alas madam this wol be spyed on day and then we be all ondone,’ wheronto my lady Rocheford wold sey ‘feare not madam lett me alone I warraunt yowe.’

“Item she seith that when Culpeper was talkyng with hir my lady Rocheford wold many tyme, beyng ever by, sytt sumwhatt farre of or turn hyr bak and she wold sey to her ‘For Goddes sake madam even nere us.’



"Item she saith syns the counsell cam she hath advysed hir sondry tyme in no wyse to disclose this matter sayeng 'they wold speke feire to yowe and use all weyes with yowe but and if yowe confesse yowe undo both your selff and others. And for my parte,' seyde my lady Rocheford, 'I wold never confesse it to be torne with wyld horsez.'

"Item she confesseth that she gaff hym oone a cappe with aglettz and a chayne and my lady Rocheford toke a crampe ryng from her and sent hym and after had a nother of hyr to matche it and that my lady Rocheford prayed hir she myght bye sumwhat to send hym and of hir owne choyse bought a payer of brayselettz to send hym when he sent serten fesauntz.

"Item this day she badd the quene hold her own for Culpeper was yesterday mery a hawkyng and I seyde to her that I marveylled she was not examined seyeng 'it wold out, what hold your own I warraunt yowe, be yowe afrayd.'

As for thacte she denyeth uppon hir othe, or towchyng eny bare of her but hir haunde.

"Item she seyth that my lady Rocheford wold at eevery lodgyng serche the bak doores & tell hir of them if there were eny, onasked; and sithens the progresse she told her that when she came to Grenewiche she knewe an old kechyn wherin she myght well speke with hym.

"Item she sayth that my lady Rocheford told her also that she thought Paston beare hir favour but he never spake with her.

"Item she seyth that lately, but the tyme she remembreth not, my lady Rocheford spake of Culpeper wheronto the quene aunswred 'alas madam wold this never have ende. I pray yowe, byd hym desier no more to troble me or send to me,' wher uppon she told me after that she had don my message his aunswer was that he besought me to send hym no such word for he wold take no suche aunswer but styll sent to me as he myght have a messanger at whiche tyme she called hym lytle sweete foole.

"Item hir grace seith that when she toke hir rightz last she gaff hir warnyng to troble hir no more with suche light matters wheronto she aunswred 'yet must yow gyff men leave to looke for they wold looke uppon yowe.'"

*Signed* :—T. Cantuariensis; T. Norfolk; W. Southampton; Robt. Sussex; E. Hertford; J. Russell; Ste. Winton; Antone Browne; Antony Wyngfeld; Thomas Wriothesley; Rafe Sadleyr. *The document is in a court hand, including the queen's signature, but the signatures of the lords are all autograph.*

*Endorsed in Cecil's hand* :—"Confession of Q. Cathar. Howard; anno xxxiiij H. 8, afor the Kinges counsell at Hampton Court."

#### Benevolence to the KING.

1544.—List, endorsed in Burghley's hand: "A benevolence to the King by the subjectes, uppon commission to all the countys."

|               |               |             |               |                                                   |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Chester (with | Norfolk       | ..          | 404 <i>l.</i> | 7 <i>s.</i>                                       |
| the City ..   | 640 <i>l.</i> | 6 <i>s.</i> | 8 <i>d.</i>   | Suffolk .. 4512 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> |

|             |    |                |              |              |                |    |                 |              |              |
|-------------|----|----------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|----|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Bedford     | .. | 100 <i>l.</i>  | 0            | 0            | Oxon           | .. | 124 <i>l.</i>   | 14 <i>s.</i> |              |
| Bucks       | .. | 126 <i>l.</i>  | 17 <i>s.</i> | 8 <i>d.</i>  | Berks          | .. | 140 <i>l.</i>   | 2 <i>s.</i>  | 10 <i>d.</i> |
| Bristol     | .. | 365 <i>l.</i>  | 11 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  | Rutland        | .. | 136 <i>l.</i>   |              |              |
| Cambridge   | .. | 1788 <i>l.</i> | 14 <i>s.</i> | 10 <i>d.</i> | Salop          | .. | 875 <i>l.</i>   | 14 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  |
| Hunts       | .. | 650 <i>l.</i>  | 13 <i>s.</i> | 8 <i>d.</i>  | Stafford       | .. | 464 <i>l.</i>   | 4 <i>s.</i>  | 2 <i>d.</i>  |
| Cornwall    | .. | 643 <i>l.</i>  | 2 <i>s.</i>  |              | Somerset       | .. | 6807 <i>l.</i>  | 13 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  |
| Cumberland  | .. | 57 <i>l.</i>   | 15 <i>s.</i> | 8 <i>d.</i>  | Dorset         | .. | 1418 <i>l.</i>  | 3 <i>s.</i>  | 4 <i>d.</i>  |
| Devon       | .. | 4527 <i>l.</i> | 2 <i>s.</i>  | 4 <i>d.</i>  | Surrey         | .. | 2453 <i>l.</i>  | 15 <i>s.</i> | 2 <i>d.</i>  |
| Essex       | .. | 5251 <i>l.</i> | 18 <i>s.</i> |              | Sussex         | .. | 2379 <i>l.</i>  | 5 <i>s.</i>  | 2 <i>d.</i>  |
| Hertford    | .. | 698 <i>l.</i>  | 0            | 0            | Southampton    | .. | 1443 <i>l.</i>  | 0 <i>s.</i>  | 4 <i>d.</i>  |
| Gloucester  | .. | 2528 <i>l.</i> | 19 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  | Warwick        | .. | 1641 <i>l.</i>  | 16 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  |
| Hereford    | .. | 1155 <i>l.</i> | 12 <i>s.</i> | 8 <i>d.</i>  | Leicester      | .. | 629 <i>l.</i>   | 14 <i>s.</i> |              |
| Kent        | .. | 6471 <i>l.</i> | 8 <i>s.</i>  |              | Wilts          | .. | 1769 <i>l.</i>  | 5 <i>s.</i>  | 8 <i>d.</i>  |
| Lancaster   | .. | 660 <i>l.</i>  | 2 <i>s.</i>  | 2 <i>d.</i>  | Worcester      | .. | 1573 <i>l.</i>  | 12 <i>s.</i> |              |
| Lincoln     | .. | 2176 <i>l.</i> | 15 <i>s.</i> | 8 <i>d.</i>  | Total          | .. | 68278 <i>l.</i> | 2 <i>s.</i>  | 9 <i>d.</i>  |
| Middlesex   | .. | 2386 <i>l.</i> | 9 <i>s.</i>  |              | City of London |    |                 |              |              |
| Monmouth    | .. | 233 <i>l.</i>  | 12 <i>s.</i> |              | York           | .. |                 |              |              |
| Northampton | .. | 2108 <i>l.</i> | 16 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  | Northumberland |    |                 |              |              |
| Nottingham  | .. | 432 <i>l.</i>  | 2 <i>s.</i>  | 4 <i>d.</i>  | Westmoreland   |    |                 |              |              |
| Derby       | .. | 438 <i>l.</i>  | 9 <i>s.</i>  | 4 <i>d.</i>  | Durham         | .. |                 |              |              |
| Wales.      |    |                |              |              |                |    |                 |              |              |
| Anglesey    | .. | 195 <i>l.</i>  | 13 <i>s.</i> | 10 <i>d.</i> | Glamorgan      | .. | 316 <i>l.</i>   | 13 <i>s.</i> |              |
| Brecon      | .. | 161 <i>l.</i>  | 1 <i>s.</i>  | 8 <i>d.</i>  | Merioneth      | .. | 108 <i>l.</i>   | 16 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  |
| Cardigan    | .. | 186 <i>l.</i>  | 16 <i>s.</i> |              | Montgomery     | .. | 114 <i>l.</i>   | 11 <i>s.</i> | 8 <i>d.</i>  |
| Carmarthen  | .. | 218 <i>l.</i>  | 12 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  | Radnor         | .. | 77 <i>l.</i>    | 13 <i>s.</i> | 4 <i>d.</i>  |
| Carnarvon   | .. | 136 <i>l.</i>  | 13 <i>s.</i> |              | Pembroke       | .. | 341 <i>l.</i>   | 16 <i>s.</i> |              |
| Denbigh     | .. | 332 <i>l.</i>  | 9 <i>s.</i>  | 11 <i>d.</i> | Haverfordwest  | .. | 9 <i>l.</i>     |              |              |
| Flint       | .. | 163 <i>l.</i>  | 19 <i>s.</i> |              | Total          | .. | 2445 <i>l.</i>  | 16 <i>s.</i> | 1 <i>d.</i>  |

JOHN CHEKE to his brother [in-law] WILLIAM CECIL, servant to the Protector, at Shene.

[1547-1548,] October 10.—Requesting his help for the bearer, a stranger Bishop, needy and unknown, who wishes to speak with the Protector. *Greek*. [*Printed in Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 176, ed. 1821, where however the date “τη δεκάτη τοῦ ὀκτοβρης” is rendered as October 8.]

J[OHN] EARL OF WARWICK to [LORD DARCY] Lord Chamberlain.

1551, July 25. Otford.—“Thes may be to signyfy unto your Lordship that aboute halffe yere or more paste at soche tyme as Guydot\* gave unto the Kinges Majestie a gylt cupp he also presentyd unto his highnes a pycteur of the lady Yzabell the Frenche kynges doughter with whome now the contract between the Kinges highnes and his majestie ys begon to be made and for asmoche as yt might be that the sayde Guydot in that be halffe was but an instrument to others as peraventure to the Frenche quene her owne silffe, who as I understand ys the most desyerus woman of the worlde that her doughter mought be bestowed here to our master, yt wold not do amys therfor in my opinion that the Kinges majestie tooke occation

\* Sir Anthony Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, settled in England.



to shewe the sayde pycetour to the marshall afore the takinge of his leve of the Kinge. Yt be nether herre nor ther for the matter yet perhaps yt wolde motche satisfy the saide quene whos practys I thinke verily yt was to send it, that the same sholde apere to her not to be rejectyd, wherfor I have thought good to send the saide pyceture to you yf the Kinges plesser be so to do that the same sholde be in a redynes ; for the laste day lookinge in a deske of myne I founde yt there and marvelinge a while whose yt shold be, yt cam to my remembraunce that at soche tyme as Guydot made the present of yt to his majestie, his highnes deliverde it to me and comandyd me to kepe yt, thinkinge yt my dutye to send yt to his highnes with the consideration before rehersed referringe the executing therof to his majesties owne apetyt." *Signed* "Your lordship's most assured frend, J. Warwyk."

THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, to WILLIAM CECIL.

1551, August 23. Croydon.—"Whereas the bearer hereof Mr. Coverdale bishopp electe of Exceter is now through in all matters to the consecration, save only in doing his homage and in the dispatche of his first fructes : Thes shalbe hertily to desire you that in consideration of his long attendaunce and of the greate lack that the west parties have of hym, you will shewe hym your accustomable favor and help at this present that by your procurement he may the sooner take his othe and have your gentill assistaunce for the obtayning of his sute concerning the first fructes, for I mynde by Goddes grace the thirtieth day of this moneth to accomplish the Kinge's Majestie's mandate concerning the consecration of hym and of the Bishopp of Rochestre. *Signed* "Your lovyng frende T. Cantuar."

*Addressed* :—"To the right worshipfull and my veray good freende Mr. William Cycill, one of the Kinges Majesties twoo principall secretaries."

THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY to SIR WILLIAM CECIL, one of the King's principal secretaries.

[1552,] July 21. Manor of Croydon.—"After my most harty commendations and thankes, aswel for your gentyl letteres as for the copy of the pacification,\* and for your good remembrance of the ij materes which I desiered you not to forget, the one concernynge the B[ishop] of Colens [Cologne's] lettres and the other Mr. Mowse,† for whom eftsonnes I gyve you my most harty thankes.

As for your admonition I take it most thankfully, as I have ever bene most glad to be admonished by my frendes, accomptynge no man so folish as he that wil not heare frendely admonishment. But as for the sayinge of S. Paule *Qui volunt dītescere incidunt in tentationem*, I feare it not halfe so moch as I do starke beggery, for I toke not halfe so moch care for my lyvyng when I was a scholer of Cambrige as I do at this present, for altho I have now moch

\* The Emperor's Declaration of Peace.

† Appointed Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in this year.

more revenewe, yet I have moch more to do with it, and have more care to lyve now as an archbusshope then I had at that tyme to lyve like a scholer. I have not so moch as I had within tenne yeares passed by el *li* of certen rent beside casualties, I pay duple for every thyng that I bye. If a good Auditor have this accompte he shal fynde no grete surplusage to waxe rich upon. And if I knewe any B[ishop] that were covetous, I wolde sure admonysh hym, but I knowe none but al beggeres excepte it be one, and yet I dare wel say, he is not veray rich. If you knowe any, I besech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise hym bettre than you. To be shorte, I am not so doted, to sett my mynde upon thynges here, which neither I can cary away with me, nor tary longe with them. If tyme wolde have served I wolde have written of other thynges unto you, but your servant makynge hast, compelleth me heare to cutt of the threde, besechyng almyghty God to preserve the kynges majestie with al his councel and familie and send hym wel to returne from his progresse. From my manour of Croydon the xxj of July. Your own ever T. Cantuar. *Holograph.*

*The year is given in the endorsement. [Printed in Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 908.]*

THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY to SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

1552, August 26. Croydon.—Asks if the peace between the Emperour and “Duke Morrise” [of Saxony] is according to the Articles already sent to him. Reckons that any “commodity” that might arise by printing the book of Common prayer and the Administration of the Sacraments in the French tongue, ought to come to those who took pains in the matter, “which first was done by Sir Hugh Pallette’s\* commaundement and overseen by my L. Chancellour and other at his appointement and nowe altered accordinge to that whiche muste bee putt in execution at the feast of all Sanctes next . . . by a learned Frenchman, a doctor in divinitie, and therefore needless of any other to bee travailed in.

“Though in Englande there bee mannye meete men for th’archbushoprickes of Irelaunde,” he knows very few who would be persuaded to go thither, but sends the names of four; “viz. Mr. Whiteheade of Hadley, Mr. Tournour of Caunturbury, Sir Thomas Rosse and Sir Roberte Wisdome,” who he believes for conscience sake will not refuse; among whom, he takes Mr. Whitehead “for his good knowledge, speciall honestie, fervent zeale and politique wisdome to bee most meete, and next him Mr. Tournier, who besides that he is merry and wittie withall, nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat nisi Jesum Christum, and in the lively preaching of him and his wourde declareth suche diligence, faithfulness and wisdom as for the same deservethe muche commendation. There is also one Mr. Whittacre,† a man bothe wise and well learned, chaplaine to

\* In Strype this is printed as “Paullet.”

† Apparently Hugh Goodacre is meant, who was actually appointed to the see, and had been the Bishop of Winchester’s chaplain.



the Bushopp of Winchester, very meete for that office if he might bee perswaded to take it upon him."

Gives details about the attack of ague from which he is suffering and asks for "the gests of the latter end of the King's progress." Signed "Your own assured T. Cantuar."

[Printed in extenso by Strype in the *Memorials*, but as if two separate letters, the beginning being on p. 1035, and the later part, from "though in England there be, &c.," on p. 905.]

#### THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[1552,] September 19. Croydon.—"Now at the last agaynst his wil Turner is come up unto the Courte. He preched twise in the Campe that was by Canturbery, for the which he rebelles wolde have hanged hym, and he semed than more glad to go to hangynge, than he doth now to go to Armacane [Armagh]; he alleged so many excuses, but the chiefe is this that he shal preach to the walles and stalles, for the peple understande no English. I beare hym in hande Yes, and yet I dowte whether they speake English in the dioces of Armacane. But if they do not, than I say that if he wil take the payne to lerne the Irishe tonge (which with diligence he may do in a yeaere or ij) than both his personne and doctrine shalbe more acceptable, not only unto his dioces, but also thorowe out al Irelande."

States that he has sent the book of Articles to Mr. Cheke and prays Cecil to consider them with him; also to give his advice, to whom it were best to write concerning Rayner Wolfe. *Holograph*. [Printed in Strype's *Memorials*, p. 907.]

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1552, November 20. "From my howse of Forde."—Has written to the Duke of Northumberland, declaring the cause of his stay in the Commission,\* which is that the gentlemen and justices of the peace of Kent, in commission with him, are now in London. Has written also to him "in the favour of Michael Angelo," whose cause he prays Cecil to help as much as he can.

"The Sophy and the Turke, themperour and the French kynge (not moch better in religion than they) rollynge the stone or turnynge the whele of fortune up and downe," he prays God send peace with all realms, as well as at home. *Holograph*. [Printed *Ibid.*, p. 1036.]

#### THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

[1552,] November 24. Ford.—*Endorsed*:—"Concerning the book of Articles which he desired the lords of the Council to procure the king's order for the clergy to subscribe." Trusts "that such a concorde and quyetnes in religion shal shortely followe therof, as elles is not to be loked for many yeaeres." *Holograph*. [Printed *Ibid.*, p. 905.]

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\* Probably the commission for the sale of chantry lands.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[1552,] November 30. Ford.—*Endorsed* :—"His earnest desyer to have the good will of the Lord Warden, his nere neighbour." Cannot send his mind touching learned men by this post, "evyn in the colde snowe sittynge upon coles untill he be gone." *The year date given in the endorsement.* [*Printed Ibid.*, p. 1037.]

THE SAME to the SAME.

[1553,] August 14. "Lamhith."—"Yester nyght I harde reported that Mr. Cheke is indited, . . . I had grete trust that he sholde be one of them that sholde fele the Quenes grete mercie and pardon, as one who hath been none of the grete doers in this matier agaynst her, and my trust is not yet gone, excepte it be for his earnestnes in religion, for the which, if he suffre, blessed is he of God, that suffreth for his sake, how so ever the worlde juge of hym. For what ought we to care fore the jugement of the worlde whan God absolveth us. But alas, if any meanes cowde be made for hym, or for my lorde Russel, it were not to be omitted nor in any wise neglected, but I am utterly destitute bothe of counseil in this matier and of power, beinge in the same condemnation that they be. But that onely thyng which I can do, I shal not ceasse to do, and that is only to pray for theym, and for my selfe, with al other that be now in adversitie. Whan I sawe you at the Courte, I wolde fayne have talked with you, but I durst not, nevertheles if you cowde fynde a tyme to come over to me, I wolde gladly commun with you. . . . Your own assured T. Cantuar." *Holograph.* [*Printed Ibid.*, p. 1037.]

LADY JANE GREY.

[1553 ?]—Verses, headed "The lamentacion that Ladie Jane made, saiyng for my father's proclamacion now must I lese my heade."

*Begins*, "This was the lamentacion  
That Ladie Jane made ;"

*Ends*, "Upon the Blocke she laied her heade,  
Her death mekely to take :  
In manus tuas, then she saied  
And this her ende she did make."

*Black letter.* "Imprinted at London for Jhon Wight."

PHILIP and MARY to THOMAS STRETE, keeper of the Wardrobe at Otelands.

1555, May 2. Hampton Court.—Warrant to deliver "unto the parishe church of Wabridge upon Themes, for the better furniture of the same, thiese parcelles of stuff folowing, viz. first oone aulterfrunt of white and red satten of bridges paned,\* oone vestment of white damaske with all th'apparell to it, oone vestment of blewe baudkyn silvered with all th'apparell to it, two aulterfruntes

\* i.e., Bruges satin, in panels or stripes.



paned with two panes of cloth of golde, oone pane of purple vellat with rooses crowned, two panes of white baudken and two panes of purple baudken, oone of them is frenged tother, lined with buckram, and oone olde corpus case: Taking a byll subscribed with the handes of the churchwardens receiving the same." *Sign manual of both the King and Queen. Royal seal. Parchment.*

#### QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1559, August 1. Richmond.—Order to the master of the game and other officers of Eltham parks, co. Kent—on information that the deer and game there are much diminished "by excessive hunting and otherwise,"—that for two years no hunting, coursing or killing of deer or game is to be permitted in the said parks to any person, of whatsoever degree he be, without special warrant under her own hand, in order to the replenishing thereof for her "disporte and recreacion as apperteneth." *Sign manual. Royal seal. Parchment.*

#### SIR THOMAS GRESHAM to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[1559.]—Concerning the fall in the exchange. [*Printed in Burgen's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, Vol. I., p. 483, but with some inaccuracies.*]

#### MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[1559.]—A shield of arms in heraldic colours, *i.e.*, Queen Mary's own arms (France and Scotland) with the arms of England as borne by Queen Elizabeth (England and France quarterly) on an escutcheon of pretence.

*Endorsed in Sir W. Cecil's hand*:—"1559. The first devise to sett the armes of England in the Scot Quene's name."

#### SIR WILLIAM CECIL to THOMAS RANDOLPH, the Queen's pursuivant in Scotland.

1560 [-1.] March [20?] Westminster.—"I hartely commend me unto you and pray yow to excuse my lack of wryting. Ye shall perceive by a memoryall\* herwith sent directed to yow by order of the Queen's majesty as by hir Majesties letter shall appeare, what is ment to be promoted by hir Majesty if oportunitie there shall so serve. Otherwise if ye shall see no lykeloode of good ye may suspend so much therof as ye shall thynk mete, consydering the tyme serveth to maynteane frendshipp betwixt these ij reames and that it is profitable to both not prejudiciall to ether of ye pryncess, [and] necessary for the pryncipall subjectes in Scotland.

"I thynk there might be sondry devisees besyde that which was first moved I meane mariadg. I see not but that nobilite which hath so many testymonyes left to them of ruynes by the hostile of England maye well justly honorably and stoutly persist in devise that there Queen and they maye now in the tyme of a favorable quene of England and an agreable nature here enter and accord uppon a

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\* See Hist. MSS. Com. Calendar of the Cecil MSS., Vol. i., p. 258.

perpetuall leage betwixt both the realmes which if it be not obteyned now whylest the Quene is free from mariadg and that realme also free from the old band of France it will not be hereafter compassed. Fare ye well and advertise me what ye shall thynk herin. Ye maye impart to the Lord of Ledyngton these matters." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

KATHERINE, COUNTESS OF HERTFORD, to her huband, [EDWARD]  
EARL OF HERTFORD.

[c. 1565.]—Rejoicing that his health is maintained in this lamentable time of his pitiful absence, recalling the happy days which they had passed together, praying that her Grace, his mother, may not be allowed to dismiss her servants, and thanking him for a book, which she has read with her heart as well as her eyes. *Copy, apparently in an 18th century hand.*

RALPH MORICE to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[c. 1565.]—*Printed in Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 1018.*

T., DUKE OF NORFOLK to QUEEN ELIZABETH.\*

1567, November 15. Norwich.—“Plesethe your most excellent Majestye I have receavyd from my lord off Lecyter by your hyenese commandymment a declaratyon off my lord off Sussex procedyng in your Majestyes most waytye matter off maryage as allso off your hyenese most gracyous plesure towchyng myne owne cummyng up, yff my helthe wold sarve me, or ells my spedye wrytyng to your hyenese off my opynyon in thows matters therin propowndyd. I am rygt hartelye sorye that my chance ys so yll that helthe schuld be an impedymment unto me wherby I cane not accordyng to my bownden dewtye awayte on your hyenesse and specyallye when your majestye ys to use my power sarvys, but I must yealde my selfe to God's wyll, whome ytt hathe plesyd to adde thys to other off my great greves, restyng yff my power helthe do increace and your majestyes sarvys enye waye requyre my awaytyng on your hyenesse att all tymes with that spede thatt my syklye karcace cane indure to attende to my bownden dutye, not dowtyng but that your majestye knowythe that heretofore when I have bene better able I have therin bene nether slake nor slowe. And nowe yff ytt please your hyenesse for me beyng one off the yongeste off your majestyes most honorable concell, as allso one that hathe lest experyence or understanding to waye the depthe off so wayty a cawse, and beyng where I have not the comodytie to conferre with sume off my lords off whoes wysdomes I myght gather sume grounds to satle my opynyon whoe have bene more beaten with suche cawsys off wayte than I have bene, to wryte & thynke so great a burden, as yff ytt were not for feire off your majestyes dysplesure I wold never enter into suche a laborynthe, thowh a mane sumtyme in speche utter that wyche ys not so well to be alowyd yeat spechys be easlyer forgotten. Marrye, what a mane dothe

\* Compare letter to Cecil on the same subject, S. P. Dom., Eliz. XLIV., 42.



commytte to wrytyng, wherin ther ys eny error ytt ys ever ane open evidence off a mane's follye; a mane may in speche be mystaken and yeat beyng present maye ether answer ytt or excuse ytt, wyche offyce a dede wrytyng cane never perfowrme in hys masters behalfe. Thus your majesty maye see howe farre your awtorytye dothe overwaye reason yff a mane consyder howe dangerowse a matter he enterythe into: and therfore I hope that your hyennesse wyll shall be admyttyd for pardon to my follye and your commandyment a bukler to my wantes herin. I ame not ygnorante yff ytt please your majesty howe that the archeduke Charls request for hys pryvat relygyon ys a matter off suche wayte and so muche to be sayyd off both sydes as everye man that lyst maye saye ynowfe, bothe with ytt and agenst ytt, nor yeat howe greate dyfference ther ys for your hyennesse husband apon whome all menes yees [eyes] wyll be sette to kepe a contrarye relygion to your selfe and your realme, and an imbassador who nether cares for us nor we for hyme longer than the tyme off hys negotyatyon, no mane takes paterne off an imbassadors doying; but off your majesty's husband yff he schuld schewe hyme selfe an open mayneteyner of papystrye ytt mygt bothe bryng danger to your selfe and to your realme; for lette your hyennesse assure your selfe that Inghland cane beare no more changys in relygyon, ytt hathe bene bowyd so ofte that yff ytt schuld be bente ageyn ytt wolde breke. Nor I assuer your majesty that yff I thowgt not your selfe to be unremovable in your relygyon to godwarde I wold not be off thys opynyon that nowe I am but I hope that he that hathe kepte you from all your enymes in your true professyng off hyme wyll maynteyne you styll to your honor in thys world, to your sowles helthe in the worlde to cume, and benyfit off all us your power subjects. And becawse I am sorye to truble your hyenes to longe with my rude and tedyowse scryblyngs, hopyng in your majestyes pardon as before, yff wishes mygt take place I woulde to God the archeduke wold clerlye leve owt hys request off relygyon, wyche thyng, yff ytt cane not be browgt to passe, I wolde be sorye to geve your hyennesse advyse to denye hyme hys demawnde: wyche yff he wyll nedes requyre ytt ys as meane as in that cace he cane desyer, and I assure your majesty meaner than I wold have requyryd yff I had bene off that relygyon, an in hys cace ether I wold have requyryd more or nothyng att all, wyche makes me thynke that altho he semes nowe to be sumwhat styffe therin, yeat that he dothe ytt more off pollycye and by advyse off good concell, tyll he be suer off that he hopes for, rather than off enye fyxyd resolutyon in relygyon, for yff hope have browgt hyme to be contentyd to use hys relygyon secretlye I dowgt not but that possessyon off hys hopyd joye shall clerlye abolysche ytt; and yff befor sygt, your name alone with hyme hathe suche vertue, I hope after hys owene repayre (yff you too agree in all other thyngs) your majestyes perswatyons by mowthe schall take greater effycacye. Itt ys no good reason in my opynyon that becawse we feare an yll (as that ys the most that I cane make off ytt) that therfor we schuld enter in to a certene myschyfe. Off late tyme ytt dede appere howe greadye your peple were off your hyennesse maryage, wyche I am suer dothe

rather increce than decaye. Yff thys than schuld not take place what present hope ys ther off enye other, as delaye off your majestyes maryage ys allmost an undoyng to your realme so ys not marryyng within a reasonable tyme an utter overthrower and subverter off the same, with the dystructyon off all us and ower posterityes that doe beare to your majesty most dutyfull and faythefull hartes. Thus much I thowgt good to wryte in accomplyschement off your hyennesse comandymment, most humblye besychyng your majesty off pardon, yff enye thyng herin schall seme more rasche than well consyderyd. And so most humblye take my leve, prayng to God that you may long reyne over us and leave yssue off your most royall body that thys power realme be not dryven to trye new tytles.''  
*Holograph. [Printed in the Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, 1874.]*

THE PRIVY COUNCIL to the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

1567, December 6. Hampton Court.—Having heard the parties in the controversy between Sir Henry Gates and John Vaughan, and Sir John Conestable, late sheriff of co. York, and also examined Sir N. Fayrefax and Mr. Savell, the present sheriff, they are convinced of the honesty and loyalty of Gates and Vaughan. His lordship should not have stayed the committal of Edw. Ellerkar and Creak by "that Council," but as the matter is past, it shall be overlooked. Conestable is to be removed from the Council, and the following bound over to the peace, viz. :—Sir J. Conestable, Geo. and Rich. Palmes, Edw. and Rafe Ellerkar, Rafe Creak, one Trye, Wm. Conestable of Esinton and Conestable's son of Kathroppe, Chris. Hylliard, Thos. Boynton and John Alford. Sir H. Gates' bond is to be released. As President, his lordship is to do his utmost to encourage those loyal to the Queen and the true religion, and "the contrary to exclude from favour and credit." *Nine signatures.*

*Endorsed* :—"From the Lords to the Archbishop of York."

THOMAS SACKVILL, LORD BUCKHURST.

1570, December 1.—Releasing the Duke of Norfolk from all claims whatsoever, of himself and his heirs, from the beginning of the world to the present time. *Signed.*

Delivered to Sir William Cordell, Mr. of the Rolls, in the presence of Robert Harrys and William Beynham. *Parchment.*

— to the LORD TREASURER.

[1575–1580 \*].—"Yf it please your honour to call for the thesaurars booke of receptes and paymentes your honour shall see xxl. allowed to Mr. Lane and yearely payd hym for reading of the Divinitie Lecture. Which payment is no parcell of the proposicion. By the same booke your honour shall perceave that all wages payde there remeyneth aboutes xxxviijl. which appeareth uppon their accompt to remayne that was receyved by the thesaurar. This they make a dividant amongst them.

"If your lordship examine their receptes and proposicion then it commeth to short for in the same cl. yearely ought to be bestowed uppon reparacions of the churche which is in great decay and the

\* Prebendary Hyde was instituted in 1575, and Lane died in 1780.



glasse therof carryed to their pryvate benifices, as somme by Nutter into Lancasshyre, to Sefton, and so by others as is sayd. Also xli. for mending of hey wayes and to the pore. So that your lordship accompting this way shall never trye it owt but only by that former degre. The prebendes also sett their howses for rent, as Nutter setteth his howse to one Doctor Cannon a phisicion and straunger and when he commeth to the cyttie lighteth and lyeth in an inn.

Bulkeley setteth his to one Darby a phisition. Hyde setteth his to one Wettenhall a lawer.

Hawford; in his howse is the scholemaster Parvis and he absent.

Erle hath sold his prebend to one Wright the late bisshoppes sonn in lawe but nether of bouthe commeth there.

Lane moost there, but at ijs. vjd. the weeke when he is there with the petty cannons. The deane absent by cause he is the Queen's chaplyn and no howse kept by any of them the more pytty.

I wold also if it please your honour for sauffety of the poore tenantes that somme of your honours might take the estate from the Queen's Majestie and so when your honours orders is performed that the pore leasees might have their estates at your honour; wherby all brabbles and other inconveniences might be eschued and provided for which other wayes will followe if the gentilmen be takers of it."

*Endorsed by Burghley*:—"A prive state of the Coledg of Chester"; and in another hand—"The State of Dean and Prebendaries of Chester."

#### BUXTON.

[1573-1582].—"A note of things written in the glasse windowes at Buxtons." The sheet of paper appears to be a diagram of a large window (probably in the great guest hall at Buxton then lately built by the Earl of Shrewsbury) and is in four columns.

*First column. A crown. Aut hanc, aut super hoc. Shield with the Scottish lion.*

Mariæ Scotorum Reginae de charissimo filio suo Jacobo Stewarto Anagramma. Virtus vocat subeas. 1582.

MR. Altera parta tibi. JCS. Spartus et alter ero.  
Monogram of M.C.J.S.

Carolus. Jacobus Stewartus Rex Scotorum. *Αναγρᾶμμα*  
Vocabor ultus Cæsar Justus. Hic tibi non per te rex erit  
atque tuis. Eadem de eodem. Unum quidem, Sed Leonem.

*Second Column.*—Et dejecto insultant lepores leoni. MR.

L'envieux peult me porter prejudice  
Le mal disant peult dire mal de moy  
Mais ja pourtant ne fauldray en la foy  
Ny ne feray jamais de vertu vice.

Basta ch'io vivi. MR. 1573.

Dieu scait si j'ay l'espri malicieux  
Dieu scait si j'ay le cœur ambitieux  
Dieu scait si j'ay le sens si vicieux  
Dieu juge en estre de me envieux  
A me juste e rare. MR. 1573.

Je hay celuy qui parle faulſement  
 Je hay celuy qui flatte doucement  
 Je hay celuy qui dict mal a credit  
 De qui jamais n'a rien de luy mesdit. MR. 1573.

Bien que l'on aye tant dict de mal de moy  
 Bien que l'on aye mal jugé de ma foy  
 Dieu seul qui a de mes cœurs cognoissance  
 Rendra un jour, clere mon innocence.

Sa vertu m'attire. MR. 1573.

De M[aria] St[uart] Sc[otorum] R[egina].  
*Βουξτονίων ἱερῶν πηγῶν νῦν χαιρετε νυμφαὶ  
 χαιρετ' ἐντλοκαμοὶ νυμφαὶ ὀρεστιαδὲς  
 Καὶ γὰρ ἐς ὑμετέρεην κρήνην θελκτὴρ' ὀδυναῶν  
 Μουσῶν καὶ χαρίτων ἡλθὶν ἀνασσα θεὰ  
 Ἐνθαδὲ μιν λουσαν καὶ ἀμβροτῶ κρῖσαν ἔλαιῳ  
 Παρθενοὶ αἰδοίης ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτεμίδος.\**

1576 Menso Jul. Jac. Nau fac.

Resjouy toy o Anne bienheureuse  
 D'avoir porté la Vierge glorieuse  
 Qui a eu l'heur d'estre de Dieu la mere  
 Qui a souffert pour nous mort si amere  
 Sa vertu m'attire. MR. 1573.

*Third column.*

Buxtonicas themas quod tantum numen advit  
 Si cupias lector discere nomen habe  
 Hæc decima est Pieris, Venus altera gratia quarta  
 Stewarta una tribus addita Diva choris.

Jac. Nau facieb: *Monogram.*

Durum sed leve fit patientia  
 Quicquid corrigere est nefas. MR. 1576.  
 Naturam expella furca  
 Tamen usque recurrit pro reginua Angliæ.

Quæ vultus Acherontis atri  
 Quæ Styga tristem non tristis videt  
 Audetque vitæ ponere finem  
 Par illa regibus superisque erit. MR. 1576.

Fortuna non l'animo. Pembroke.

My careless care hath brought me to that passe  
 What is, shalbe, and wishe yt never was  
 Patientia remedium dolorum. F. Talbott.

Fortune is to me somtyme a mother  
 Somtyme a stepdame. Anne Talbott.

Piu dolce è quella che mi da la vita. T. G.  
*With a sketch of a rose.*



Penses de moy. T. G. *With a sketch of a four petalled flower, like a wild rose, but possibly meant for a pansy.*

Vivo de l'odore di questo fiore. T. G. *With a sketch of a composite flower.*

Le cuebre transperce. T. G. *A heart pierced with an arrow.*

*Fourth column.*

Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis. R. Leycester.

Tempus si fuerit mobile solus eris. E. Echo.

Ogni cosa col tempo. R. L.

Qui fidus idem Phœnix.

Qui se invidia aponit, Æthiopem lavat. R. Leycester.

Amor non omnibus unus. R. L.

Fides ut anima ubi semel abiit nunquam reddit. E. R.

Ultima talis erit que mea prima fides. W. Knollys.

Cause or none, always one. W. Kn.

Il continuo pensiero non ha mai pace

Non conosce la pace e non l'estima

Chi non ha provata la guerra prima. F. Sussex.

Gli beni della fortuna mutano ma la virtù dura.

Doppo le tenebre viene la luce. 1575. F. Sussex.

Faythfull, faultlesse, yet sumway unfortunatt.

Yet must suffer. L. Essex.

O vita mia di travaglio piena

Come ogni tua allegrezza poco dura

Così tua gioia e come aria serena

Che a le fredde stagion poco dura.

R. Stapleton, Jun. 17, 1580.

Fortuna virtutis ancilla. T. Gter.

Tout comencement est difficile. Samuëll Stanley.

Hoc tantum scio quod nihil scio. Doctor Bayley.

*Device of a volcano in eruption.* "Ætna mons.

Dulcior vitæ finis." Ric. Topcliffe.

PRECEDENCE.

[No date.]—A table of precedence of the nobility and gentry.

WALTER RALEGH.

1583, July 6.—Indenture, by which Walter Raleigh (*sic*) of Collyton Raleigh, co. Devon, in virtue of the Queen's letters patents [granting him the wine licences], gives licence to Phœbe Taylor, wife of Thomas Taylor of Horndon, co. Essex, vintner, to keep a tavern or wine cellar in Horndon, and "to buy, sell and utter, in gross or retail, by the gallon or less or greater measure" all kinds of wine and for what prices may be for her most profit and com-

modity; provided that "if French wynes, Gascoigne, Guyan, Rochell and such lyke may be bought for eleven pounds [*the edge cut away*] pence the gallon, and Sacke, Malmseyes and all other sweet wynes saving Muskadell to be bought for eight pounds the butte or pipe or under, not to be solde above tw [*edge cut away*] pence the gallon." *Parchment. Ralegh arms in initial T. Signature cut off.*

JOHN [WHITGIFT], Archbishop of Canterbury, to LORD BURGHLEY.

1584, May 8. Lambeth.—"I here send unto you the copie of a letter which Mr. Beale writ unto me uppon hys departure, wherein hys stomack, great vanitie, and excedding mallice doth appeare. Yt semith that he wold charge me with great matters yf he cowlde. Of my wordes towardes hym, and hys behaviour and wordes toward me there are sufficient wytnesses. My Lord of Winchester and D. Bing with divers others were præsent. Of Beza and Calvin I have no otherwise spoken then becommeth me. Junius deservith what so ever I have sayed of hym: hys hard termes uppon the apochripha are verie untollerable, offensive, and unjust. That I so termed the nether howsse of parlament ys most untrue, yt may be that I spake the wordes of some in that howsse deserving them. Yt may be also that I have spoken in the mislike of the churches in Scotland but not of late nor uppon anie conferrens with the Bishop of St. Androse, for what so ever my opinion ys of that platforme, yet I have learned not to be curious in *alienâ republicâ*. All the conferrens that ever I had with the Bishop of St. Andr[ews] I mayd knowne to your lordship, sethens which tyme I have not sene hym nether hath he my hand to anie thing. What the Queen of Scottes thingketh I know not nether ys yt anie thing materiall to me. I besech God that I never see that day wherein she may do me ether good or harme. Sir Jhon Throgmorton I loved whiles I lived with hym, nether had I other occation. He served her majestie paynfullie in that place, I wold there were (in that respect) the like now. Hys sonne Frances to my remembrans was never in my companie but once in hys father's tyme, when I sent for hym by proces to answere in certaine matters wherewith he was then to be charged, sethens which tyme he hath not to my knowledge much remayned within my jurisdiction, but what wold not Mr Beales mallice (as yt appearith) work against me yf yt cowlde or whan was yt ever sene that one in hys place durst in this manner write to an archbishop for doeng his dutie towardes God, hys prince, the lawes, and the church? Well yt ys a frute of that spirite and yt causeth me to fele that *qui episcopatum desiderat bonum opus desiderat*. And that in dede there ys in yt *plus oneris quam honoris*. Hys boke wherin he so much glorieth ys without method and very frivolous, easelie answered both in divinitie, law and pollicie." *Holograph. Endorsed by Burghley. [Printed, incompletely, in Strype's Life of Whitgift, Vol. I., p. 296.]*

JOHN [WHITGIFT], Archbishop of Canterbury, to LORD BURGHLEY.

1584, May 26. Croydon.—"This day I receaved from you and others of her Majesties most honorable previe counsell, letters in



the behalf of certaine ministers of the dioces of Elie for farder day of respect for there subscription, Yt may please your lordship to be advertised that they have now had almost half a yeares space to resolve them selves in, some of them also having bene with me ones or twise for the same porpose, to whome I dyd not onelie graunte longer tyme but also conferred with them of there dowtes untile they neyther had ani thing to object, nether yet to answeare. And with owte dowte my curtesie offerred unto them in differring them frome tyme to tyme hath done both them and others more harme then good, yea some of those persons which now are petitioners have greatlie abused my lenitie in that behalf. And therefore I hartelie pray your lordship not to be offended with me yf I forbear to graunte such requestes: that which ys graunted to them wyll also be lokyd for of all others in there case, which wold overthrow what so ever hath bene hetherto done, and so animate the wayward sort (which are the fewest, and of my knowledg, a verie smale number excepted, the worst) and discomfort the most and the best which have yelded there obediens, that for my owne parte I had rather die or lie in prison all the dayes of my life than to be anie occation thereof or ever to consent unto yt. Never the lesse I have for this tyme dismissed these præsent petitioners without anie tyme limited unto them, meaning hereafter at convenient leasure to send for them one by one and to proscade against them by the ecclesiasticall commission in such manner and sort as I am well assured by the best learned in both the lawes to be warrantable. In the meane tyme I wold umbye desyer your lordship and others rather to reprove them then by your letters to seme to gyve unto them anie countenans at all which they are apt to take and to abuse: so shal my troble be the lesse, they the soner reformed, and the church reduced to unitie. I besech your lordship to remember Mr. Beales' letters written unto me, and to gyve unto me your good advise therein. They towch me so neare in creadite that I can not lapp them up, the man also ys so insolent that he glorieth in them evne as he dyd in hys intemperate speaches which he used to me in the counsell chamber at the cowrte and in my owne howsse. Bearing with hym doth puff hym upp." *Holograph. Endorsed by Burghley*:—"Archb. of Canterb. His answer to some of the Councell's letters for certen ministers of the diocess of Ely." *Printed by Strype, in the 3rd person, Life of Whitgift, Vol. I., partly on p. 303, and the conclusion on p. 299.*

JOHN BAREFOOTE [Archdeacon of Lincoln], to [JOHN WHITGIFT],  
Archbishop of Canterbury.

1584, June 1. Lincoln.—"According unto your Grace's directions sent unto me by Mr. Randes I exhorted the ministers here recusantes to subscribe that they wolde leave of theyr fantasies conceyved withoute any great grounde of learninge and listen unto your Grace and others fatherly and learned counsayle, signifyinge also unto theym that your Graces pleasure was that they still sholde remayne in the state of suspension, but that sequestracion of the frutes of their benefices sholde be stayed for a season so that they wolde in

the meane tyme provide sufficiente & conformable menne to serve in theyr severall cures. So many as were with me, with one consente answered that they looked for other newes from your Grace, some of them affirminge that they had already enformed some of the counsaile, I knowe not uppon what presumptions, that they sholde be restored to preching and ministringe in thair owne cures at the leaste. In deede certayne of theym affirmed that my lord of Wynton\* sayd in theyr hearinge that he coulde wishe it were so for a season, untill they might better bethinke theym selves of theyr conformitie, allways referringe hym selfe, as they theym selves reported, unto your Graces good likinge therof. I tolde theym that they had very small cause geven theym by these speaches to delyver any suche information unto theyr honours. Notwithstandinge they fownde very great faulte with Mr. Randes, that he knowinge your Graces minde fully wolde not resolve theym therof before theyer cominge from London, but suffer theym to returne with suche vague hope. I answered theym that it was not meete that Mr. Randes havinge a message from your grace unto me, sholde publishe the same unto any private person before that he had delyvered it unto me, finally I appoynted theym the laste day of the last monethe to conforme theymselves to subscribe, still advertisinge theym that they stode suspended as before, and signifyinge unto theym that if by that day they did not conforme theymselves, I must presently sende certificate therof unto your Grace. They answered that they wolde to London agayne to renewe theyr sute and so departed. But uppon what harteninge I knowe not, as I am enformed, they all did presently the nexte Sunday betake theym selves unto preching and ministringe in theyr severall charges as before. In other places then theyr owne parishes I doe not as yet hear that they meddle. But truly my lord the conformable ministry is very muche greaved thereat and diverse say playnly that if they had thought this wolde have bene the kinde they wolde have joyned with the other in theyr recusancy rather then have offred theym selves to suche reprochefull speaches as are geven owte of theym by some of that faction, for they tell me that ther is a lettre here in the countrey sente from Mr. Fielde of London to the ministers in these partes, recusantes, exhortinge theym to stande stoutely to the cause, affirminge the same not to be theyrs but the Lordes, boldly asseveringe that suche as have subscribed have made a breache (as I am enformed he termeth it) and therefore rashely judging of theym that they never will doe good hereafter and selaunderously terminge theym by the name of branded menne. I assure your Grace ther is great greife conceyved hereat, and yet the matter is so closely kepte amongeste the recusantes that albeit they have many copies of that lettre in theyre handes and are contented to shewe the same unto diverse, to the woundinge of theyr consciences, yet will they not parte with any copy but to suche as are of that side. I am enformed also that if your Grace deale rowndely with one of those whome now by vertue of the Highe Commission you have before you, namely Mr. Huddleston vicar of Saxelbye, you may happily attayne the sight of the originall, for

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\* Thomas Cowper, formerly Bishop of Lincoln.



they are of good credite that tell me that he had it and as they suppose hathe it still. I am the rather imboldened to impart this matter so largely unto your Grace for that I perceyve that there is very greate muttering of these matters amonge the layetye as well as amonge the clergie and as I hear suche as are backwarde enough in religion and more then halfe papistes are great commendars of the conscience of these menne, so that the wiser and godlyer sorte are sumewhat in doubte wherunto this matter will come at the ende. And thus most humbly cravinge pardon for my rude boldenesse with your Grace I beseeche allmighty God to encrease all his good blessings in you more and more to the honour and glory of His holy name and to the ædifyng of his churche." *Endorsed by Burghley.* [*Printed, incompletely, in Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III., Part I., p. 349.*]

JOHN [WHITGIFT], Archbishop of Canterbury, to LORD BURGHLEY.

1584, June 14. Croydon.—“I can not but styll most hartelie thanyk you for your carefulnesse in my behalfe towching the matters now in action, wherein I rather feare just blame for my remisnesse hetherto then for anie extremitie or rigor. I do not a litle wonder why such kind of persons as those are which hetherto I have delt with, beeng the worst sort of præchers (yf they may be termed præchers, beeng so rather in name then dede) and such as by there doenges and præchinges rather work in the hartes of there auditors a mislyking of the lawes and government then obediens, shold fynd such and so manie patrons. I thynk yt nether ys nor ever was so in anie setled state and good kind of government. My consciens beareth me wytnesse that I do nothing which in dutie I owght not to doe and which the extremitie of the disease doth not force me unto. The lawes are with me what so ever Mr. Treasurer and some lawyers (whose skill ys not greate) sayeth to the contrarie. Her Majestie moveth and earnistlie exhortith me thereunto with strate charge as I wyll answer the contrarie; and yet never the lesse some others who must seme to rule and over rule all, wyll nedes have there wylls. That which is written of the rejoycing of the papistes in Cheshier and elles where ys ether untrew or not much mater all, for first Cheshier ys owte of my province and the ministers there not as yet towched with these matters and yf they weare what cause have the papistes to be glad thereof? They are urged to subscribe against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. How can that please the papist? They subscribe that in owre boke of common prayer there ys nothing contrarie to the word of God, this can not please the papist which wholie condeme yt. They likewise subscribe to the boke of articles which the papist cownteth for herese. There ys therefore no likelihode that the papist can receave anie incoragement by this subscription. But yf he be incoraged at all yt ys by cause this subscription ys refused and thereby hys opinion of owre service and religion by som of owre selves verified. Yt ys Mr. Goodman, a man for hys perversnes sufficientlie knowne, and some other evle disposed persons which instyll these thinges into hys lordship's head, or elles are they divided of purpose to hynder the

cowrse begon. The tyme wyll not serve me to write much and I have reserved the rest to the report of this bearer, trusting your lordship wyll consider of things as they are and not as they seme to be, or as some wolde have them. I thynk yt hye tyme to put these men to silens, who are and have bene the instrumentes of such great discontentment as ys prætended. Consciens ys no more excuse for them then yt ys for the papistes or anabaptistes in whose stepps they walk. I know that I am specialle sowght and manie threatening wordes come to my eares to terrifye me from proceading, but I am at a poynt, and I say with David *in manibus tuis Domine sortes meæ*. They can not do more against me then he wyll suffer them and yf there be no other remedie I am content to be sacrificed in so good a cause which I wyll never betray nor gyve over, God, her majestie, the lawes, my owne consciens and dutie beeng with me. I besech your lordship to continew constant in these cawses whereof I dowt not and so, with my hartie prayers to God, I comitt you to hys tuition." *Holograph. Endorsed by Burghley* :—"Archb. of Canterbury, D. Goodman." *Printed, incompletely, in Strype's Life of Whitfield, Vol. I., p. 304.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH to DR. HOWLAND, Vice Chancellor and the rest of the MASTERS of the University of Cambridge.

1584, July 9. At the Court.—Complaining of their proceedings in relation to one John Keymer, licensed by him to sell wines in the town of Cambridge. *Printed in Edwards' Life of Raleigh, Vol. II., p. 24.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1584[-5], February 10. Somerset House.—On the same subject. *Printed Ibid., p. 27.*

The SAME to the SAME.\*

1584[-5], February 20. At Court.—On the same subject. *Printed Ibid., p. 28.*

SIR FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM to SERJEANTS WINDEHAM and FLOWERDEWE.

1585, October 31. At Court.—Praying them not to include the name of Mr. Ralphe Warcuppe of Oxfordshire in their certificate of those fit to bear the office of sheriff for the coming year, he "having had this yere past divers losses and hinderances fallen upon him, wherby hee is disabled much to such a service." *Signed.*

The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the JUSTICES OF ASSIZE in the County of Carmarthen.

1585[-6], March 5. Greenwich.—Requesting them to discharge all proceedings against David Lloyd and Margaret his wife, who

\* These three letters are copies, in the handwriting of Thomas Baker the antiquary, from the originals in the University Archives.



had been unjustly accused by Alice Jordan (lately executed) of counselling her to poison her husband. *Five signatures.*

LORD BURGHLEY and SIR WALTER MILDMAI to JOHN WALKER.

1587, July 8.—License for a lease of tin works in Cornwall for twenty-one years. *Signed. Parchment.*

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE to LORD BURGHLEY.

1588, June 6. "From aboard her Majesties good shipp the Revenge, riding in Plymouth sound."—"The xxxth of Maye we sette saile out of Plymouthe, having the wynde easterlie, which continewede but a shorte tyme, yeat neverthesse all men were so willinge of service, and none more then my L. Admirall himselfe, that we endurede a greate storme (consideringe the tyme of the yeare), with the winde southerlie and at southe weste, for seaven daies. And longer we had, had not the wynde come westerlie, and that so muche as in keepinge sea we shoulde have bin putt to leiward of Plymouthe, ether for Porteland or Weighte, which places had not been so meete ether for the meetinge of the enemye or releivinge our selves of those wantes which dailie wilbe in so greate an armye of shippes.

"At our beinge at sea we had divers intelligences, butt specialle one of most importaunce, which is, a hulke which came from St. Lucar sixe weekes paste, and in her waie homewardes, sawe this daie sixteene daies, a greate fleete of shippes, which came from Lishbourne, havinge the wynde northerlie and so cumming to the westwardes, which the skipper and his company judge to be the greate fleete that the kinge of Spaigne hath made readie, for that they sawe so manye as they could not nombre them. They saie that they sawe 150 or 200 saile, and yet could not discover the end of their fleete although they laie to the eastwardes and the fleete to the westwardes.

"It is nowe to be looked for that ether we shall heare of them very shortlie or els they will goe to the Groyne, and there assemble themselves, and make their full randevowce.

"I assure your good lordship and proteste it before god, that I finde my Lord Admirall so well affectede for all honorable services in this accion as it dothe assure all his followers of good successe and hope of victorie.

"Thus humblie taking my leave of your good lordship, I dailie praye to God to blesse her Majestie and geive us grace to feare him, so shall we not neede to doute the enemye, although they be manye." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

*Endorsed* :—"The L. Admirall's forwardnes against the Armado of the K. of Spayne." [*Printed in Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III., Part II., p. 544.*]

#### The ARMADA.

1588, July and August.—A list of Spanish ships lost in the narrow seas, besides seventeen ships lost off the coast of Ireland and many

more not heard of but thought to be lost. Total, 15 ships, 4,791 men. Total with those lost in Ireland, 32 ships, 10,185 men. "Whereof there are prisoners in England and Zeland at the least 1000, besides a great multitude of men not here accounted that were slaine in the fight and that have died by famine, as by the examinations aforesaid appeareth." *Printed leaflet.*

JOHN [WHITGIFT], Archbishop of Canterbury, to LORD BURGHLEY.

1588, December 18. Croydon.—"One Mr. Settell, fellow of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, this day signified unto mee that your lordship was desierouse to bee certified from mee what I founde touching the causes and maner of puttinge out of Mr. Hickman from his fellowship there, and thus it is: Mr. Secretary requested mee by his letter to take some paynes in it, and thereupon I hearde diverse tymes by speeche and writings too and fro what bothe the partees then thought good to say and upon the same consulted with some lawyers. I remember they were of opinion with mee that the causes layde downe against Mr. Hickman, being by him for the most parte all confessed and not sufficiently advoyded, were good causes by their statute then alleged to proceed against him to expulsion. The greatest doubt was made of the maner of the sentence, because it was doon but by the master and five fellowes, making the greater parte of eight fellowes then assembled and being at home, for that the statute is in that case *Per magistrum et majorem partem societatis excludatur*, which (as Mr. Hickman urged) must nedees bee seven fellowes the whole number (which was then fully supplied though fowre were from home) consisting of a master and twelve fellowes. I caused this point, being a matter of lawe, to bee considerately deliberated and the lawyers have enformed mee yf two partes of the whole three partes of a corporation bee present (so that all other which are at home bee called) and the greater parte of the two partes assembled doo agree, that in lawe suche determination is good. And therefore if custome there had so observed as lawe hath appoynted, that the master and the greater parte of eight might determine of any acte in the College, so that the rest were either from home or being called did absent themselves, then this their determination was good by lawe and by that statute. Since which tyme I am certified that the custome of the college is sometymes to proceed to elections and other matters of weight by the greater parte of seven fellowes onely beinge at home, and that the statute there, even in the election of the master, is that the voices of three fellowes may serve for that matter beeing of greatest moment. I doo also knowe that in diverse other litle colleges in that universitee, where all the fellowes have voyces, there is by custome none other consent used to bee required but of the greater parte of those who bee at home, without any respect whether two third partes of the whole societee bee at home or not. So that for any thing that I have yet heard or can conceave, I am induced to think that the proceeding against Mr. Hickman was orderly and according to statute in that behalf." *Signed.*



ANTHONY HICKMAN to [LORD BURGHLEY], the Chancellor of Cambridge University.

[1588, December.]—"May it please your good Lordship to understand that the matter and articles exhibited against me by the Master having ben heard and perticularly examined by your lordships late vicechancellor and other heades of colledges in Cambridge hath ben founde to be noe sufficient cause of my deprivation, as may appeare unto your lordship by the testimonye (under there handes) of Mr. Dr. Legge, Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitakre, and Mr. Chaderton.

"As for my lord of Canterbury hearing thereof, thus yt was. After Mr. Secretary had understood from the Doctors howe injuriously I was delt with all, he wrote to his Grace to deale with his chaplen that I might be restored to my place againe without seeking redresse elsewhere. By which occasion, when soever yt pleased his Grace to aske me of any perticuler wherein he wold be satisfied, and therby (as I thought) sooner induced to yeald to Mr. Secretary's request as in dewty it became me, then I both answered by word of mouthe and also showed such writings as I had for the justifyinge of my cause; otherwaies or further then this did I not answere before his Grace, nor so faere yf there were any assistantes, for then especiallye (as at other times also) reserving my dewtie in all lawfull thinges unto his grace, I protested against his authoritie and did not at all answeare to any thinge for feare of that which in some sort the Master by his lettre now challengethe.

"May yt please your good lordship to understand also that the manner of proceeding against me was contrarie to the statutes of our college and consequentley voyd in lawe as apeareth under the handes of Mr. Dr. Hamond, Dr. Forth, Dr. Cesar, and Dr. Legge.

"As for the information my lord of Canterbury received for the validitie of the greater part of two third partes assembled:—

1. "First it is but the opinion of Mr. Dr. Cosen (for any thing that ever I hard) against all the other before named.

2. "Secondlie I heard him by Dr. Forth thus answeared; That being canon lawe yt did *Jure communi obtinere*, as *in casu omisso*, when and where there ys no other speciall ordre provided by statute as in this case there is.

3. "Lastlie penall statutes are to be taken as the wordes are, and not at all to be extented, yea if they be any waye interpreted yt must be only *in favorem rei*, especiallye when the accused is noe malefactor and the punishment capitall, for deprivation by the civill lawe is counted and termed *mors civilis*.

1. "As for the custome alleadged, a custome can not prevayle against an expresse statute, wherunto they are sworne.

2. "And although they cold prove a custome in elections and other like thinges, yet the same doth not hold in expulsions, for that a custome against lawe ought to be proved *specificè*.

3. "And for this perticular I am sure they can showe noe custome, I being the first and onlie president [*i.e.*, precedent].

"As for the immunitye from your lordship's auctoritie insinuated in the Master's letre, the Universitty (whose authoritie is transferred to your lordship as chancellor) acknowledgethe none

saving that only of the Kinges College, but yt is necessarye for the Master to continewe that pretence, in respect of some neglect of late showed by him that waye.

“ Concerninge ther voluntary othes, mentioned by the Master, the same vicechancellor which accepted of those offered othes, hath notwithstandinge them (for in truth they were not more voluntarie then generall) not only in effect cleared me from the offence that was pretended in the matter and articles confirmed by those othes but also (of his owne knowledge) noted some of the deponents for there unadvisednes in there depositions.

“ Hickman’s most humble petition to your good lordship.— Seing therefore yt appeareth by the testimonie of such men that as well the matter and cause, as manner of proceedinge to my deprivation, ys insufficient, yf yt seme not good to your lordship as yet fully to restore me to my quiet possession, yet I most humbly beseeche your lordship to continewe your commission sent to Cambridge in November last for the hearing and triall thereof. And for so much as not only from that time hetherto he hath delayed but also almost these x monthes avoyded answere, that yt wold please your good lordship (according to Mr. Secretarie’s, mine honoured master and patroness earnest request) to take order that I may be restored and enjoy the benifiet of my place untill such time as the Master shall shoue by his answeares sufficient cause why I should be displaced ; and so much the rather for that by lawe *spoliatus ante omnia est restituendus et durante appellatione* (which I have made by a publike instrument unto your lordship, the next superior competent judge as chauncellar of our universitie) *reus debet esse in statu quo erat ante sententiam latam et pendente lite* (as myne doth by reson of my appeale unto your lordship) *nihil est innovandum*. And for the better expedition herein to the ende I maie at the lengthe without disturbance (by your lordship’s good meanes) proceed in my studye, I most humbly beseiche your good lordship so to direct your lettres to any (whom your lordship shall thinke good) vij. vj. v. or iiij. heades of Colleges, whereof the vicechancellor or in his absence his deputye to be one, that in respect of there meetinge also there maye be little or noe occasion of longer delayes and trouble. So shall I for my particular be most especiallie bound to praye and prayse God for your lordship.

“ Your lordship’s lettres were directed to Mr. :—

Dr. Nevill  
Dr. Goad  
Dr. Whitakre  
Dr. Legge

“ The rest of the heades of colleges that ar most commonly in the universitie ar Mr. :—

Dr. Bell  
Dr. Tindall  
Dr. Barwell  
Dr. Binge  
Mr. Chaderton  
Mr. Preston.”



SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON, Chancellor, to SIR NICHOLAS BACON and  
MR. BASSINGBOURNE GAWDY.

1589, May 6. London.—Desiring them to hear and end a cause in which one William Heskitt and Alice his wife claim certain legacies, alleged to be detained from them by one Thomas Whaite.  
*Signed.*

THOMAS BODLEY to LORD [BURGHLEY].

[15]89, September 27. The Hague.—“To the purpose of that motion in the behalf of Count Maurice [of Nassau] wherof I signified in my last to your lordship there hath nothing sins bin imparted unto me. His late services have much augmented his credit and it is a generall opinion that he will prove very valiant and wise, wherof he giveth in all his actions very manifest tokens. The Generall States have concluded and have dealt to that effect with the Councill of State that from this time forward in the superscription of their letters and other writings they will give him the title of *Hoogh gheboren Voorst* in lieu of *Hoogh en welgheboren Graeff*, which is Highe boren prince, in place of Highe and welboren Count, which was his title heretofore. And in the context of their writing for *uwer liefden*, your lovingnes, they will use hereafter *uwe Furstliche genaede*, your Princely Grace, or els *uwe Excellencie*, your Excellencie. Nevertheles they have bestowed no actuall dignitie upon him, whiche maketh many men to muse at this *Hysteron proteron*. The Count doth continue very carefully his good usage of Sir Francis Vere and the other Inglish captains and souldiers and I may not omitte to advertise your lordship that Sir Francis Vere by meanes of his valour and good government hath wonne great reputation not only with the Count and the other governours and statesmen here, but also with the common captaines and souldiers of bothe nations. And whether in processe of time it be not likely to prove that conductours heere of meaner calling then suche as heretofore have bin sent from Her Majestie will beter fitte with the humour of this people I leave to be considered by your lordship.

The good discipline and sufficiencie of those Inglish companies that have served about Bommel hath bin highly commended by the Count and others and in a generall assemblee of the States and of the Councill of State it hath bin publicly declared howe much the whole countrey hath bin steeded this sommer by her Majesties forces. It hath bin also signified to the state by Count Maurice, Count Neuwenar, Count William, and Count Hohenloo, that they doe not finde in all ye provinces all accounted, that may conveniently be drawn into service, above 800 footmen and 600 horse besides those of her Majestie's assistance. Whereupon ther hath bin a generall conference to sette a better order for keeping their companies complete, and for the establishment of their whole state of warres; whiche when it is perfitted, I will send to your lordship. Count William hath recommended unto them an offer made by his father Count John, who promiseth that for a smalle pension to be distributed to suche persons as he will specifie unto them, being gentlemen of his owne countrey about Dillimbourgh, they shall be served with

four regiments of footmen and four companies of horse, accounting to eche regiment of foote 3000 and to eche company of horse a 1000, for which they are to disbourse yerely for a regiment of footemen 1500 rickes dollers and for a 1000 horse 1000 dollers, and they will be alwaies in a readines to be imploied in any service of the countrey uppon very short warning. Whether they will accept of this offer it is not yet knowen, but they seeme at this present to harken willingly unto it and they have written to the provinces to knowe their likinge.

"Of the enemies proceedinges, that is still confirmed which I advertised in my last to Mr. Secretary, that he hath left the siege of Huesden. Some say theruppon that his footmen are gone towards Liege and towards Luxenbourgh, but ten cornets of horse towards Berke [Rheinberg], whiche last caused them heere to deale very earnestly with Sir Francis Vere to go with Count Neuwenar for the reliefe of that towne, which is accorded, and they meete in Guelderland within these two daies; the Count with 600 horse and as many foote, Sir Francis with 900 footmen and the horse company of Sir Nicholas Parker. We have also intelligence that some part of the enemies troupes are gone towards Friseland. Of any passed into Fraunce we have no certaine advertisement. It is rather generally thought that the forces sent that way continue as yet uppon the frontiers expecting some answer from those of the Ligue. The Deputies from hens that are to be sent in a gratulatorie embassade to the French king are in readines to depart, to witte, Lodovic Brederode a younger brother of that familie, Sylla the pensioner of Amsterdame, and La Préé there last agent in Fraunce. There goeth also in company, as from Count Maurice, Justinus his brother.

"As touching the fortifications of Ostend, to suche effect as Sir John Conway had written to your lordship and I was willed by my Lords of the Councell to move the States, I have dealt a great while sins, but can receive no other answer as yet but that they will consider uppon it. And thus beseeching your lordship to impart these particulars with Mr. Secretary I take my humble leave."  
*Holograph.*

THOMAS BODLEY to LORD BURGHLEY, High Treasurer.

1589, October 10. The Hague.—"It may please your Lordship to be advertised that right nowe I received letters from Sir Francis Vere doing me to witte that our forces marched with victuall towards Berke ye fifth of this moneth, and being come within a league of the towne were charged very fiercely by the enemy in the reregard, going out of a streight passage. The enemy had newly reinforced his troupes with fresh succours of those that were about Huesden. Howbeit Sir Francis and the Englishe, to whome the charge of the reregard was committed, shewed so much valewe in making resistance as the common brute doth commend their vertu exceedingly and he himself writeth that for the space of an houre together they continued at the pushe of the pike, drove the enemy back four times, put them lastly to flight, and killed 600



uppon the place of the bravest Spaniardes and Albanoises among them, and brought away twelve enseigns and 250 horses. There were but fewe taken prisoners, and of those principall persons that were slaine the names are yet unknowen. Nether is it certified by any what losse of men we sustened. It is only signified that divers Englishe souldiers to the number of 40 and more were brought hurt into Arnham. After ye conflict they continued their marche towardes Berke, victualled it and made their retrait with greater honour into Rees. During the time of the fight the garrison of the towne issued fourth and tooke one of the enemies sconces, where they killed all the souldiers saving suche as drowned themselves in the river and in the bogges, wheruppon the enemy in a marvelous fright abandoned the rest of his fortes. It is also written that Count Charles Maunsfelt came presently after the end of this fray with all his forses of Brabant, being as it was thought, 70 enseigns."

*Postscript.*—"By letters from the Count Overstein to the Councell it is certified that Sir Francis Vere is hurt in the legge with a pike, whiche notwithstanding is concealed in his owne letter to me. It is signified besides that an Englishe lieutenant whose name he doth not expresse is slaine, but very fewe besides of one sort or other." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

#### THOMAS BODLEY to SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

1589, October 10. The Hague.—"The messenger whiche I sent to Embden about ye motion of Groeninghen is newly returned, and hath brought me that answer wherof I send your honour the copie, as likewise of mine owne unto him, and of the other which I writte at large, and without superscription, to be indorsed to any suche of the towne or otherwise as the burghmaster should judge most expedient, wherof I writte to your honour the 15 of September.

"The messenger taking Frise in his way hath had some conference with the president Aisma, who signified unto him that he had written long since of that mater to your honour and to Monsieur Sonoye, from whome I doe not doubt but you have had as ample informacion as is requisit. The minister of Emden, a man well knownen to Mr. Gilpin and commonly reputed a man of good experience and judgement, hath also written very effectually to the same effect as the burghmaster, and affirmeth that the enterprise for certaine is both easie and assured, requiring nothing so muche as secrecie and speed. I doe commonly see them in these contrees to build great assurance uppon slender likelihoods. Howbeit in this cause I finde a generall concurrence of all their opinions with whom I have conferred, albeit I have not hitherto imparted any part of my dealing herein with any of the Councell or of the States, attending still, if it be a mater that her Majestie will embrace, suche further direction as your honour shall send.

"After the departure of those deputies that are sent for France, the Generall States sent their secretary to communicat privatly their instructions with me, wherein they have acquainted me further then they have bin accustomed in their other actions; which I doe interpret as done for that they would seeme, at lest in

shewe, to affect a good correspondence, because I see but litle mater of principal consideracion. I would not be so curious as to crave a copie; nevertheles being mindfull of the principal pointes I thought to impart them to your honour.

"In their first accesse to the King they are willed after certain complements of thankes for his infinit travailes in defense of the common cause, with continuall daunger of his owne person, to congratulat in the behalf of the countrey his fortunat conjunction with ye late king and his lawfull succession since to the crowne, and in that respect to wishe him all continuance of prosperitie &c. They are also to relate the present state of these countrey affaires, and to recommend them unto him; to request a good acceptation of that which they lately accorded upon the proposition of Monsieur de la Thuillerie, and to offer what further assistance their feeble state will affourde, acknowledging the weale and good of these contreis to depend after God upon ye happy event of the kinge's affaires. They shall also make report of that whiche they negotiated in Germany with ye princes of ye empire, to induce them to a strict alliance and association against the Holy League.

"In their second audience, for which they are to make petition in regard of their particular causes, they shall become sutours that the contractes made heretofore between the inhabitants of France and these Provinces touching the entercourse of traffique be held still for good and confirmed, namely the privileges graunted by Lewis the XI. to the inhabitants of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and all arestes and edictes published to the contrary to be repeated. They are further to deliver a note unto the king of certain unjust reprisalles that have bin graunted fourth against these contreis. Are also to solicit that the shippes of Brabant, Flanders, and the malcontents elsewhere, may not be suffered to harbour within any portes or havens of the townes in the king's obeisance. They shall declare with as great efficacie as they can, both to the king and to his nobilitie, howe impossible it is for France, if the Spaniard should gett the upper hand in these contreis, to continewe quiet. The articles were more amply sett downe and were in number more, but the rest did rather import mater of course then of moment.

"We are certified at this point of the Count Neuwenar's decease, upon that accident whereof I writte in my last to your honour."

*Postscript.*—"The souldiers in Sekinke's sconce waxe every day more discontented, and the sequel of it is douted very muche. I have advertised my Lord Treasurer of the fortunat exploit of Sir Francis Vere and the English companies under his conduct which he will impart with your honour." *Holograph.*

H[ENRY], EARL OF PEMBROKE to LORD BURGHLEY.

1590, July 25. Iyychurch.—"Allthoughe I might conceive my good lord that either mine opinion written to hir Majestie touching the defence of Milforde Haven was not well liked or some better course by your lordship and the rest of hir Majestie's most honorable Privy Counsell ere this devised, yet that



minde wherwith I then did write and that charge which I then sustained remaining now, makes me bolde in discharge therof to trouble your lordship (and by you others to whome it appertaineth) with a few lines. I am yet of minde that neither in tyme of daunger by the foreine enemy nor in doubt of treacherie by the home bad subject Milford Haven can either be so cheaply strengthened or so safely garded with dead fortifications as with able soldiers. I know a good fortification once perfected is of continuance, yet must it require a great charge to make it; it will aske somewhat yerely to repaire it; it must ever have a competent garrison to defende it, and a strong force readie in tyme of perill to relieve it. To speake of pettie fortificacions like the Bootles blockhouses at Gravesende or of the strengthles force of a few scelly warders is in mine opinion to no purpose, especially at Milford Haven, which is a chiefe marke wherat the enemy (as it pleased hir Majestie by hir lettres to let me understand) hath an especiall eye. No my good lord, such blockhouses, such warders shall be so farre unable to resist an invading power, as they will be in continuall daunger to be surprised by every paulty pirate. If therefore you will thinke to fortifie that place (some wise men doubting whither it be convenient to fortifie with us any the like place) then procede in the worke in such sorte as the charges may not be vainly spente, and appointe therunto such a garrison as the place may be safelie kepte. If you do so then I am much deceived unles the charges of the worke and maintenance of the same, the wages of the garrison and the repaire of the forces for rescue (which must be upon everie attempte, and oftener shall not the other companies of soldiers I speake of be drawne hither) exceed not much the two monethes pay of 3,000 foote and 500 horse. What places Sir John Perrot intended to fortifie, or what summe he required for the same, I knowe not. I never saw the plott of his worke, I never was acquainted with the course he mente to take herin. Mine estimat of the charges proceded from the view I tooke at my being there, and trulie I thought the charges therof should be borne onlie by hir Majestie, and the country therby as little burthened as might be. I do therefore my good lord yet remaine in my former opinion that it is more convenient to have thither 3,000 foote and 500 horse (for without horse the foote will not be of that force which otherwise they should) then to make ther any fortificacions. And I must desire that order maie be taken (if mine opinion be allowed) for great ordinance and munition to be sente thither, for the pay, coate and conduct monie of the souldiers to be employed there, and that care be had they be in Pembroke shire before the enemy shall off to lande. It is easier with 3,000 to withstand their landing then with 100,000 to expell them thence. And it is to be remembered that the souldiers of Somerset and Gloucestre can not marche thither in lesse then seaven daies. Thus have I againe delivered mine opinion, which as I trust shall sufficientlie shewe my care to have all daunger in those partes prevented, so shall it by me be submitted to the wise consideracion of your lordship and the rest of the Counsell, to be censured by you as shall seme good unto you.<sup>32</sup> *Signed.*

SIR R[OBERT] CECIL to MICHAEL HICKS.

[1591,] August 25. Stansted, near Portsmouth.—“Lusty Mr. Michael, for so I am sure your idle journeys and sports have made you by this time, of your comming to London I do heare and of your opinion that my lord will come to Theobalds. Surly you ar misinformed for there is no such matter. The Queen wilbe by the 25th of this moneth at Otlands, you may thank God you have not bene here all this while, for I assure yow on my faith I never saw more troblesome nor more importunate tedious sutes and sutors. Henry Maynard and I have conferred, and even for your respect he is contented to stey tyll the x of the next moneth and then to tarry one day or two only to acquaint yow with that which I assure yow will infinitely trouble yow as things stand at this time.

“Nues here ar none, but all in expectation what will come of the French cawses. My lord of Essex shalbe joined with the Marishall Byron in the siede of Roan and shalbe in all 16,000 foot and 3,000 horse besids 5,000 foot with 2,000 horse which the king is rydd withall (after he had taken Noyon) to meete the Reistres [Reiter] and to help to bring them in quietly towards Roan likewise, so as it is hoped that Roan wilbe the easilier obtained. Bess comends her to you, and I chardge you see the boy I best love.” *Holograph.*

*Addressed* :—“To my frend Mr. Michael Hycks at the L. Threasurers.”

SIR W. FITZWYLLIAM, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to MR. [MICHAEL] HICKS, one of the secretaries to Lord Burghley.

1591 [-2], March 7. Dublin Castle.—“So good hath bene my happ as I coulde not performe the promis I made unto you by this bearer and also wrote unto you myself, I meane in some freindlie token of this cuntry, and yet have I wished him and others of my servauntes that have to do for me, to have provided for you a speciall good horse, but the cuntrie is so voide and spoiled of them as I could not thiherto accomplishe my desire. And therefore till I maie have suche a one as I shall think fitt for you, bothe for shape and pace, I hartely require you to beare with me, and in the meane time to accept of me twentie royalls to buye you a good Englishe nagge for sommer, promising nevertheles (God willinge or otherwise I will greatlie want of my will) to performe my fyrste promis unto you.

“The cuntrie, God I thank, resteth in good quiet, but if occacion of nede shold serve I doubt not but you knowe by my often lettres to the Lord Threasurer that here is but 750 footemen undre leaders, and a fewe horsemen, and no money, and little municion. In these I praiue you as you maie convenientlie finde mete time to remembre his lordship, and for her Majesty’s answeere to the imposte of the yearne, whereof I have nowe written to his honour. The citizens of Dublin have bene verie froward and stubborn in it. And if it please her Majestie to continue it there muste be some lettre written unto them. It is some help to her yerely revenue without anie newe imposition, for it is the same that everie man hath receaved by her Majesty’s licence, and those that carrie the yearne have willingly paid it.



"The weither hath bene so stormie here and the windes so uncerten since the last of February as noe man durst or could put forth till this time and had not one slipt awaie by chaunce the 28 of February my lettres (which I hope ere this are come to my lord) had not come but with these. And so I comitt you to God." *Signed. Seal of Arms.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH and SIR JOHN HAWKINS to the [LORD HOWARD]  
Lord High Admiral.

1592, August 27.—"We have conferred together about the East Indian shippe [*Margin, in another hand, called the Mother of God,* one hundred and sixty five feet in length, 7 decks high and manned with six hundred men. This huge carack was met with about the Azores where Sir Walter Raleigh appoynted some ships to wait for the Spanish East Indian ships] to be brought to Plymouth by Sir John Burgh, and in our opinions she can be no lesse worth then five hundreth thousand pounce\* being a shippe of so great burthen and laden with so rich commodityes as appeareth she is, wherefore we have considered that the Spanish men of warre lying upon the coast of Britaigne hearing of so great a prize taken from the King or the merchantes of that cuntrie, and envying that such a benefytt should grow to us to their hindrance and dishonour, will endeavour by all possible meanes, being distaunt but a daies or nights sayling, either to recover the shipp againe or to burne her and all her lading rather then it shalbe detained here, seing that the places of defence where the shipp may remaine is not able to resist their power. In our opinions therefore we thinke fitt and do praie your lordship that the three shippes of her Majesty which are appointed to keep the narrow seas may by your lordship's lettre and direction be appointed to goe westward and there to guard the Indian shipp for a time, untill the *Gardland* and some of the same fleete be returned, whose arrivall can not be anie long time expected, or untill some other order maie be taken for the unlading or keeping of her otherwise, which we praie your lordship may be done with some expedicion." *Signed by both.*

*Note in the same hand as the marginal note above:—*

"But when she was brought home ye booty was but about 190,000*l.* the commanders, seamen, and soldiers having purloined and embezzelled the rest. For the retrieving of which the Queen issued out a proclamation and appointed commissioners to examine al that were concerned or suspected, upon their oaths, and some of them ventured to foreswear themselves rather than part with their spoil."

*Endorsed:—*"Desiring 3 ships to guard the great Indian ship Sir John Burgh was bringing into Plimouth."

SIR WALTER RALEGH to the LORD TREASURER [BURGHLEY].

1592, September [before the 16th]. "From this unsavory

\* See letter to Fuentes, Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz. 1591-4, p. 422; also Calendar of Cecil Papers IV., 226, 227. For an account of the capture of the Carrack and the proceedings afterwards, see Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 59.

dongeon.”—“Sir George Carew hath dealt with mee to know in particular how her Majestye might be profited by the carecke accordinge to the offer I made. My promis was not to buy my bondage but my libertye, and the hope of her Majestie’s favor. For settinge doune the accompts I cannot for I have receved none, and I am to take reckoninge of twentye severall persons; sume that made my provisions in the west cuntrye, others that imprested men in all the maritime sheires, of the vitles, coopers, smiths for iron hoopes, brewers, bakers, shipp carpenters, armorers, and divers others that provided aparell, canvas, wullen clothe etc. Before I harde of the takinge of the carecke I thought it not worth the labor and mysealfe beinge the greatest adventurer, I was contented rather to smother my loss then labor to publishe a hopeless overthron estate. In breif, thus mich may it pleas your Lordship to know, that of five thowsand toons of shippinge her Majesty hath but aleven hundred, of eyghteen thowsande pounde in mony her Majestie hath but fifteen hundred pounde,\* for the other fifteen hundred\* was imployed on her too shippes, as by Sir John Hawkings accompt will apeare. To conclude, her Majestye’s adventure will cume but to the tenth part, which of too hundred thowsand pounde (such, I thinck, is the valew of the carecke) her Majesties part wilbe but twentye thowsand pounde, and I know her Majestye will not take the rights of her subjects from them contrary to her hand and seale, considering that for her service sake and the rather for your Lordship’s perswacion, they were contented to adventure, and this is not the last tyme that her Majestye shall need their contribucion. If her Majestye had sett out the jurney [at] her own charge, it would have cost her fortye thowsande pounde, as [now ?] it stooode her but fifteen hundred pounde, besides her too shippes. Instead of this twentye thowsande pounde if I had made it a hundred thowsande and donn injury to none but my sealf, I hope it may be thought that it proceeded from a faithfull minde and a trew desire to serve her. Fore score thowsande pounde is more then ever any man presented her Majestye as yet, if God have sent it for my ransome I hope her Majestie of her abundant goodness will accept it, if I speake with the least a greater sume wilbe more thancks worthye. If my imprisonment or my life might do her Majestie more good I protest before God, I would never desire ether libertye or farther respitt of breathinge, and if her Majestye cannot beat me from my affection, I hope her sweet nature will thinck it no conquest to afflict mee. What her will shalbe I shall as willingly obeye.” *Holograph. Seal of arms. Partially printed in Strype’s Annals, but with several errors. Reprinted from Strype in Edwards’ Life of Ralegh, ii, 67.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH to the Lord Treasurer [BURGHLEY].

1592, September 16.—“By your Lordship’s great favor I have obeyned libertye to ride downe. I hope it shalbe profitable for her

\* Mr. Edwards, conceiving Strype to have copied wrongly, alters these to eighteen and twelve hundred, but Ralegh clearly writes fifteen (in letters, not figures) in each case.



Majesty and a quietness and satisfaction to the rest. I here that the rest of your shippes are arrived there also, and present payment must be made that they run not in farther charge. The Lions Whelpe of my lord admirall is cum to the Ile of Wight with too prizes. I have dispatch away a messenger to see them ordered accordingly. The way to profit her Majesty must be in this wise, first to take a fift part for her custome, secondly a tenth part or more for her particular adventure, and next and cheefest I will put the therd part of all into her handes for the mariners which I did undertake to paye and of right belongeth unto my sealf, which will amount to the on half of the careke; for althoughe her Majesty was offended with Sir Robard Cicill for not taking bounde of mee for the payment of the wages yet my lord I did binde my sealf to all the shippes cumpanies to pay them, which indeed I did not confess to Sir Robarde while I was prisoner.

✓ "That this part may cum unto her Majesty as of her own dew and not by mee I will avowe that I undertooke it as in the Queen's right\* who had promised mee to save mee harmless, hopeinge of her Majestie's goodness otherwise; for I protest before the levinge God both my three years pencion of the customhowse which was six thowsand pounce and all I have besids is in this jurney. Now your lordship must remember that the Earle of Cumberland can be in no privat consort with these three shippes but he must cum in with all our fleet, for all ours weare in consort in sight and out of sight, and the agrement of any part cannot breake the rest, otherwise hee would clayme the on half. I pray your lordship to send mee order for sume 2,000*l.* to pay the shippes here wher the most part are, and to pay them for the Queene. I have payd allredd about 1,200*l.* here in London and all the wages will not amount [to] six thowsand, for which the thirds I doubt not but wilbe worth threscore thowsande. I here of great outrage still cummitted ther and therefore it is tyme I weare gonn. I beseich your lordship to beare with my hast for this tyme; ther wants a cummission there to Billingsly and Barns to examine all persons that cum to London and that have convoyed goods and to arest it, also your lordship's letter to octores [authorise] us att Dartmouth to freight shippes to bring about the goodes. It is as good cheap from thence, as from Porsmouth; and in Dartmouth wilbe found war like shippes enough to do it, att Porsmouth none. Besids it weare a desperat adventure to bring her about. I beseich your lordship to take order for thes with sume speade for the charge will groe dayly and winter weather cumes on." *Holograph. Summarized in Strype's Annals, IV., 182, and this summary reprinted from Strype in Edwards' Life of Raleigh.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH to the LORD TREASURER and LORD ADMIRAL.

1592, September 17. Sunday morning. Hartlebury.—"If it pleas your Lordships to send us by this bearer a cummission to examine uppon oath as well mariners as townsmen, and all strangers of other places, what hath byn bought or solde, I doubt not but wee

\* Strype read this "I undertook on us in the name and right."

shall finde out many things of importance, for the Earle of Cumberlands shippes who had the cheefest pillage arived att Plymouth, made port sale of diamonds, rubies, muske, ambergraece and all other cummodetes and not one of the Cummissioners ever moved or sent thither, but only sacked my shippe, which only attended the careke, yeven to the very keilson. The Earles shippes, the *Daynty*, the *Dragon*, the *Forsighte* and the rest ran from her into severall ports and have sold all, only my poore men and ship was stript for her good attendance and if she had forsaken the carecke as they rest did, shee had byn cast awaye. Also if it please your Lordship to send a cummission to Ald. Marten and others to make inquiry in Londone what goldsmiths or jewellers ar gon down, and that att ther retourne the may be examined uppon oath what stone or perrell [pearl] they have bought, I doubt not but many things wilbe discovered. If I meet any of them cumming upp, if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way, I mean to stripp them as naked as ever the weare borne, for it is infinite that her Majestye hath byne robbed and that of the most rare things\* . . .”

*Postscript.*—“If it pleas your Lordships to send cummission to my sealf, Sir John Gilbert, Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Killegrew, Mr. Christopher Harris and Mr. Paydon the Customer and Tristram Gorge, because some o thes<sup>t</sup> dwell uppon Saltashe river and shalbe able amonge their tenants to find out many things.” *Holograph. Seal of arms. Date given only in the endorsement. Printed in Strype's Annals, IV., 178, but in modern spelling and with some mistakes. Reprinted in Edwards' Life, from Strype.*

#### SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

[1592 ?]—Particulars of a prize consisting of pepper, annele, calico, cinnamon, cloves, ebony, silk and velvet, plate of gold and silver, jewels and other articles, valued at about 97,000*l*.

*Endorsed* :—“An estimate of Sir F. Drake's prize.”

ANTHONY BACON to Mr. [MICHAEL] HICKS, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer.

[1593 ?†] June 19. “From Twittnam Lodge.”—“It was my ill fortune and my man's faulte that he had forgotte to repaire unto yow for your aunswer according to my chardge, whereby being very much streightened by the instant approaching of the day I would not faile to endeavour to satisfie yow in the doute yow seeme to make of the sufficiencie of my statute by assuring yow most faithfullie uppon my creditt that besides my land left to me in perpetuitie & over & above my dettes (which I thanke God are more in speech then in spetiallitie) I stand seized in fee simple of more lande then six times the valew of that which I owe your brother, which being trew as it is and cannot be disproved, together with my honest minde and resolucion I must needs earnestlie intreat yow to accept of my statute for fower hundred pound with the

\* See letter of Capt. R. Crosse, Calendar of Cecil Papers, IV., 226.

† Strype printed “some others . . . find out other things.”

‡ Anthony Bacon was in England and at Twickenham in the summer of 1693.



interest for six monethes and to obtaine but a fortnightes respitt of your brother for the residew within which time he shall not misse it at any hande. And so Sir hoping confidentlie that this my trew assercion uppon a pawne which I prize more then all Gorham-bury shall scatter and clear any cloudes which flying brutes or false surmises mought have stirred up in your minde, I can but first render yow most hartie affectionate thankses for your most freindlie respective offer and then beseech yow to beleive that I never entered into statute of debt but to your brother, or into reconissance but to assure certaine land, and that I will be more carefull to conserve the good opinion and affeccion of one of your regard by giving yow due and timelie satisfaccion and other thankfullnes then I shoulde be to purchase or obtaine a benefice of tenn times the vawle. More Sir I cannot professe with modestie though it be farre lesse then my meaning as yow God willing shall finde by effectes if not in this kinde yet I trust in some other which shall be noe lesse acceptable and regarded by yow then the good office I request and expect of your kindenes is presentlie availeable and esteemed of by me; in which full confidence I will end, resting allwayes, yours entirely more affectionate then forcedlie importune." *The concluding words only in Bacon's hand. Seal of arms.*

CARDINAL W. ALLEN to RICHARD HOPKINS at Antwerp.

1593, August 14. Rome.—The concluding part of a letter concerning the reported treaty between England and Spain. *Signed. W. Cardinal. Seal. The whole letter is printed in Strype's Annals, IV., 203, but the earlier part is now missing from this collection.*

*Endorsed by Burghley*:—"Card. Allyn from Room to Richard Hopkyns, a fugitive in Antwerp."

SIR GEORGE CAREY to SIR JOHN PUCKERING, Lord Keeper.

[c. 1593.] From his house in the Blackfriars.—On behalf of Mr. Francis Cotten, a justice of the peace for Hampshire, who had been outlawed for the debt of another man. Requesting that he may continue in the Commission. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH to MICHAEL HICKS, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer.

[1594 ?] July 9. Sherborne.—"I confess I am your debtor for a perrell, but the more yow frinde this bearer the bigger the perrell wilbe founde. It shall growe as your good favor growes to my sarvant. And besides the perrell I wilbe farther thanckfull unto yow for hyme. His sute is honest and yow ar a man of conscience. I know yow love justice for itsealf, but to be carfull and earnest therin is often proceeding from mediation of frinds, of which numbor I hope yow esteeme mee. And so wishing yow a good rich and lustye wife, I committ yow [to] God, and rest your poore frind to do yow service.\* *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

\* *Marginal note on the letter.* "Married in 1597." Raleigh was at Sherborne all through the July of 1594.

## HENRY PEACHAM.

1595.—A fragment from *Titus Andronicus*, stated to be in Henry Peacham's hand. It begins with the passage in Act I., Scene 2—  
 "Enter Tamora pleading for her sons."—

"Stay Romane brethren gracious conquerors "

down to

"Thrice noble Titus, spare my first borne sonne."

*Titus follows with these lines (of which only the three first words now stand in the scene)*—

"Patient yourself Madame for dy he must

Aaron do you likewise prepare yourself

And now at last repent your wicked life."

*After which comes Aaron's speech, now in the 5th Act—*

"Ah now I curse the day and yet I thinke."

down to

"For that I cannot doe ten thousand more."

The wording is identical with that of the first folio. Above the writing, in the same brown ink, is a pen and ink sketch of the scene—Tamora kneeling before Titus, with her sons kneeling behind her, two warriors standing behind Titus and in the foreground a black man with a long sword, who looks like an executioner, but is perhaps Aaron the Moor.

*Signed* :—"Henricus Peacham, Anno M<sup>o</sup> q<sup>o</sup> q<sup>o</sup> q<sup>to</sup>." (*sic*).

*Old endorsement*, "Henrye Peacham's hande, 1595."

## HENRY SAVILE to LADY RUSSELL.

1595 [-6], February 4.—*Printed in Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. IV., p. 319.*

*Endorsed* :—"The Learned Sir Henry Savil. Got Merton College by the Lord Treasurer's means ; now he hopes to get Eaton by the same means."\*

## SIR EDWARD COKE to ———.

[No year]. January 1. Huntingfield.—Appointing a meeting "at the sign of the Crowne," when he and Mr. Godfrey will hear and endeavour to pacify the controversies between his correspondent and his tenants. *Signed.*

## SIR EDWARD COKE, Attorney General, to LORD TREASURER BURGHEY.

1596, May 20.—"I have uppon examination founde out (as I am perswaded) a principall and malicious spreader of the slaunders of my Lord Admirall who by advice of ill counsell in a sute depending in the starre chamber ministred an interrogatorie concerning those slaunders and expressing the same therein, being no thinge pertinent to the bill. His name is Robert Kinge an Essex manne. I have founde out also uppon examination of Lodovic Lloide, one of her Majesties serjauntes at armes, that her Majesties having of late

\* The grant to him of the Provostship of Eton is dated May 26 of this year S. P. Dom., Eliz., Vol. CCLVII., 94.



passed a bill conteynynge a lease of three rectories in Wales for 21 yeres under her highnes signatur, he receiving the same bill have attempted to rase out *v* and to add these two letters *tr* and so of *vigint*. to have made *trigint*, and to that ende dealt with twoo scriveners of Westminster, Prince and Langdon; but they seing her Majesties hand refused the same so as nothing is done. And yet I have moved my Lord Keper that it shall not passe the greate seale untill your lordships pleasure be therein known.

"For the case of the morgaged landes there be two that willingly submitt themselves and offer composition. If it would please Her Majestie to nominate some to deale in that behalfe I doubt not but it will be very acceptable to the subject and very beneficiall to her Majestie." *Signed.*

LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD to LORD BURGHLEY.\*

1596, July 8. Aboard the *Ark*.—"On Saturday the 19th of June twelve leagues of from Cales in the morninge by breake of the daie there was a barke of Waterford discovered a little from me which was newelie come from St. Marie Port. I shott att her to make her strike but she made awaie with all the saile shee coulde, neverthesse within twoe howers I took her. By the Irishmen wee understood betweene fiftie and sixtie sailes of great shippes to be in the baye of Cales and twentie gallies also. Of theise shippes ther were fiftene that were of the kinges men of warre, viz.:—the *St. Philippe*, the *St. Mathewe*, the *St. Andrewe*, the *St. Thomas*, (theise are of the kinges twelve Appostles) twoe other great gallions of Andolozia, fyve great gallions of Biskay, and fower Levantiskos, besides three of his principall pataches of twoe hundreth tonnes a peece; the rest were all great shippes laden with marchaundizes for the Indies and exceedinglie well furnished with men and ordinance, and wonderful riche.

"On Sondaie morninge by breake of daie wee were within half a league of the baie of Cales and might see this great fleete rydinge hard before the towne under the twoe fortes. We came to an ancor before the west end of the towne where wee ment presentlie to land our men. The gallies came out to impeache us but wee little reckoned of them. But the weather grewe so fowle and stormye as when wee had all those that should have landed in the barges and boates wee weere fayne for the safetie of our men to forbear for that tyme and to shippe them againe. Then wee determynd to have gone in to have fought with the shippes and gallies, but before wee could weighe (which was done with muche adoe in so roughe a sea) the night drewe on, whereuppon wee all resolved to come to an ancor in the mouth of the baye not farre from their shippes, determininge in the morninge to sett on them in this manner: my lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Rawleighe, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir George Carewe, Sir Frauncis Veere in the *Raynebowe*, Sir John Wyngefeilde in the *Vanguard* (theise twoe latter were to attend the gallies) Captayne Alexander Clifford, Captayne Crosse and tenne of the Lowe Countrie shippes with twentie of our other

\* Compare Raleigh's letter, printed in Edwards' Life, ii. 146.

small men of warre, to have the first charge, and the rest of us to second them. In the morninge, the enemye, seeinge us thus determyned, slipped ancor and went to Pointall, all savinge twoe of the gallies, which kept under the fortes. Our shippes went on accordinge to the order taken, all the gallies still playinge on us but to their owne losse for they wer well peppered. Everie man sought to ancor as neere the enemyes shippes as they coulde but the place beinge narrowe and great sholds on both sides, their could but theise shippes come to ancor convenientlie; first Sir Walter Rawleighe, then the *Lyon*, then my Lord Thomas, the Earle [of Essex] with muche adoe got uppe neere Sir Walter Rawleighe, the *Raynebowe* road hard by the *Lyon*, and the rest as neere as they coulde. I with dyvers others did ride just betwene the twoe fortes which all the tyme played hotlie on us, and wee beat the twoe gallies under the forte verie notablie. This fight betwixte the shippes contynued batterie to batterie from seaven of the clock in the morninge untill one in the afternoone, theire could also but fyve of the enemyes shippes fight by reason of the sholdes and their gallies which were of small draught of water. The enemye seeinge our resolution and beinge nottablie beaten thought to have slipped from thence to Port Royall, but they were dryven on grownd neere the place where they fought; their men leaped out lyke frogges, many of them were kylled; themselves with a trayne sett the *Phyllippe* on fyre, but God be thancked it tooke so soddaynelie as it blewe upp before our men could enter her. The *St. Thomas* also was burnt a little before. The *St. Mathewe*, a verie goodlie ship, and the next of all Spayne to the *Phylip*, wee have taken with all her ordnance and the *St. Andrewe* also, both shippes of 900 or 1,000 tonnes a peece. All the rest of their shippes savinge two argosies, wherof one was burnt and the other wee tooke (shee also must be burnt bycause shee is unfitt to be brought home) went upp to Port Royall where they were suer for us, as it were in a bagge, whensoever wee should attempt them; but they themselves that night and the next daie sett them all on fier. The whole number taken and burnt were fiftie seaven sayles, all of them great ones, for the three patachees were the least, and yet they were 200 tonns a peece.

“About twoe of the clock the Earle landed hard by the forte of Pontall, which the enemye gave over when they sawe us come. He landed with 3,000 men; himselfe with the one half went towardes the towne, which is distaunte from thence three myles and upwardes, all deepe sandie grownde; the other half wente with Sir Coniers Clifford, Sir Christopher Blunte, and Sir Thomas Gerrard to Pont Swase att the further end of the island, to breake it down. Assone as the boates had landed them, wee used them for the landinge of our sea regimentes, to second the Earle, which was done presentlie by my self, the Lord Thomas, Sir Walter Rawleighe and Sir Robert Southwell. Wee landed 800 men and made a quick marche after the Earle. The Lord Marshall, the Earle of Sussex and Sir George Carewe were with the Earle. His marche was as fast as they could trott, ours after him not much lesse. He was encountered without the towne with some horse and some foote, but he beat them backe thoughe with some small losse of his owne men. Hee entered the



towne wonnderfull bravelie, himself beinge one of the foremost. The towne was exceedinge stronge and full of men, strengthened with a great castle and sondrie fortes, and in truthe eache howse in the towne like a castle. After the enterie the fight grewe verie whot in the markett place, the streetes, castle, and fortes. By this tyme wee came in and releevd the Earle with our shott, and gave them poulder which they stood in need of. Having possessed the markett place the Earle made there a stronge garde and by this tyme it grewe somethinge darke. The Earle, my self, and the principall of our men went into the counsaile howse of the towne, beinge seated in the markett place, where within an hower ther came in manye of the cheife men of the towne and yealded them selves unto us, and happie were those that could first kneele downe to kisse our feete. Within an hower after wee made accompte that wee were suer of all, but the next morninge earlie they of the castle sent the Corigadore and other principall men to declare that they yealded to us, and so did also the captaynes of the fortes. Before it was tenne of the clocke the Earle's ensigne was on the toppe of the castle, and my bloodie ensigne on the forte towards the seas, called the forte Philip. Thus hath the Almightye God blessed her Majestie with this honour and victorie and not above 300 menne lost of all sortes, noe man of name lost but Sir John Wyngfeild, he was hurte first without the towne, where he did most bravlie, and yet would needes enter the towne with the Earle and in the markett place was shott into the head and dyed presentlie.

"My lord I assure you there is not a braver man in the worlde then the Earle is, and I protest in my pore judgment a great soldior, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed. The number of gentlemen in the towne were great, for the principall men of Exceres and those parts of Andolozia neerest hereabouts did put them selves in, for wee were discovered from Cape St. Marye, which wee could no waies avoide, yea and I doe thinke from Cape St. Vincent. This gentleman the bearor [Sir Anthony Ashley] whoe hath behaved himself both wiselie and valiantlie, will shewe your lordship all the perticularities which is impossible for me to write, but I must not forgett to lett your lordship knowe that all men did generallie well, but the cheifest for the service done by sea besides the Earle were the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Rawleighe, my sonne Southwell, and the Martiall [Vere] in the *Raynebowe*; theise did most worthelie. My Lord Thomas, Sir Walter Rawlieghe, and my sonne Southwell had the leadinge and performed it notablie, the place was so narrowe as althoughe manye shippes would have come up to them they could not possiblie, the presse was so thick as one of our shippes was on board another. All the while that the shippes fought the towne and the fortes played on us att their pleasure.

"This was all performed and all thinges quieted in twenty-four howers to Godes glorie and her Majestie's greatest honour, which wilbe spredd over all theise partes of the world. The king's losse is thus great, first the losse of his shippes which was a great parte of his strengthe, then the goodes laden into them for the Indies which were burnte, confessed to be worthe eleaven myllions, the

like wherof was never sent att one tyme before. If they had not burnt it that night by the Duke's expresse comaundement wee should have had twoe myllions of the marchauntes for it, for so it was agreed uppon; besides the towne is of wonderfull importaunce standinge as it doethe, and of great strengthe. The mercie and clemencie that hath bene shewed here wilbe spoken of thoroughe out the world, noe cold blood touched, noe woemen defiled, but have with great care imbarcked and sent to St. Maria Porte all the ladies, which were many, with all the nunnes and other women and children, and have suffered them to carrie all their apparrell with many riche thinges which they carried about them, and were not searched for.

"Havinge ended all our buseneses at Cales by Saturday the 3 of July, on Sunday we shipped our men and set the towne and fortes on fire, sparinge nothings but the churches, on Monday the 5 we set saile oute of the porte in the order your lordship may see in the enclosed, for there were twenty galleyes within two miles of us which lay still in waite to ketch som of our small men, as they did in the Portugal voiage. I did forget that two dayes before we came to Cadiz we sent out Sir Walter Rawligh with six ships to beare neare the shore to take som that we might have knowledge of the coast. He met with three greate ships of the kinges and had not a mist seavered them he had taken them, but they were folowed soe neare the shore as my sonn Leveson in the *Treulove* put one of them on ground, beinge a ship of 1000 tonnes and there she wracked. The other two were cast awaye on the barr of St. Lucar, which was hard by.

"There is not yet anie certaine thinge determined what we shall further doe, for we must frame our actiones to the windes. We are com as far as St. Mary Cape. And thus I dare conclude, that this armie hath bin a discomfort to the rebelles in Irland; it is cause that the king is like to have noe treasure the next yeare; it hathe overthrowne and consumed 61 sayle of his best ships as we nowe more certaynly understand, wherof 19 were men of warr. Of them we bringe twoe home worth 3,000*l.*, the goodes in those fired ships were worth eleven myllions. The welth of the towne let Sir Anthonie Ashley reporte. One good work we have more don, we have redeemed all our men that were slaves in the galleyes in number fifty one." *Signed. Seal of Arms.*

*Endorsed by Burghley* :—"Lord Admyrall from Ayamonte," and in another hand—"Giving account of the brave action of Cales."

*Annexed* :—"Diagram of the order in which the fleet came out of Cadiz "to avoide the danger that the galleyes might have brought to ower small men."

|                         |                                         |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Admiral of the Flemings | Lo. Admirall next to the                |
| a sea boarde            | shore where the galleys laye            |
| Sir Walter Rawleghe     | Within this body Earl of Essex the side |
| a seaboarde             | kept the small men, next the shore      |
|                         | victuallers and                         |
|                         | caryers of soldyers.                    |

The Lord Thomas Howard  
the rereward.



SERGEANT PETER WARBURTON to LORD BURGHLEY, Lord Treasurer.

1597, May 20. Sergeants' Inn.—“Whereas I shewed your Lordship lately divers things for my kinred and bearing of armes, wherein I declared truly and plainly unto your lordship that my grandfather, being a yonger sonne of Sir Geffrey Warburtun by a later wife, and having litle to live upon, was never married and so my father illegittimate, and yet my father was in his life tyme well thought of for it pleased the king to make him shiriff of Chessyre anno xv H. viij, thoffice being void by death, and he married a gentlewoman of good descent who was my mother :

“I desired Mr. Garter about iij yeres agoe to geve me such a distinccion and marke as was convenient and without prejudice to any other, thinking he had had sufficient authority, and he saith that this which he did to me was before his restraint, wherupon myne humble sute is to your good lordship (of whom I have receyved divers good favours and so do acknowledge) that it wold pleas your lordship to geve your honorable and favorable allowance of this distinccion and marke which Garter hath devised, being part of my mother's cote and (as he saith) sufficient, if it may stand with your lordship's good plesure.

“Mr. Warburton of Arley who is chief of the house is acquainted with the matter for I had the most parte of the evidence which I shewed your lordship at his handes.

“Thus hoping that by your honours favoor I shall not be made an instance of Garter's usurpacion, I do most humbly referre myself to your honorable consideration.”

SIR EDWARD COKE to the LORD TREASURER.

1597, August 3. Godwick.—Thanking him for granting him leave to retire into the country, and wishing that his lordship's body “were of such strenghe and vivacitie as the admirable memorie and other inward giftes” with which God has blessed him. *Signed.*

THOMAS BODLEY to LORD BURGHLEY, Lord Treasurer.

1598, May 8. London.—“Upon the receat of your yesterday's letter I have sought among my papers wherewith to serve your lordship's turne. And for ye point of rembourment, what course was taken for it, as well by me as for her Majestie as by those that were deputed for ye General States, I did sette it downe in writing by way of abridgement above twelve moneth agoe, some what doubting that in time it would come againe in question. The transcript of it I have sent with other writings to your lordship.

“Their offers were as then to make an yerely paiment of twentie thousand poundes while the warres should continewe, to acquite her Highnes of ye pay of her auxiliarie forces, to give interteinment to 4,000 Englishe souldiers, to assist her Highnes with their shipping in all her sea occasions, and when the countrey should be brought to peace and tranquillitie to rembourse every yere for four yeres together, one hundred thousand poundes. So that then I did finde their abilitie so good to beare the burden of ye warres, as they

made no further suite but that her Highnes would mainteine her auxilliarie charges.

“To give your lordship satisfaction as touching those arguments on which they grownded their unwillingnesse not to hearken to a treatie, I have herewith sent unto yow the printed answear of the States to the Circles of the empire anno 90, the proposition of the Baron de Reidt the Emperours ambassadour together with their answear in the yere 92, the project of a lettre which I meant to have sent to Bruxelles to the ambassadour of the Emperour if your lordship for respectes had not thought it better to suppress it, Ernestus’ lettre to the States perswading an accord, with their answear unto it in the yere 94. In those propositions and lettres is all contained in effect that could be then produced for making or marring a peace with the Spaniards. First for peace is alleaged the general desire of the Princes in Europe, the continual unchristian effusion of blood, the desolation and ruine of the estates of bothe parties through the unspeakeable slaughter of their people and subjectes, the intolerable annoiance of all their neighbour countreies, the notorious disorders and calamities in warre, the grievous impositions of newe taxes and tallages, the weerinesse of Spaine and their thirst after rest, whereby the States might stand assured of good perfourmance of conditions, the uncertaine event of exploites in the warres, and the curse hereafter that their children might give unto their parents for forfeiting by rebellion their ancient immunities.

“The States have urged on the other side for continuance of the warres, the crueltie and pride and barbarous cariage of the Spaniard alike with them as in the Indies and in all other places, the examples of the fraudes that they have heeretofore used in all their compositions, the treacheries and villanies which they have practised alwaies against the person of her Highnes, and in France against the king, and bothe their dominions, the violation of their faith at sundrie times in sundrie causes by meanes of their beliefe *quod cum hereticis non est servanda fides*, the ambitious humour of the king in apparently aspiring to the general monarchie, the publike abjuration receaved by the States against him and his government, the infamous change of the enemies opinions in mater of religion, to serve their owne turnes, having alwaies helde it heeretofore for *crimen læsæ majestatis* for any subject to take armes against his natural souveraigne, and yet giving nowe of late all maner of reliefe to the rebels in France and likewise in Ireland, the present meanes that may be made, assoone as peace is concluded, to drawe the Lowe Countreies to a servile estate, the want of might in their allies to protect them if they would from that intention of the enemy, and lastly a most happy and speedy successe which they expect of all their troubles if they might be very roundly and soundly supported.

“In effect it was ever supposed by the States that there can be no securitie of peace with the Spaniard, for that her Majestie and they can but deale with him in confidence upon his simple promise, which may prove in case of breache muche more prejudicial to her Highnes and to them then to the king and his countreies. For if her Majestie or the States should give the king occasion, he may soone worke the meanes to recover his former strength, but if other-



wise her Highnes should be wronged by the king, she should be so muche then the weaker as nowe she is the stronger by reason of those forces that are a foote among the States, which in all kinde of likelihoode she shall heereafter not be able to reduce when she would to their present estate.

"This is so muche as the lettre which your lordship hath written doth seeme to require, wherewith I would intreat that sith I have no other copies of those pamphlettes and lettres it might stand with your good liking to spare them to me againe when your lordship hath no cause to deteine them any longer." *Holograph.*

JOHN [WHITGIFT], Archbishop of Canterbury, to SIR ARTHUR HEVENINGHAM and SIR BASSINGBORNE GAWDIE.

1599, August 22. Croydon.—Sending them a bond to be signed by Mr. Humphrey Bedingfield of Quiddenham, and directing them, if Mr. Bedingfield have any sons "of any yeres" that are recusants, to take bond of them to appear before himself at such time as they may appoint. *Signed.*

LUCIE, MARCHIONESS OF WINCHESTER, to [MICHAEL HICKS?]

1600, October 29. Basing.—Thanking him for his care in her lord's troublesome business and sending by Mr. Waltham, the bearer, the patent of Steeple Ashton "for the better satisfyng of Greenhill in his conveyance," which she refers to the good care of her correspondent and Mr. Hubberd. *Signed.*

SIR EDWARD COKE to MR. PEMBRIDGE.

1602, May 17. Inner Temple.—Warrant for the delivery to Robert Gage of certain deeds relating to the Manor of Keyston in county Huntingdon—viz. the original indenture by Walter, late Viscount Hereford, granting a lease thereof for years to Henry Clifford and Anne his wife, deceased, sister of the said Viscount; the assignment of the same by the said Henry to Walter Clifford, deceased; the further assignment thereof by Walter Clifford to Robert, late Earl of Essex, attainted of high treason, and "the counterpart of the indenture of bargain and sale" whereby the Earl granted the said manor to the Queen—the said term of years being now, by the attainder of the Earl, "in her Majesty" and the said Robert Gage having procured a commission to find an office for her Majesty. *Signed.*

SIR SIMON BURGHLEY.

[Temp. Eliz.]—A poem entitled "Sir Symon Burlei's tragedy." *Sixty-seven verses. By Thos. Churchyard. Printed in 1565 in "The First Part of Churchyard's Chips."*

JAMES I. to SIR HARRY COCKE, "our Cofferar."

1603, April 2. Holyrood House.—"Upon the report of your faithfull discharge of your offyce and duetye toward our onely

dearest syster of famous memory, and of your habilytie and fytnes for our sirvyce at this tyme of our jorneying to England, when we intend to imploy you in such things as concerne the same, in esperance of your noe lesse honorable behaviour and affection to be uttered towards us then of before toward her: We will therefore require and desyre you to addresse your selfe to be at us in Barwicke or Newcastle with all possible speed . . . to discharge sic dyreccions and imployment as may concerne the furtherance of our service." *Signed.*

#### THE KINGES JESTE.

|                                                                                                       |          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| [1603, April.]—From Doncaster to Worsoppe, the Earle of Shrewsburies to bedde                         | 14 miles |
| From Worsoppe to Neuworke Castell                                                                     | 13       |
| From Neworke Castell to Bever Castell, the Earle of Ruttlandes                                        | 10       |
| From Bever Castell to Burgeleyghe the Lord Presydenes howse                                           | 16       |
| From Burgeleye to Hynchynghborouge, Sir Henrye Cromwell's                                             | 21       |
| And to dynner at some place by the waye                                                               |          |
| From Fynchingebrooke ( <i>sic</i> ) to Roystone                                                       | 15       |
| From Roystone [to] Stondon, Sir Tho. Sadler's ix, to dinner and to bed to Hertford iiij myles, in all | 13       |
| From Herteforde Castell to Tibbolles [Theobalds], Mr. Secretarys                                      | 10       |
| and Howarde Howse in Charterhowse                                                                     | 12       |
| <i>Written on the back of the preceding letter.</i>                                                   |          |

#### KNIGHTS OF THE BATH.

[1603, July 24.]—A list of those "to be knights of the Bath." Forty-nine names. The list is incomplete, omitting many names given in Nichol's *Progresses of James I.* (Vol. I., p. 221), but gives, in addition, the names of Lord Dudley, Lord Norries, Fras. Clifford, John Sheffield, William Steward, Fras. Fortescue, Griffin of Dingley, and Lionel Tallmouth [Tollemache]. [*Of these, only Fortescue and Griffin appear to have been actually included in this creation.*]

*Endorsed* :—"The Knights of the Bath."

#### ROBERT, LORD CECIL TO MICHAEL HICKS.

1603, August.—"I am sorry the contagion hinders our meeting and yet am gladd your quarters go free. For myself I have no hope of ease, but leave all to God's providence. For Pindar's matter I have not heard of it, neyther is the time such as I can deale in any of these private. What I do, when I do it, he shall know to be for you. For the consyderation money send me woord what it is you shalbe answered it."

*Postscript*.—"Whatever you heare of inocency know they are all in the King's mercy. For Sir W. Raleigh, his contempts are high, howsoever his crimes may fall in *foro Judicii*." *Holograph. The date given by Hicks in his endorsement.*



VERSES attributed to SIR WALTER RALEGH.

1603.—“Certaine hellish verses devysed by that Athiest and traitor Rawley as yt is said, viz.” :—

“When first this circkell round, this building fayre,  
 some god tooke out of this confused masse  
 what god I do not know nor greatly care  
 then every one his owne director was,  
 then war was not nor ritches was not knowne  
 and no man said then this or that ys my owne  
 the plowman with a furrowe did not marke  
 how far his great possessions they did reache  
 the earth knew not the shore nor the sea the barke  
 nor soldiours dared not the battered breach  
 nor trumpets loud tantara then did teache  
 they neided then nothing of whom to stand in awe  
 but after Nynus warlicke Bellus sonne  
 with uncouth armoure did the earth array  
 then first the sacred name of king begann  
 and things that were as common as the day  
 did yeld themselves and lykewise did obey  
 and with a common muttering discontent  
 gave that to tyme which tyme cannot prevent.  
 Then som sage man amonge the vulgarr  
 knowing that lawes could not in quiet dwell  
 unles the[y] were observed did first devyse  
 the name of god, religion, heaven and hell  
 and gaine of paines and faire rewardes to tell  
 paines for theis that did neglechte the lawe  
 rewardes for him that lived in quiet awe  
 whereas in deid they were mere fictions  
 and if they were not yet (I thinke) they were  
 and those religious observationes  
 onely bugberes to keepe the worlde in feare  
 and make them quietly the yoke to bere  
 so that religion of itself a fable  
 was onely found to make that peaceable  
 herein especially comes the foolish names  
 of father mother brother and such lyke.  
 But who soe well his cogitations frames  
 shall onely fynd they were but for to strick  
 into our minds as tever [*sic*] kind of lyke  
 regard of some for shew, for feare, for shame  
 indeid I must confes they were not bad  
 because they keep the baser sorte in fere  
 but we whose myndes with noble thoughts ar clad  
 whose body doth a ritch[er] spirit bere  
 which is not knowne but flyethe everywhere  
 why should we seeke to make that soule a slave  
 to which dame nature such large freedome gave  
 amongst us men there is som difference  
 as affections termeth us be it good or ill  
 as he that doth his father recompence

differs from him which doth his father kill  
 and yet I think, think others what they will  
 that paradise\* when death doth give them rest  
 shall have as good a part even as the best  
 and that is just nothing for as I suppose  
 in deathes void kingdom rules eternall night  
 secure of evill [and] secure of foes  
 where nothing doth the wycked soule affright  
 then since in death nothing doth us befall  
 here while I live I will have a fetch at all.

Finis R. W. *alias* W. Rawley."

*Endorsed* :—"Verses written by Sir Walter Rawleye, 1603."

W., EARL OF BATH to SIR THOMAS ARESKINE.

1603 [-4,] February 22. "Towstocke."—Asking him to obtain leave for him to absent himself from attending the King through the city from the Tower on the 15th of March next, as he is troubled "with an olde griefe" in one of his legs, and has been ordered to Bath, as Mr. Sergeant [*sic*] Godorous well knoweth, whose medicines he has used ever since he was last at London, but without any great effect. If leave of absence is granted him, he will presently send up his voice by proxy.† *Signed. Seal of arms.*

W., EARL OF BATH to THOMAS HINSON, at Bath House.

1603 [-4,] March 22. "Towstock."—"I have receyved [yours] by Snap my lady's footman for the which I thank yow, but I am very sorry that yow are trobled with your old disease. I hope in God it wilbe better and am glad Mr. Goodorowse is with yow as I hear, and brave Dr. James Loveringe one of ye doctors of my makinge as you know, I hope you will take no phisick of him but he will be sure to speake good wordes and som prety tales and jestes with a littell lying good for travaylors which I think yow will beare with him if he be sober. This old Mat Hinson is to mak yow merry and to recreat your self with your old frend Dr. Swale and my poore Hobby Burton and my good frend Dr. Legg. I hear by your letter that Dr. Swalle was with yow and Burton and I thank them that they wishe me so well that thay wold not have me theare for the sicknes, and my poore Hobby Burton will not have me his poore frend to be lost. I thank his worship for his kindnes.

I pray remember Dr. Swalle, Dr. Legg, and him about the scolleres and other thinges that they should do for me and be earnest with them about it or else I shalbe very mucche offended, and those thinges that I write to yow for to performe in every respect and to ayre them throughlie, sicknes or not. The rest of my mind I leave to Skyppon's letter who I am sure will write unto yow. I am sorry that the place is so dispersed through the cytty, prayinge yow to make

\* There is a copy of these verses at the British Museum (Add. MSS. 32092, f. 201), which also has "paradice," but clearly "paracide" is meant.

† The licence for his absence from Parliament was granted on February 27. See Cal. S. P. Dom., James I., under that date.



haste as muche as yow can to comme and gett leave by any meanes. Send up what newes is stirring if you com not so soone. I have a journey to ryde to the bathe after Ester for I will not be perswaded to the contrary if it be but only to see my frendes which I told Skyppon of who I thinke will write to yow of it. I would be very glad to have Dr. Swale, Dr. Legg, and Burton to come along with yow or som of them this sommer or else I shalbe very much discontented and so tell them. I pray yow in any case bring with yow the scollers and others if yow can or leave word for their cominge after." *Holograph. Seal with crest.*

W., EARL OF BATH to his daughter, LADY FRANCES BOUCHIER.

[1604 ?] June 6.—“I see by your letter you have a mynd to leave that place and come home to me. I mislyk it not for yow have troblyd your frends and myn ther so long as I am sorry for it, but my will is that yow shall now stay ther a while to see if my sonne may be made fytt to com upp to yow for a lyttell tym to satisfy the desier of his honorable frends who I thank them ar willing to see him to try what the chang of ayer and company may doe to mend his infirmity. I think they will not stay him long ther and then yow may com together for I will not send him upp nor leav him ther to trouble them unless yow be at hand to see him if he shuld happen to be sick ther as he is here very often. I wold have yow to sygnifie thus much to my good nephue of Bedford and my brother the lord Russell and my sister of Cumberland and in my nam to geve them all many thanks aswell for ther loves to yow as for ther desyer to be trobled with my sonne.

“Uppon your answer to this my letter yow shall hear agayn from me.” *Holograph.*

SIR W. RALEGH to SIR MICHAEL HEXT [HICKS].

1604, November 10.—“I pray spare John Shelbury\* for a little tyme, for I protest before God wee have no means in the world to discharg it as yet. Hee stands bound for mee for 1,500*l.*, and if hee bee arrested for my part, hee must ly in prison for all. God is my witness that if hee be restrayned, that hee cannot recover the wine arrearage, thes debts will never be payd. It cannot profit yow any way to molest hym but it may bee his undowing and I may therby lose all thos debts of the wine office and then never abell to pay myne own.” *Holograph. Date given in endorsement.*

SIR W. RALEGH to —

[1604-8]—“Least you might charg me with breach of promis I desire by these to excuse my selfe, seing the resolution required from me uppon an offer made me in your name was the next day by the same partie disavowed to proceed from any other but him self, I was also presently uppon your departure summoned by

\* One of the assignees of Raleigh's estate, and receiver *pro tem.* of the rents of the wine licences. See Cal. S. P. Dom., James I., 1603-1610, pp. 76, 102.

process to awnswere the law, so was my wife, my childe, and divers other of my frindes, and therby the dispute of the former proposition att an end.

"Since then I understand by Mr. Fellwall that if I make yow no offer between this and Saterday next that it will not be your pleasure hereafter to herken to any composition. What the law will determine in this controversy your self shall better judg if it please yow but once to heere my counsell with your owne. For it is trew that I have no propertie att all in the land in question, for his Majestie's mercifull graunts both of the land and leases are to the use of my wife and for the present reliefe of my children and not to me. They have also divers other leases in their owne names, in which I have no other interest but as a father during the infancie of my childe and as a husband during my wives life, and therefore as ther is left in me no other powre then my perswasion only who am but a dead husband to the one and a dead father to the other (your sute in law agaynst us having made them know mich of their owne strenght) it will not now be easy for me to order them concerning their whole livelehode and estates, who being destined to endles misery in this life can never more harme them by my mislike nor healp them by my indevor. For otherwise to perswade them to their owne expulsion and beggerry and to leve them no habitation uppon the face of the earth, the on having no husband, the other no father, were against the law of nature and the honor of man kinde. But sir if it may please yow to be a mean for the recovery of his Majesties grace, that I may dye but with the marke of his mercie, I will disavow the one for my wife and the other for my childe if they do not willingly give yow satisfaction, and if his Majestie have bine informed that these offences layde to my charg were not only not subscribed by my accuser [Cobham] but were denied uppon the holie sacrament att the instant when he expected death, it shall not be hard for yow to draw some few dropps of commiseration from him who is the world's great fountayne of all goodnes.

"These things I leve to your honorable consideration hoping that yow will rather chang the cries and sorrowes of my wife and children into their prayers for yow then that yow will either increase them or continue them." *Holograph.*

*Endorsement, carefully cancelled, appears to be* "I think this letter was written to Sir Robert Carre."

SIR FRANCIS BACON to SIR MICHAEL HICKS.

1605 [-6.] January 17.—"Good Sir Michael, I am desirous to conferre with you about some business which concerneth me much, and thearfore yf you will appoynt any time, and that with speed, yow shall doe me kyndness. In hast, yours, Fr. Bacon." *Holograph.*

ROBERT, EARL OF SALISBURY to HENRY [PRINCE OF WALES].

1608, December. Whitehall.—"Such is the disproportion between your Highness and me (you the soonn of Jupiter and I his



poor beagle), as I shoulde dispaire to hold your favour if I discerned not those two eminent qualities in you which are sayd *designare regem futurum, Fydem et benignitatem*. Th'one (which is your princely trust) I find by the thanks it pleaseth you to give me, in whose fortune (compared with yours) it lieth not to yeld you ought that is worth a feather, except you do accept *voluntatem pro facto*, thother I have like reason to observe by the favours you have don to me and myne from whom you can have so poor a retourn.

"For your hawk, no praise can comend her so much as doth the sight of the hern topps which being wonn owte of the cloudes (where the whyte jerfawkon I hope will never be) were a great deale more fitt for the prince of Wales then for my wearing, especially being dedicated by you to that saint of England in whom you may challenge more interest then any other, a saint of that valour and worth that anciently in the tymes of distress (as the men of peace dyd call upon God and Our Lady) so the men of warr cry out upon God and St. George.

"For your servant Cranborn I humbly thank your Highness both for your present grace and future promises. And where your Highness in favour to his parents have wished *propitiam Junonem pronubam*, I have made bold to take him from Juno and to comend him yesterday to Neptune, being now gone to pass the seas. I have broken Moyses law by which the married cople shoulde for the first yeare rejoyce together, hoping the sooner he goes the sooner he shall retourn more able to do you service." *Draft, by the Earl.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH to SIR ROBERT CARR.

[1608, December.]—"After some great losses, and many yeres sorrowes, of both which I have cause to fear that I was mistaken in ther endes, it is come to my knowledge, that yourselfe (whom I knowe not but by an honorable fame) have bin perswaded to geve me and mine our last fatall blowe by obtaininge from his Majestie the inheritance of my children and nephewes, lost in the lawe for want of a word.\* This done there remaines nothinge with me but the name of life, despoyled of all else but the title† and sorrowe therof. His Majestie, whome I never offended (for I ever held it unnaturall and unmanlye to hate goodness) stayed me at the graves brincke, not (as I hope) that his Majestie thought me worthie of manye deaths, and to behould all myne cast out of the world with myselfe, but as a kinge who judginge in truth hath received‡ a promise from God that his throne shalbe established for ever.

"And for yourselfe, Sir, seinge your fayre|| daye is but now in the dawne and myne drawne§ to the eaveninge, your owne vertues and the kinges grace assuringe you of manye good fortunes and much honor, I beseech you not to begine your first buildinge upon the ruines of the innocent, and that¶ there and my sorrowes¶ maye

\* "Sir Walter Raleigh's estate is fallen into the King's hands by reason of a flaw in the conveyance." Chamberlain to Carleton. S. P. Dom., Jac. I., Vol. XLIII., 7.

† Written "tythe" in the copy in Add. MS. 4106, which Mr. Edwards noted as probably an error. ‡ "Retayned," *Ibid.* || This word omitted, *Ibid.*

§ "come," *Ibid.* ¶ "Ther greifes and sorrowes," *Ibid.*

not attend your first plantation. I have bin ever bound to your nation as well for many other graces as for ther true reportes of my triall to the kinge his Majestie, against whome had I bin found malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemyes into frendes, malice into compassion, and the\* mindes of the\* greatest number present into the consideration† of my estate. It is not the nature of foule treason to begett such fayre passions, nether could it agree with the dutye and love of faythfull subjectes, especially of your nation, to bewayle his overthrowe that had conspired against theire most liberall and naturall lord. I therfore trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that shall till‡ us outright, cutt downe the tree with the frutes and undergoe their curses that enter into the feildes of the fatherlesse, which (if it please you to knowe the truth), are farr lesse frutefull in value then fame, but that so worthie a gentleman as yourselfe will rather bind us to your service, beinge, Sir, gentlemen not base in birth and alliance which have interest therein, and my selfe with the uttermost thankfullnes will ever remayne readye to obey your commandmentes." *Copy.*

*Endorsed by Hicks* :—"Dec. 1608. Coppie of Sir Walter Raleigh's lettre to Sir Robert Carr."

*Printed with many verbal differences (the more important of which are here noted) in Edwards' Life of Raleigh, from a copy in Add. MS. 4106. Another copy at the British Museum, Harley MS. 6908, f. 4, has the date added, as Jan. 2, 1608 [-9].*

#### THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE AID TO LORD KNYVET.

1609, May 20. Whitehall.—Requesting that, as he has not tendered any composition for the Aid in the country, he will attend to do so before them at Whitehall on the 27th inst., they being specially commissioned by his Majesty for the purpose.

*Signed*.—J. Ellesmere, Canc. ; R. Salisbury ; H. Northampton ; T. Suffolke ; E. Worcester ; W. Knollys. *Seal*.

#### EDWARD, LORD DENNY TO HIS GRACE [PRINCE HENRY ?]

[No date.]—Regretting that he was gone from home before hearing of his Grace's coming into those parts, humbly craving pardon upon his knees for his absence, and hoping that the next year his Grace will make him happy by honouring his poor house with his presence. Meanwhile, praying the Prince to use his walks [? in Waltham Forest] and to accept the young horse sent herewith. He is but four years old, and so may have his first teaching from his Grace's own direction. *Signed*.

*Addressed* :—"To the most virtuous and excellent young prince geeve these." *Seal of arms*.

*If addressed to Prince Henry, it was probably before he was made Prince of Wales (at the beginning of 1610).*

#### QUEEN ANNE TO KING JAMES I.

[No date].—"My heart, I am much bound to your Majesty for

\* This word is omitted—Add. MSS. 4106.

† "commiseration, *Ibid.*, which is probably right. ‡ kyll, *Ibid.*



the care you have of mee. Walking in the garden I plucked an hearb, touching my [? the] belike venomous quality of it caused an itching and swelling, but it is now well. I have taken noe physick for my face, only I took something which Mayerne leaft with my apothecary to take every month. I wish your Majesty a happy and joyful progresse humbly entreating you to pardon my waiting upon you at Salisbury; one reason is (to tell your Majesty the truth) I am not furnished with money, another is that I have noe maides of honour to attend me. But next yeare if it please God to send us both health, I will goe with you the first day your Majesty doth goe. I well waite (*sic*) if I may understand what is amiss at Oatlands, I will endeavour to [see] it reformed to your will."

*Postscript.*—"Let me humbly entreate your Majesty to grant me my humble suit concerning my Lord Chamberlaine, that I have desired this many a year. I promise whilst I live I will never trouble you in this kind any more."

*Noted* :—"A copy of a letter of Queene Annes, from her own hand, to King James."

#### SIR EDWARD CECIL to the PRINCE [OF WALES].

1610, September 14. Skincks Sconce.—"I presumed latly to advertise your Highness by Mr. Harby of the taking of Juliers and by him I sent a plant of [it ?] and all the approaches as they were when the towne was rendered and of the just proportion of one intier bulwarke of the castell, that your Highness might be pleased by that to judge how excellent a plase the whole must be. The desier I had to dispatch that messenger with speed robed me of all tyme to present every thing then in that full perfection to your Highness as my duity and your owne rare princely judgement in the profession of armes might worthyly exspect. And now that our army is so nearly returned and I so overprest with a longing desier to come over and be made happy by kissing your Highness' handes, I humbly beseech your Highness to allow mee to be the messenger of all the perticularites, my selfe having mad an assembly of the best observations I could to offer to your Highness vew at my returne, and such as I was unwilling any hand should be honored in bering them to your Highness but my owne. To morrowe the tropes will be dispersed from Skinkskans in to there garisons, and when I have accompayned Count Mauris to the Hage to see the tropes receaved by the States in there former conditions, I purpose my returne to render an account to his Majesti and your Highness of all my poore indevoures in this employment. This bearer Captain Deuhurst is joyned with Sir Jhon Burlace for the safe delivery of that arch jesuit father Baldwin in to his Majesti hands and to assuer our selves of the garison of Rhyneberke and other of the Archdukes fronters in these partes which might have atempted his recovery, wee stayed him till now that the army marched and so have shipt him with all safety for England, where I hope he will discover many rare and hidden practises he hath beeyne busied in against the state. I have never heald much discorse with him yet I observe him to be naturally of a wonderfull pryde and full of passion in any thing he speaketh of, and

rather a generall understander of politike matters then a sound mann in controverses of religion. I dare presume to comber your Highness noe longer, begging humbly pardon that I have adventured to wryt thus much." *Holograph.*

JOHN DONNE to the PRINCE [OF WALES].

[1610.]—"Next to that boldness of having dedicated thys booke\* to our soveraigne lord your Highnes father, it were the greatest boldnes that I could committ not to present to your Highnes a copy therof, who are so perfitt a copy of hym. For though thys booke be none of those things which devolve upon you because they ar hys (for by so great a title as that, onely kingdomes and vertues belong to you) yett ytt belongs to your Highnes because ytt endeavors to prepare and dispose some irresolved and undetermined persons to an obedience of our lawes, and so yt respects and relates to future tymes which are yours. Though therfore some extreme contemplative philosophers have thought ytt to be the highest degree of reverence which man could use towards God to abstaine from owtward sacrifices and from verball prayer, beecause nothinge but our purest thoughts, before they are mingled with any affections or passions, can have any proportion to God or gett within any distance of hym, yett they erred, because they thought we went to God in these actions when indeed God comes to us. So also do princes descend to receive the offices of such men as cannot reach up to them; for therfore hath God allowed them so many of hys own attributes, that they might not take a measure of theyr greatnes by the lownes of others but by theyr conforminge themselves to hym and doinge as he doth. And therfore though I might have performed some part of my duty by continuinge in my private prayers in my study for your Highnes and thys state, yett I cannot fear but that you wyll also descend to thys and accept the same duty as yt ys thus uttered and apparelled in thys booke. For since as well as the whole body of thys state I also felt the benefitt and sweetnes which we enjoy in thys government, ytt became mee to contribute some thinge in testimony of my thankfullnes and onely in wishinge your Highnes happines and in thys manner of expressinge ytt, am I a subsidy man." *Holograph.*

SIR WILLIAM MONSON to the EARL OF SALISBURY.

[1611, June 7.] Aboard the *Adventure*, 7th day, 10 cloke forenoon.—"Sir Edward Sowch and Sir William Button aryved here betwixt 7 and 8 a cloke in the morning and according to your lordships dericktionnes we ar readie to performe every pertyckeuler, and for the more convenientey and spעד we doe imbarke in the French barke wherein they whear taken, and goeth with her to the North Foreland where we shall have choyce of keatches to put my Ladie [Arabella Stuart] and her servants in, and the barke with the passengers to ply up as convenient as they maye. And least the wind doe overblowe and hange westerly as yt is licke to doe bothe. I have wryten to the offecers of the navye to hasten downe with all spעד the lyght horsman to meett us at the east end of the Swale, and so to

\* *The Pseudo-Martyr*, in answer to Cardinal Bellarmine.



rowe derycktyl up to London, but least your Lordship shuld not knowe the meaning of the Swale, yt is the eastermost part of Shepy whear we shall rowe betwixt the yland and the mayne."

*Postscript.*—"Heare is no newes yett of the Charells nor any other pertycullers touching Mr. Seamor.\* *Date given in the endorsement.*  
*Seal of arms.*

*On the back, in different handwritings, are endorsed the post stages :—*  
"At Sandwich, past 1, afternoone. At Canterbury at past 3 a clocke in the afternoone. Sittingborne at 6 in the afternoone. Rochester at past 7 a clocke at night. Dartford at past 9 a clocke at night."

#### ANNE, LADY HARINGTON to the PRINCE OF WALES.

[No date].—Sends back her son, his Highness' servant, whom she found "as loth to staye past his lymyted time" as she and his father were to detain him. As this liberty has been of his Grace's free kindness, so does she assure herself that her son will strive to answer it with the more care in his diligent service.

#### PRINCE HENRY to his father, JAMES I.

1612, July 29. Richmond.—"Seeing that your Majestys pleasure signified to me by my Lord R[ochester ?] is that I set down my opinion concerning the proposition lately made by your ambassador unto Villeroy, your Majesty must pardon both the boldness of my writing and the weakness of my opinion in a matter of such consequence, wherefore may it please you to consider that for so far as your ambassador hath hitherto proceeded in it, hath wrought the same effect that might have been looked for, but when it cometh to a more particular negotiation whether they will then yeild unto such conditions as your Majesty in your wisdom shall think fit the success of their next interview will make you give a more neare guess. The cause which first induced your Highness to proceede in this proposition by your ambassador was the hope which the Duke of B[ouillo]n gave your Majesty of breaking their other match with Spaine. If the continuance of this treaty hold only upon that hope and not upon any design to effect a match with the second daughter, in my weake opinion I hold that it stands more with your Highnesses honor to stay your ambassador from moving in it any more than to go on with it, because no great negotiation should be grounded on a grownd that is very unfair or uncertain and depends upon their wills who were the first causers of the contrary. Next it will not be honorable for your Majesty that the world should see that when you shall have broken it off after a long treaty you did it onely to breake of the other, seeing they will say it is your own fault not having made soon enough an overture for the first. Whither your Majesty will proceed further in it upon the desire you have to make a match with the second, that with the rest I leave to your Majestys further and better judgment, but if your Majesty

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\* William Seymour, husband of Lady Arabella.

is resolved to continew in respect of it self then I entreat your Majesty be sure both of the certainty and of the sending of her hether upon the conclusion or att the furthest at the going of the other into Spain. I fear I have troubled your Majestys patience too long with a good tale ill told but you must impute this falt unto your command and not unto my presumption. I shall ever hold my selfe very happy to be commanded by him whom I have most reason of all others to love honor serve and obey." *Copy.*

*Dorso, rough notes on various matters, the following being the only ones bearing on the above letter.* "Match bet. Eng. and Fr. as much disliked by those of the Sp. syde as Palatip. Pope like match with Fr. and dislike Savoy, especially Florence. Sir Ch. Cornwallis against match Flor. Sir Tho. Chal[loner] built upon for the match."

#### A RAFFLE.

1612.—"A description of divers rare and costly things of necessary use for Noblemen, Knights or Gentlemen of worth which are to be rifled and wonne by their chance at dice, in a plaine and direct order: and is to be performed, according to the order heere-unto annexed, at a convenient place appointed for that purpose."

"A China Fountaine well garnished and set in silver and guilt, prized at three score pound.

A Christall Cabbinet, prized at fifty pound.

A standing Cup of China, with a cover well garnished with silver and guilt, twelve pound.

A Saddle contrived with many necessary instruments of use, artificially conveyed within the same, to be used in hunting or travel otherwise, prized at forty pound.

A large Bead-stead, the vallence, head and posts of costly workmanship, prized at three score pound.

A large Cabbinet, prized at twelve pound.

A Table of most curious workmanship, the frame and all wrought, which hath private convayed boxes in the same, prized at a hundred pound.

A Christall standing Cup with a cover, garnished with silver and guilt, prized at twenty pound.

A paire of Slippers imbrodered with Pearle, prized at six pound.

A China Table wrought with gold, prized at five pound.

A large Looking-glasse in a frame, with a cover all ritchly wrought, prized at fifty pound.

A paire of Bellowes of like worke, prized at ten pound.

Two China dishes, the feet and brimmes garnished with silver and guilt, prized at ten pound.

A Cabbinet inlayed with a Canapie over it necessarily contrived, prized at ten pound.

A China Salt, garnished with silver, prized at six pound.

An Ebony Cabinet, inlayed with Ivory, prized at five pound.

A Diamond Ring, prized at five and twenty pound.

A Fountaine for water, to bee set in a garden, artificially contrived of mettles, prized at thirty pound.



An Ivory Cup, with curious worke in it, prised at six pound.

A large China Bead-stead all guilt with gold, and well wrought, prised at thirty pound."

"An Entertainment for Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of worth.

"Prepared of an Italian, consort of strange musique, consisting of nine instruments with other severall instruments, musically concorded with Italian voyces, very delectable for all such persons of honor, worship, and worth, as will vouchsafe their presence to heare the same.

"Where also is provided costly furniture, and diverse things for necessary use, and ornaments of household, fit for a Prince, Nobleman or any other of dignity, which are to bee Rifled, giving forty shillings a peece for three throwes with three dice, those that throw most to gaine all; the most greatest casts of like number may either devide by indifferencie (if they please) or cast againe untill all the parcels chance to one or more.

"If any particular company agree joyntly to deliver money, amounting to the whole vawleu or part, and will venter among themselves, they shall have the same entertainment: a convenient roome prepared, with attendance at any time they will appoint.

"If any Ladies of Honor or others, please to bee there present, they shall have roome severall, and a banquet for them that venter money.

"If any happen to be absent (at the time) that have delivered money (sending their deputies in their steed) they shall receive all such things as they winne by inventory, with all just dealing that may be, or if they cast not, their money shall be restored to them againe.

"There is also divers other things of good vawleu, and for necessary use, which are to bee sold or rifled, if any persons of dignity be so disposed.

"At Maister Taylors house, one of the Kings Majesties servants, in Lincolnes Inne-fields, neere Maister Garters new house in high Holborne is the place appointed for the effecting hereof, upon the eighteene day of June next, and so untill the ninth of July next ensuing, at severall daies when any shall please to meete.

"In Fleet street at Maister Helmes house at the Greene Dragon, further notice and directions may be given." *Printed.*

*Endorsed* :—"1612. A Riffle for noblemen and Ladyes."

J., MARQUIS OF HAMILTON to the PRINCE OF WALES.

[1612 ?]—"Plaes your heines, the ondeservit favour quich it plesit your hines to bistou on me in recomending my richt of the duchi of Chatellaraut to the deuque of Bouillon hes givin me the hardines be thir (*sic*) lyns to randir your hines most humbill thankis, protesting to God that in ane humbill hairt and redi mynd to bistou my lyf at the lest of your hines commandiments no creatur sall overmach me and so shall I to my end day remain your hines humbill

and faithfull servand." *Holograph. Perhaps written at the time of the Duke de Bouillon's visit to England in the spring of this year.*

SIR HENRY WOTTON to [SIR EDMUND BACON].

[1613, June 14-19.]-Stating that the Queen reached Greenwich "yesternight," and giving an account of the proceedings against Mansfeld [Mansell] and Whitelocke in the Privy Council on Saturday last [*i.e.* June 12]. *Printed in Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 421.*

SIR HENRY WOTTON to [SIR EDMUND BACON].

1614, June 16. London.—Concerning the death of the Earl of Northampton, and his supposed implication in the business of the quarrel between the King and the Parliament. Although Sir Charles Cornwallis had denied the Earl's complicity, this was not sufficient "to sweep the dust from his grave." *Printed in Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 434.*

T[HOMAS], EARL OF SUFFOLK, Lord Treasurer, to his cousin,  
[FRANCIS, EARL OF CUMBERLAND ?]

[1615,] May 23. Suffolk House.—"My place enforceth me to forsee evylls before they fall, which lyberty I hope wylbe geven me, otherwyse my offyce must of necessitie prove unfortunate to me. Your Lordshipe is near about hys Majestie by whose meanes I desyer to delyver to hym in hys absence that which my duty commands me to. In the chang of the company of the new marchant adventurers to the owld as yet but doubtfully depending I fynd cause of feare, for the owld company who now hath the trade begynns to complayn of the falling of the pryce of cloath beyond the seas by reason that Low cuntrymen holds them to hard conditions. This no question was breed in the tyme when the new company were in possession of the trade which then the owld companye were contented showld run on agaynst them which now that it is returned to them they feele the harme of but cannot easily help that which yf it be not prevented wold prove a great prejudice to his Majestie in hys customs and I cannot fynd any better way to help this myscheef then by a present and fyrme establishment of this owld company which your Lordship may remember was deferred of untill the Kyng showld retourn upon an offer of a hundreth thowsand pounds to be geven hym which no man was gladder of then myselfe, but because I see the state of our cloath trade ys such as makes our marchants to wave that offer, so as I wolde be glad to avoyde the feare of further inconveniences by takyng a less sum. Your Lordship may also remember another offer made by them to my Lord Fenton for a yearly sum to be payed, which for my parte I dare not advyse because yt may geve occasion to the marchant for the raysing the pryce of cloath upon the subject which wyll geve an yll tast with yt and no dowbt geve cause for a parlement to question. My Lord I hope I shalbe pardoned for my free delyvery of my poore opinion alwayes



submitting humbly to hys Majestie's best judgment. But that which induceth me to speak of thes things so long before the Kyng's return ys the want I foresee wylbe when he returns for the monyes that hath bene anticipated be reason of hys journey which I confes hath bene no more then fitting and necessary; yet my Lord I wolde be glad ther were some preparation for the makynge of yt up agayne in some good measure. Now I beseeche your Lordship most humbly to desyer from me that hys Majestie wylbe pleased to send hys pleasure how this shalbe ether further dealt in and by whom, or whether all shall rest untill hys happy return." *Holograph.*

SIR FULKE GREVILLE to WILLIAM CHRISTMAS, the King's woodward for the county of Southampton.

1615, November 30. Augustin friars.—Ordering him to cut fourscore tons of timber in the New Forest for the repair of Hurst Castle; the "loppes and toppes" to be sold, and the money thus raised to be used for hire of carriages for the timber, and other expenses of the reparations.

SIR WALTER RALEGH to SIR GEORGE VILLIERS.

[1616,] March 17.—Thanking him for his mediation [in procuring his release from the Tower]. *Copy. Printed by Oldys (Life, p. 468) from the original, and from him by Edwards, II., 341.*

ELIZABETH, ELECTRESS PALATINE to her brother [CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES].

[1616 ?] October 20. Heidelberg.—"My onelie dear brother, this bearer coming this way out of Italie to goe into England, I could not lett him pass without accompaning him with these lines by which I present my dearest love and service to you, beseeching you to keepe me still in your favour and not to forgett me, it being one of my greatest comforts to be assured of your love and favour, which I shall ever by all means strive to deserve, as she that will ever be, my onelie dear brother, your most affectionate sister and servant, Elizabeth."

"I beseech you still to remember to further Hardret's\* business." *Holograph.*

H. LORD DANVERS, ED. LORD DENNY and SIR ED. CECIL to the EARL OF BUCKINGHAM, Master of the Horse.

[1617, August.].—"Wee have according to his Majesties direction, in order propounded in wrightinge as wee conseaved his three poynts of demand grownded upon the Petition to his Highnes from the Lady Hatton unto his Majestie, the conseption whearof and the answer thearunto we have hearin inclosed, beseeching your Lordship so to vlew our indeavours as good will, and not power out of ourselves cann returne." *Signed.*

*Underwritten:—*

"My Lord, wee most humbly crave pardon that wee have not

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\* Probably Jacob Harteret, the court jeweller.

returned the answer at one time, it was late in the night before wee came to London, and no fitt time to rayte a lady, the forenoone beinge to strayght for her Ladyship to recollect her thoughts and prepare resolutions. As soone as wee could gett it, faythfully and speedely wee have sent it, . . .

“As for the testimony of the second articell conserninge my Lord of Oxford, shee hath voluntarily and freely taken her oath of the Bibell before us three that shee hath reseved sutch a contract from my Lord of Oxford as in her answer is sett downe.” *Signed.*

The ELECTOR PALATINE to his father [-in-law, KING JAMES I.].

1617, December 1. Heidelberg.—“Encores que je vous aye desia congratulé par mes precedentes le bon heur de vostre retour si estre que le contentment que me revient d'entendre la continuation de vostre bonne disposition me fait derechef vous en rendre ce petit tesmoignage, et quand et quand advirtir vostre Majesté qu'ayant aussy heureusement accompli mon voyage vers Monsieur l'Electeur de Brandenburgh en sa residence de Berlin, ou j'estoy allé pour veoir ma seur Madame la Marquise et représenter au baptisme la fille que dieu luy a donnéé, je suis de retour depuis huit ou dix jours en ce lieu, ou j'ay trouve Madame la Princesse ma consort en bon santé Dieu mercy, n'attendant que le bonheur de son accouchment dont en son temps je ne faudray de donner advise à vostre Majesté. A laquelle je ne puis celer cependant que par le occasion de mon dit voyage j'ay visitte Monsieur l'Electeur de Saxe pour conferrer avec luy des affaires de l'Empire et luy recommander de soing de ce que peut concerner nostre liberte et le repose commun, et specialment luy faire ouverture de ce que il a pleu a vostre Majesté me faire l'honneur de me communiquer par son Ambassador le Sieur Edmondes touchant l'avancement de Monsieur le Duc de Baviere a la dignite de l'Empire dont je vous aye beaucoub d'obligation et vous en remercie bien humblement. Et combien qu'on ait fait courir le bruit que l'Archiduc Ferdinand nouveau Roy de Boheme auroit obtenu les effects de ce dont il avoit recherche le dit Sieur Electeur de Saxe, si est que je n'ay peu apprendre ni recognoistre autre chose sinon qu'iceluy s'est reserve la liberte de son suffrage jusques a la journee des Electeurs, ainsi que luy mesme m'a bien fort assuré ne s'estre aucunement engage de parole envers le dit Archiduc comme aussy il ne m'a voulu faire aucune declaration de sa volante sur ce sujet, du quel j'ay aussi eue communication avec Monsieur le Electeur de Brandenbourg et quelques autres Princes qui s'y monstrent assez bien affectionez. Mais d'autant que c'est une affaire tres importante et de forte aleine il est a craindre qu'il sera difficile de la fair reussir si elle n'est espousee et favorrissee des plus puissans monarques voisins. Et qu' il semble que le Roy tres chrestien n'y tesmoigne pas beaucoub d'affection, et moins encores de resolution et d'ardeur pour en estre dissuadé par ceux qui ont la meilleure part aux conseils, les mieux affectionez de la Germanie se trouvent aucunement empechez de s'y resoudre, c'est purquoy je supplie bien humblement vostre Majesté me faire entendre sur ceo son



prudent advis et bon conseil comment il y conviendroît proceder et ce qu'elle juge est plus utile et necessaire pour y disposer le Roy tres chrestien ; car comme je desire infiniment l'avancement du bien, repos et liberté de tout la Chrestienté, singulierement de l'Empire, aussi ne faudray je d'y raporter tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir." *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1617, December 3. Heidelberg.—"Ayant heureusement parrachevé mon voyage, j'ay creu le devoir faire scavoïr a vostre Majesté et que j'ay trouve ma treshere compaignee fort heureuse estant esperant de pouvoir mander en peu de jour a vostre Majesté son heureux accouchement. Je luy mande par une autre lettre ce que j'ay fait et peu remarquer en mon dit voyage esperant quelle ne l'aura pour de[s]agreable, ains me continura tous jours sa faveur et bonne grace et me fera scavoïr sa volonte et bons advis les quels je suiveray en tout." *Copy, on the same sheet as the preceding.*

The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the KING.

1617, December 5.—In accordance with his Majesty's directions, they have sent him the names of the Officers of Exchequer and Custom House, and of the Auditors, that he may choose a sub-committee to handle the mechanical and laborious part of the business of retrenchment. The matter of the Household has been committed to the Officers of the House, with orders to reduce the expense to 50,000*l.* a year, besides the benefit of the compositions. They have for some days painfully travailed in it, and their report will be ready on Sunday next. In the point of pensions a beginning has been made "by suspending some wholly for a time and of others of a third part," in which course they are still going on, and the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Hay have given in their report concerning the Wardrobe. Some doubt has arisen whether his Majesty wished the business to be stayed until he had chosen the sub-committee, but presuming that this "was purposed rather for a furtherance than let to that work," they have resolved to go on until they receive further directions.

*Signed.*—G. Cant. ; Fr. Bacon C.S. ; T. Suffolke ; E. Worcester ; Lenox ; Pembroke ; Arundel ; and by eight others.

SIR HENRY WOTTON to [THOMAS, EARL OF SUFFOLK] Lord Treasurer.

1618, May 25.\* Venice.—"Having heere lately seene the deathes of two and the elections of two other dukes within the compasse of six weekes, I have been bold to intertayne youre Lordship with a little storie of thease chaunges and competitions though with smale presumption that you can take any pleasure in my simple report thereof unlesse it winn some favour by the freshnesse or the freedome. For the rest, the whole towne is heere

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\* Probably May 15-25.

at the present in horror and confusion uppon the discovering of a foule and fearefull conspiracie of the Frenche agaynst this State, whereof no lesse then thirtie have already suffered verie condign punishment betweene men strangled in prison, drowned in the silence of the night, and hanged in publike view, and yet the botome is invisible.

"If God's mercie had not prevented it I thinke I might for mine owne particular have spared my late supplication to the King aboute my returne home towards next winter, for I cannot hope that in the common massacher publike ministers would have been distinguished from other men, nay rather we might perchaunce have had the honor to have owre howses thought worthiest the ryfling. I shall give your Lordship a better accoumpt of this in my next, having now troubled you beyonde excuse with my poor papers. Our blessed God keepe your Lordship in his love." *Holograph.* [Not printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.*]

THOMAS LORKIN to —.

1618, [June 23]. Midsummer Eve. Greenwich.—"This letter must correct my former in one point concerning Syr Walter Raleigh, whom (according to common fame and voyce at court) I wrote to be at London, wheras in trueth he is yet in Devonshire, committed to a private gentleman's house,\* where they say he lies very sick; whether so in trueth, or so pretended, to delay tyme till the Spanish Embassador be gone I knowe not, but this man is like to fall heavily upon him, for upon Friday last he receyved a paquet out of Spaine, which if it had found him upon the way (saith he) must have brought him back, importing a very sore complaint against the violent and hostile proceedings of Syr Walter Rauleighe and his associates in Guiana, aggravating matters very grievously against him, and renuing upon this occasion the sence they have of our King's supporting the Duke of Savoy, and late ayde of the Venetians, all which, in an audience heer at Greenwich yesterday, he represented to his Majestie, shewing how ill these suited with the treaty of marriage pretended, and the necessity his master must be driven unto (if he receyved not the better satisfaction) of seizing our merchants goods in Spaine and taking other courses to the repaying of his honour and losse. In such peremptory termes I heare the matter was expostulated, but whether he were so bould with his Majestie or no, I dare not assure, but that in his private discourses with others he hath uttred as much I bouldly may. Syr Thomas Lake's place [of Secretary], is likely to be disposed of very shortly, divers pretend unto it. Syr John Digby and Syr Thomas Edmonds underhand, Sir Duly [Dudley] Carelton, Syr Benjamin Ruddier, and Mr. Pacquer [? John Packer] openly, and the last (as is thought), shootes fairest for it. Upon Friday last a censure passed in the Starre Chamber upon one Trask sometimes a minister of London, for certeyne Jewish opinions by him mainteyned and divulged, as that Satterday is the true sabbath and ought to be celebrated, not

\* This also was a mistaken report, as Raleigh was not arrested by Stukely until the second week in July.



Sunday, that it is not lawfull to eate swines flesh, and that men ought to absteyne from bloud, and the like, inveighing against our bishops under the termes of bloudy butchers, which in publike court he offred to make good for that half a yeer together they had kept him in prison with no other allowance then bread and water, whilst in the interim Popists (*sic*) priests were there suffred to feast and banquet, and that indeed was his fare, but of swines flesh he might have eaten his fill every day, for so it was ordred. His punishment was, to be whipt, to have his eares nailed to the pillory, emprisonment during the King's pleasure, and a fine of 1,000*l.* set upon his head. My Lord Sheffield hath been dangerously sick; and till now, yeilded little hope of recovery. Ere long you are like to heare of a new creation of my Lord Rich, my Lord Compton, Lord Peter, and Candish or Chandos, I remember not whether, are to be made Earles and to pay ten thowsand pound a piece, which is allotted for the expence of the progresse; my Lord Spencer likewise was nominated, but diverted as they say by my Lord of South-Hampton (whose daughter his eldest sonne married) from accepting of it. To-morrow being Weddensday the King goes to Wimbelton and is there feasted, on Thursday to Watsons of the Exchequer who likewise feasts him, and upon Friday to Wanstead, where my Lord of Buckingham interteynes both King and Prince. His Majestie was there feasted upon Friday last weeke, and the Prince lying within a short myle not invited. This his Highnes tooke amisse, and let him see as much, though after supper, the same night, my Lord of Buckingham and my Lord Hayes came both together to the Prince to excuse the matter, laying the fault upon his steward who had so scanted him in his provision as he durst not adventure to invite him, but now to make amends, he hath bought two rich suites of hangings and other furniture for two roomes with intention not onely to feast his Highnes but to lodge him likewise, which is the onely motive of this his second interteynment."

SIR LEWIS STUKELEY to the KING.

1618, [November\*].—"The humble petition and information of Sir Lewis Stucley, knight, vice-admirall of Devon, touching his owne behaviour in the charge committed unto him, for the bringing up of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the scandalous aspersions cast upon him for the same." *Seventeen pages.* "Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most excellent Majestie. Anno 1618." *Reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. III., p. 64, quarto edition.*

DUKE OF LENOX to his cousin, SIR ROBERT NAPIER, BART., at his house near Bishopsgate Street.

1618, December 3. Whitehall.—Requesting him to pay 864*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* to his steward George Hunt. *Signed.*

*Underwritten:—*

Receipt for the above sum, by Geo. Hunt.

\* Sent by Chamberlain to Carleton on November 28. Stated to be penned by Dr. Sharpe. See Cal. S. P. Dom., James I., 1611–1618, pp 598, 600.

FRANCIS, EARL OF VERULAM, Chancellor, to the MARQUIS OF  
BUCKINGHAM.

1619, November 13.—Concerning the sentence upon the Earl and Countess of Suffolk. *Signed.* [*Printed in Spedding's Life of Bacon, Vol. VII., p. 55, ed. 1874.*]

W., EARL OF BATH to the EARL OF SUFFOLK.

1619 [-20], January 24. Tawstock.—Congratulating him on being freed from his late troubles ; praying that their friendship may not be impaired by the aspersions of Sir William Button upon himself, and hoping that his cousin, Henry Bouchier, has already related the truth of this matter. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1620, May 9. Tawstock.—Acknowledging his letter sent by Sir William Button, whom he promises to serve for the Earl's sake so far as is possible while maintaining his own right and giving lawful assistance to those to whom he is tied by bonds of kindred and the promise made to their dying father. *Holograph.*

HENRY, DUC DE ROHAN to the KING.

1621, [October 30–] November 9. Castries.—“ Parmi les afflictions que Dieu nous envoie ce nous est une grande consolation que vostre Majesté daigne se souvenir de nous, et vueille savoir la justice de nostre cause. C'est un effect de sa pieté et qui nous donne esperance que la sachant, elle aura pitié de nous et de l'Eglise de Dieu, qui est plus injustement persecutée en ce Royaume qu'elle ne fut jamays. Sire ce sont nos pechez contre Dieu, et non nos desobeissances contre le Roy (dont on nous calomnie) qui ont attiré les chastimens de la Majesté divine sur nous. C'est le desseing progette par toute la chrétienté qui s'exécute, qui à l'instigation des Jesuistes se pousse plus ou moins furieusement selon le credit qu'ils prennent es conseils des Roys. Je ne vous ramenteuray (*sic*) la perte des Eglises du Bearn, ny comme la foy de nostre Roy à esté mesnagée depuis Saumur jusques à Montauban, pource que vostre Majesté en est instruite, et que ce n'est que renouveler nos douleurs ; mays je vous diray seulement qu'elle apprendra par Monsieur son Ambassadeur que nos ennemys trouvant plus de difficulté à achever à force ouverte nostre ruine qu'à la commander, ils veulent par de fausses apparences de paix nous destourner l'assistance que nous pouvons esperer de ceux avec lesquels nous sommes unis de creance. Mays je m'asseure sire que toutes choses vous seront sy fidelement représentées qu'elle jugera aysement la justice de nostre cause par les demandes ruineuses qu'on nous fait et par les submissions raisonnables qu'on refuse de nous. La nécessité de vostre royale assistance par la cognoissance de nos affaires, et la facilité de nostre restauration, à cause des maladies qui se rencontrent dans cet estat, lesquelles considerations doivent esmouvoir vostre Majesté à nous procurer un prompt et puissant secours ; c'est ce que nous



requerons en toute humilité d'elle. Pour mon particulier sire je confesse que sy je vous ay de tres estroittes obligations pour le passé elles sont grandement accreues par le soing special que vous prenez en ce temps de ma personne et maison, dont apres vous avoir rendu tres humbles graces je vous supplieray tres humblement de croire que je n'en seray jamais ingrat et que je ne puis estre content que je ne voye conter ma vie par le nombre des services que je vous auray rendus, et non par celuy de mes années, lesquelles je reputeray toutes malheureuses sy en icelles je ne vous ay tesmoigne diverses fois combien passionnement je suis votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur." *Holograph.*

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to the KING.

[1622 ?].—"Dere Dad and Gossope—By this time I imagine you have reseaved an answeere of your last letter which came with the suger pese and made mention of your removes. I since have receaved the fesant eggs, but here I must contradict a generall reseved maxaime which says greate bodies have sloe motions, your favors are manie, greate, and speedie, but my acknowledgements are poure in number, slight in substance and make sloe motions, but I pray you favor the proverb and me thus far as to impute some part of it to my indisposition which makes few steps in me more then manie in a stronger bodie, which stronger bodie I pray sweet Jesus ever send you. May it please your Majesty I have reseved now a double remembrance from you, one by your letter another by the person that brought it, and though you say nothings in your letter of him nor his business yett the choyse of the messenger makes me understand your meaneing; yett the way of it shoes me the goodnes of your disposition and love towards me, for first I see you put no such man and me in ballance, then I finde by Mister May that you have ingaged your word to him for it, in these words, that he was the fittest man becaus he had tow heds to answeere for his behavior, a naturall and an artificiall one. When I first tooke the bouldnes to move your Majesty by a letter to my Lord Annandale for my man his answeere from your Majesty was, Mister May had spoken for it, but you would not dispose of it till I had the happines to kiss your hand, otherwis I confess I had not thus far troubled you, neyther will I now pleade that my man's name is now brought upon the stage. God forbid that for eyther me or anie of mine your promis should be forced; my man is not in miserie; his master by your favor is in estate not to lett him want; he is yonge, yett patient, and your meanes are manie to benefitte him some other way; and if honestie can deserve it I will answeere he will, so both I and he are humble suters that you pleas yourselfe in wich doeing you conten[t] all. And so craveing your blessing I remain your Majesty's most humble slave and doge. Steenie."

*Postscript.*—"I humblie thanke your Majestie for the paynes you have taken with the marchants. If I used tow much bouldnes to direct my man to yourself, all I can say to excuse it is I shoed trust with confidence wich betokens much love, of which I have a

large proportion, and he that loves much hath much forgiven him."

*Margin.*—"I pray you Sir tell your sweet babie Charles that I will wait of you both before manie owers pas, and by the Grace of God be att the death of a stag with you." *Holograph.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to the KING.

[1622 ?]—"Dere Dad and Gossope, your last command was I should write merelie and short. How may you exspect the performance of this from me haveing fild my hart so full of thoughts, for my reseption yesterday when I came, my intertainment being there, and my leave takeing was such, nay I say such sir, that all the way hether I intertained myself your unworthie servant with this dispute, whether you loved me now (my ever dere master, here give me leave to say a full hart must eyther vent itself or breake, and that oftentimes thes sences are better expressed in absence and by letter then otherwise, you know full thoughts causes long parentises) better then att the time which I shall never forgett att Farneham where the beds hed could not bee found betwene the master and his doge, Sir, if you marke not well the parentises it doth breke the sence; that was my desier and if therein I did disceave it was with my good will. To conclude, these thoughts are never liklie to breake your faithful servant's hart, which when so ever it shall be trewlie and throughlie serched, shall be found full of love faith and obedience to you, in oae thing excepted, that I will not be so hastelie rich as you would make me, though covetuslie I will make myselfe so in this, eternallie, to deserve your blessing which I humblie crave, as your Majesties most humble slave and doge, Stinie." *Holograph.*

*Addressed* :—"For the best of Maisters."

THOMAS LORKIN to —.

1623, July 21. London.—"Syr, I am now returned from my living, which I finde belowe the valew of what was assured me, all most the one half; so as I interteyned once a full purpose of resigning it up againe, and had actually done the same if the instruments had been fitted, but now an unhappy newes from France (joined with the persuasions of some friends) makes me conclude upon the reteyning of it still, for upon Satterday last I was advertised of a dangerous feaver my gentleman is fallen into, with much doubtfulness of the issue, and if he should miscarry, this would serve as a stay for the present, and minister me with all some profitable employment, that I might not altogether rest uselesse, and fruitlesse. In the interim, this infortunate accident presses me to such speed in my returne, and so oppresses me with care and grief, as leaves me no liberty either of wayting on yow, or writeing largely to yow, as otherwise I would. I shall therefore crave humble pardon in both these respects, and onely informe yow of these particulars; That upon Thursday last his Majestie called all his council together to Theobals, propounded there to them all the articles of the marriage, together with a forme of oath, which



he meant to require of them the Sunday following. All readily yielded obedience, and yesterday in the presence of the Ambassador (whom his Majestie royally feasted) first the King tooke his oath, inviolably to keep and observe all the sayd articles, and then the Council theirs, which (as I hear) was this in effect, that they would (to their uttmost possibility) assist His Majestie to the performance of the same. Just after this was past, my Lord Andever arrived with this certeine newes from Spaine, that the Prince is contracted, the day of mariage assigned, the delyvery of the lady remitted (but then assured) to March. And if my intelligence be good, a further offer, that if his Highnes thinck fitt to retorne sooner, he shall bring with him Don Carlos and Hernando\* into England to remayne heer as pledges of the performance.

"I cannot tell yow with what acclamations of joy this newes is sent from Spaine, where all things being brought to extremities, and his Highnes thoughts wholly sett upon his departure, the King sent for him by the Conde d'Olivarez, where instead of bitter expostulations that were expected, they found nothing but embracesments either by way of congratulation or acknowledgement of what yow have formerly represented. In France likewise their new fears of warre (perhaps upon the former occasion) are turned into strong hopes of peace, for the fleet that hovered over Rochel till then, and much alarmed it, is suddainly dismissed, and the Duc de Guise returned to the court. That which is bad from thence is the contagion, which is hott at Rouen and Paris, and divers other parts. I had thought to have enlarged myself to some other particulars but the tyme cutts me of. Heer therfore commending to your sight and secrecy the enclosed, with millions of thancks for all your noble favours, I must humbly kisse your hands."

*Postscript.*—"The Pope required an oath of the King of Spaine to assure the accomplishment of whatsoever stood accorded by the King of England, and this oath occasioned an assembly of divines as the enclosed will tell yow."

#### PRINCE CHARLES.

[1623, September 1-11].—"His giufts and presents at his departure out of Spayne.

"To the Kinge he gave a sword sett with dymonds of a great vawew.

"To the Queene a fayer and relucient dymond which was esteemed to be of twenty caracts weight, and a tryangle and two eare rings of dymonds as bigg as a beane, great in vawew, but greater in arte and workmanshipp.

"To the Lady Infanta a stringe of 250 great peare fashioned pearles of rare perfection, and of five caracts, one dymond which cannot be valued, and two litle peare pearles of inestimable vawew, and divers other pearles of great esteeme.

"To the Lord Infanta (*sic*) Don Carles a poynted dymond in a cupp sett in a ringe, as a true present from a Prince to His Highnes.

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\* *Margin*—"The King of Spain's brothers."

"To the Lord Cardinall Infanta [*sic*] a pectorall of topazes, dymonds and a great pearle of inestimable vawew.

"To the Conde Olivares a great dymond called a Portugues, it was of viij caracts with a pendent pearle of great price.

"To the Countiesse of Olivares a cross of very great dymonds in forme of a colume.

"To the Lady Maria de Guzman hir daughter a ringe worth two thousand crownes.

"To the Duke of Hixar

"To the Marquis of Mondexar

"To the King's Confessor, and

"To the Bishop of Segovia

} to ech foure jewells.

"To all the gentlemen of the chamber rings with fayer dymonds.

"To xiiij of the King's pags every one of them a chayne of gold.

"To the Garde of Archers 4,000 crownes and every one a gold ringe.

"To the Conde de la Puebla Maestre a chayne of 1,170 dymonds and a jewell with 47 more with his owne picture.

"He gave likewise to the inferiour officers that wayted—4,000 crownes.

"He likewise gave to Marco Antonio Dar-  
rogue and to Don Juan de Fonseca Babelo, } 1,500 crownes." \*  
attendants about the King's person to ech of  
them.

#### ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA to the EARL OF ESSEX.

[1624], November 15-25. The Hague.—"You may well conceive that the death of the worthie Earle of Southampton did trouble me, which I cannot think but with greef. I have lost in him a most true and faithfull frend, both in him and his sonne. I have written to my brother to the same effect as you desire by my Lord Montjoye and to the Duk of Buckingham, to whome if I had not written he might have crost all. I have intreated my brother to gett the wardship of this yong lord, for his mother, and if it be possible he might enjoy his father's pensions. I dout not but my brother will doe his best for him; for me I shall ever be readie to doe him all the good I can. I give you manie thankses for your answere concerning your Lifenant Collonel's place, the men are alreadie of levying. I pray God send them good luck." *Holograph.*

#### The EARL OF MARLBOROUGH to ROBERT LONG.

[1626-1628].—"Good Robin your unckle Egremont is att his country house so that I cannot come to the manuscripts to shew to Sir Robert Cotton untill his retourne, therefore I pray you to send him such word. I shall ever remayne yours most affectionately, Marleburgh." *Signed.*

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\* There is a list almost verbatim the same as this, in the Spanish account of the Departure : printed in the Progresses of James I., Vol. IV., pp. 911-913.



SIR HENRY WOTTON to his nephew, SIR EDMUND BACON, at Redgrave.

1628 [-9], March 6.—Concerning the adjournment of the Parliament, and the refusal of the Speaker to hear Sir John Eliot. *Holograph. Seal of arms. Printed in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, ed. 1639, p. 443.*

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1629, [c July]. Eton College.—Concerning his journey to Eton and news received from abroad. *Holograph. Printed in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 447.*

JOHN LIGHTFOOT to THOMAS BEDFORD, schoolmaster at Adderston, Warwick.

1629, August 8. Hornsey.—“*Dimidium animæ meæ*, I have taken time long enough to answer your letter, yet must I come far short of answering it as I would and as it deserves, for though I write very neere as small a character as you, yet do I find more love couched (?) by you in halfe a line than I can sufficiently answer in a leafe. . . . My copy of Jonah is not worth that care you are in least I call for it too soone. I would it were worthy, then would I wish you keep it till I see you. But as it is, use it as you will (only with charity) till I meet you, either to learne by it, or to teach me, for according to the old adage *petimusque damusque vicissim*; for matter of learning I can be well content either to give or take for I am sure to lose by neither. That Ben Uzziel is Ben puzzle you ill, I am sorry to heare. [Here follow discussions on the reading of certain Hebrew words, &c.]

“I am now in the presse, but never booke went on so slowly,\* through the printers other employments. I know not when I shall send you a booke, for if he proceed as he hath begun, it will not be done this halfe yeare, for the first sheet was printed six weekes agoe, and I have but a second as yet. But he promiseth better, like the crow on the Capitoll mentioned in your letter, *dicit erit*. What have you Larbe (*sic*) enough; do you find him hard in that which is the most easy? What say you then to thirteen regular conjugations, to [*sic*] verbes defectives, to thirty-two infinitive moodes, to twenty-two derivations of nownes and to two and fifty such difficultyes. Well, we will let them alone. Your leafe I have here sent you again as it came, un-understood. Upon the first view I thought it Arabian . . . but upon better examination I recanted my opinion, for the thing posed my great Master [? Sir Rowland Cotton]. He finds it to be Indian, with some Arabian and Persian joyned with it. The latter two he understands, but the first he does not. The letters are all Arabique, for this letter the Persians use, so large is it in use, from India to Constantinople, even to Marocco.

“On a new page, new stuffe. *Imprimis, commendamus* to all our friends, Brian Cave, Mr. Constable, Mr. More, Mr. Turnek (?) and the rest . . . London will afford me no newes, no more can I afford you.” *Holograph.*

\* Probably “*Erubhim, or Miscellanies Christian and Judaical.*”

## VISCOUNT DORCHESTER to [HENRY PERCY ?]

1630 [-1], March 2. The Court at Whitehall.—“We be principally employed by the Queene yet you will well conceave the King and she understand one another, and so his Majesty requires you and Mr. Montague should doe, and jointly advance both theyr Majesties services in that court.

“Your letters and duplicates come as safely to my hands as they are written carefully and diligently wherby you continue to give very much contentment ; your last being of the 6th and 8th of this present *stilo novo* by Mr. Montague’s man, by whom I pray you tell Mr. Crue I expected to have heard from him, and now I desire with my provision for a coach he will send me some palace galantries for a yong lady who is my valentine.” *Holograph.*

SIR HENRY WOTTON to his nephew, SIR EDMUND BACON at Redgrave in Suffolk.

1633, April 25. St. Martin’s Lane by the Fields.—Concerning a duel between two gentlemen of the Court, Price and Eliot ; the King’s journey to Scotland ; news from abroad, and family affairs. *Holograph. Seal of arms. Printed in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 460.*

WILLIAM LONGLAND to EDWARD, EARL OF DORSET, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

1635, November 5.—Petition that Robert Pitts, gentleman usher to the Queen, may be ordered to pay him a debt of 100*l.*

*Underwritten, in the Earl’s own hand :—*

Order that Mr. Pitts is to see this petition and satisfy petitioner within a week, or show good cause to the contrary. Dated as above.

SIR HENRY WOTTON to his nephew [SIR EDMUND BACON].

1637 [-8, February 7], Ash Wednesday. [Eton] College.—Concerning his health and a book he is about to publish. Praises the good Lord Treasurer [Bishop Juxon], the very reverse of his proud predecessor [Portland]. *Holograph. Printed in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 466.*

WILLIAM [JUXON], Bishop of London, to SIR ROBERT PYE.

1639, April 5.—Warrant for issuing to the Earl of Kinnoul the sum of 1,500*l.* to be charged upon Mr. Alderman Garway for the accounts of the imports of sugars due at Michaelmas, 1636. *Signed.*

SIR FRANCIS WINDEBANK to his son, THOMAS WINDEBANK.

1641, [Feb. 19-] March 1 “this style.” Paris.—“Tom, I perceive by yours of the 11th February received this weeke, that my letters of the precedent weeke next before that, were not then com to your handes. I pray God they fell not into Witheringes hands and so into som other before they came to yours, which if they did, it was not in my power to prevent, you nor Burlamacchi having given me any notice in time of the alteration in the post office,



which if you had I wold have thought upon som other addresse, as I did the last ordinary under Mr. Treasurer's cover, and so shall continew untill som other meanes be presented.

"The other to you that goeth herewith, when you shall have acquainted their Majesties with it, you may communicat to the Lord Cottington *sub sigillo*, commending my humble service to his Lordship and desiring his advise.

"I beginne to be weary of this towne, and am thinking upon som other place to retire to, where I may live more quietly and give lesse occasion for offence. Besides my expence is very high heere, and yet I cannot goe lesse, but hope to live at a much more easy rate in the country. When I shall have settled upon any other place you shall have knowledge of it.

"I am sorry to understande that Monsieur de Vandaume is in Englande, being of opinion it will give offence to the State heere. But I shalbe more sensible of his takeing my house in Drury Lane, which cannot be without som reflection upon me, especially seing the Holland Ambassadors were refused, and therfore you must use all the meanes you can to prevent it.

"God bless you and your brothers and sisters, and bring us together againe if it be his blessed will, who only knowes my sufferings in this miserable condition wherin I now languish." *Holograph. Endorsed by Tom Windebank* :—"My Father, from Paris."

SIR FRANCIS WINDEBANK to his son, THOMAS WINDEBANK.

1641, [Feb. 26-] March 8 this style. Paris.—"Tom, I finde no obstructions in the passage of the letters from your partes hether, having weekly receaved such as you have addressed to me since the alteration in the office of the postes, though it seemes by yours of the last weeke and of this, of the 18 of February, that our letters from hence have bene in som disorder and not com to you so duely as they have don heertofore. I doubt not but myne of the last weeke, of the first of this present, and likewise of the precedent weeke came safe to you, having receaved an answer of those I directed that weeke to Mr. Treasurer from himselfe, in whose pacquett I inclosed those to you, and he hath desired me to convey my letters still that way which I purpose to doe, and you shall do well to doe the like, his professions to me being very frendely, and promises to cause my boord wages to be paid to you sodainly very harty. I have now presented my thanks to him, and desired him to continue his favor to you.

"I have likewise heerwith sente you a letter for the Queene according to your desire, but do advise you to deliberat well before you deliver it, the report being heere that the resolution for alteration among the Queene's Roman Catholic servantes is not yet passed in the Upper House. Besides I know not whether it may not put som prejudice upon His Majesty's affaires at this present, if any thing shold be don for one that hath so neere relation to me, considering the opinion is vulgarly held of me, neither do I conceive that place, as the times are, of such consideration, but rather full of hazard and danger. Howsoever you shall do well to speak

with Mr. Germain in it, and make him your frende, if he be not alredy engaged for som other, and if he be, then to lett it fall.

"I acquainted you the last weeke with my condition heere, and hope you made it knowne to their Majesties. I have in one to my Lady of Arundell which I have sente another way, given her a touch of it, and therefore you are to go to her Ladyship and communicat it to her, and desire to see the letter which I have written to her to which I referre you concerning myne owne privat affaires, which I can hardly judge of at this distance, and therfore must referr myselfe to the ordering of those that are upon the place.

"I have not yet resolved upon any retiring place in the country, but am still enquiring for such a conveniency. It shalbe no prejudice to that weekly intercourse of letters which is now betweene us, only perhaps the letters may be of a more ancient date.

"I am sorry to understand that the letter I writt to the Lord Chamberlaine from Calais is becom publicque, asseuring you that nothing was more contrary to my intention when I writt it, and besides there can nothing fall from my penne but wilbe subject to misconstruction.

"Commende my true love to your brother and sister Turner and thank her most affectionatly from me for her most welcom letter. God blesse you all and little Frank Turner, and deliver me from living in a strainge country." *Holograph. Endorsed as the preceding.*

#### ARCHBISHOP USHER.

[Before 1642.]—Notes by Archbishop Usher from Lives of the Saints, "among my Lord of Pembroke's books," and also from a MS. *penes* John, Bishop of Lincoln. *Greek.*

*Endorsed* :—"Some collections of the Lord Primates out of the Lives of the Fathers (*sic*) in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. Archbishop Usher's writing."

#### SIR KENELM DIGBY to SIR ROBERT HARLEY.

1642 [-3], February 1. Winchester House.—"Your great civility and frendlinesse unto me encourageth me to be againe troublesome to you for your favour. It is many yeares agoe since I was beholding to you for a medicine (of tincture of strawberies) for the stone, which first your brother my Lord Conwey procured of you for me, and afterwards yourselfe gave me more particular directions for the making and use of it; and truly I have found more good in it then in any medicine I have ever taken, unlesse I should putt the constant yearly taking of the Spaw or Tonbridge waters under the tytle of a medicine. But as yeares grow upon me, I find this infirmity to encrease, so as, without continuall strong exercise and motion, no care of prevention prevayleth. This is a chiefe motive, that maketh me now become a sutor to your honourable house for enlargement out of this restraynt, that truly hath brought my ill companion very fast upon me. And my Lord Maior (who was the occasion of my commitment) hath promised to moove it for me; and other good friends have assured me of



their assistance. Be pleased I beseech you Sir, to afford me yours and give me this second helpe to my sore and painefull disease ; which if you favour me with, I shall not doubt of speeding, since I never yet was denyed any sute to your honourable House, but you have upon severall occasions given me freedome both to stay in this towne upon my occasions, and to goe one summer to the Spaw, and the last to Tonbridge Welles, all, upon my word ; which I now againe engage, together with the fayth of a christian, that I will not make use of my freedome any wayes to the prejudice of the Parlament, but will upon any soddaine summons, come attend your commands, as att your last permission I promised, and performed, when I thereupon came to towne and was now committed. I aske you pardon for thus long trobling you, which I doubt not you will afford me since I know how gladly you employ yourselfe in any charitable action, as most certainly this is a very great one."

PRINCE MAURICE to MONSIEUR DE HENFLIED,\* at the Hague.

1643, September 28. A Milton, au siege de devant Portsmouth.— "Monsieur, Estant tres assureé de la bonne et sincere inclination que vous portez avec passion a l'avancement des affaires de sa Majeste de la Grande Bretagne, mon tres honoré oncle, je vous ay voulu prier par ce petit mot, de vouloir assister de tout vostre pouvoir et dexterité le porteur d'iceluy, le Sieur William Birdal et le Sieur Richard Ford, marchand en Hollande, en et par tout où ils pourront demander vostre ayde et assistance, soit aux adresses vers le Prince d'Orange mon bien aymé oncle, où ayleurs, pour le bien de sadite Majesté. Et en ce faisant vous obligerez d'autant plus celuy qui, sans cela, aux occasions qui se pourront presenter, sera vostre affectionné à vous rendre service Maurice." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

KING CHARLES to his nephew [PRINCE MAURICE ?].

1644, May 16. Oxford.—"Nephew. That you may receive more particular and cleere information of the ende of my sonn's journey into the West then I can give you in a letter, I have sent Sir Richard Cave† of purpose to impart unto you the motives and considerations which have invited me to that resolution. Be assured I have to greate a value of you and to greate a sense of your merit to doe anything which would not testifie that full esteeme. Therefore I must expect that justice from you that it shall not be in any man's power to make you doubt the kindnesse of your loving oncle and faithfull frend Charles R. Oxford, May the 16, 1644." *Holograph.*

*Endorsed* :—"His Ma<sup>ties</sup> letter. Oxford 16 May 1644. Sent by my uncle Rich :"

\* John Poliander Kirkhoven, Lord of Heenvliet, husband of Lady Stanhope.

† The name has been obliterated, but is clearly visible, as the cancelling ink has faded more than the other,

## LORD CRAVEN to LIEUT. GENERAL MASSEY.

1647, September [? 11-] 21. The Hague.—“ The gentleman that delivered me yours, had soe perfect a knowledge of what could bee sayd unto you from his Highnes Prince Philippp that all that time I conceived itt an unnecessarie trouble to write unto you, and therefore I adressed him to Mr. Reymes whome I knew would communicate to you the civilitie I had for you, which truly must dailey increase after the testimoneys you give me of yours. And as I have bin hitherto verie willinge to serve you in the negociation proposed we shall I [hope] continew itt uppon all occasions, which I cannot express better than by satesfyinge you in that particular which you seeme most to stopp att, the uncertaine securitie for pay and future entertaynement, as alsoe your allegacion of sufferinge of merchants that have alreadie hired their ships to the State of Venice. As for the securitie of pay there is as much at Venice as in any service whatsomever; and hitherto never any that imbarqued themselves with that State either in former times, or duringe this late warr have missed of that entertaynement which was promissed them, and which the State generale gives to all their soldatesque; and certainly in this time that they have soe much neede of souldiers they will not begin to breake with them in what of justice they are to have, and without which they cannot subsist, and why they should not use those that come from hence with the same regard as others certainly cannot bee doubted of them. The coustume of this State and their generale faith contents all particulars heere without any distrust at all, and the like has done there in the Venetian service, and truly I conceive is not any way to bee made scruepel att. As for the merchants in these parts verie few can complayne, for most have hadd better caution then what they deserved, and if they gave rotten vessels, and performed not their articles for well providinge them, certainly if everie one seeke remedie from them itt is not without reason, and I dare say those that complayne may bee verie well answered if their business were butt examined.

“ What may concerne the smalnes of the pay, that truly everie one is to consider of, and if that bee not found answerable to your mynd and of those that should imbarque themselves with you in that imployment, I shall never att all endeavour to perswade you to itt, for everie one knowes what is best for themselves and how they can dispose of their owne occasions, havinge verie much reason to beleave by what they write me out of England that att present you will hardly gett permission to make any leavies of voluntaries. But as you yourself shall receive advice, and that you please to impart itt to me, I shall in all thinges bee readie to gouverne myself the best I can to serve you, havinge a particular esteeme of your merritt, and your regard to the service of those Princes that I soe much honor.” *Holograph. Two small black seals, with remains of silk beneath them.*

THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX to all OFFICERS and SOLDIERS under his command.

1648, November 21.—Pass for Mr. Jervace Holles to go upon



parole to London and thence into Lincolnshire, he having engaged to render himself prisoner to the Marshall General of the Army within three months, and in the meantime not to act anything prejudicial to the Parliament or Army. *Signed. Seal.*

*Endorsed* :--“Fairfaxes passe for Coll. Holles.”

[WILLIAM] EARL OF STRAFFORD, to his Cousin, JERVAS HOLLES.

1649, February [8-] 18. N. S. Caen.—I have written to my cousin, Sir George Wentworth of Woolley, to give order for paying you 50*l.* as soon as money comes up to London. I pray you acquaint Mr. Raylton, that he may take the speediest course he can. I should be glad to hear of my cousin's better health. “I wish you were both in a place of lesse trouble than I feare home wilbe. I am endeavouring to gett something to bring my sisters over as soone as it can be, and if you cannot better dispose of my cosen, I am sure my sisters will be very glad of her company, and though I cannot promise myselfe plenty I hope we shall find necessarys, and you and yours . . . wilbee infinitely wellcome to what I can call mine.

“The troubles in this kingdome I beleeeve will grow on to bee such that I must make the best hast I can to gett away, least there may be greater difficulty in it, and therefore I think I shall goe into Flanders soone after I shall receive money for it.

“It would be a great happiness to me if you could come hither. If possible, do not denie me that comfort.” *Holograph.*

SIR E. HYDE to his wife, LADY HYDE.

[1649, May 28-] June 7. Monday. Brussels.—“My deere little Rogue, I have forborne to write to thee since I left thee because I knew thou didst not so much desyre to heare that I was heare (of which thou couldst not be ignorant) as that I was ready to returne to thee. It was yesterday before wee had our audyence (Saturday beinge a day of devotion) so that I cannot yet tell thee the præcise day of our returne, but I do believe wee shall be with thee Wensday or Thursday at farthest, therfore if my Lord Byron come to Antwerpe about that tyme, desyre him to stay ther, that I may be sure not to misse him, for it will be necessary for me to speake with him before his goinge into France, and it would trouble me that he should passe hither, when I goe that way.

“Heare is a good lady that makes very much of us, and as Lord Treasurer sayes shee hath the better of me. The truth is I have not yet made her cry. Remember me to thy brother [Will Aylesbury], to whome I write not, because I have nothinge to write, I believe Charles Cottrell is by this tyme returned, for my last letters from the Hague mentioned a dispatch to be shortly made to us by him. I doubt the Kinge is not yett upon his journey, my service to him and my Lady. God blesse thee and all thy cattle, and me, as I am, my deere, thy owne most affectionate husband, E. H.” *Holograph.*

CHRISTOPHER, LORD HATTON to MR. [PETER] GUNNING.\*

1649, June 23–July 3.—“I have had a very great conflict with myselfe how truly to represent to you the great sence I have of my obligations to you in the greatest curtesy that can be done me, the care of my sonne. And no sooner had I fixed my thoughts upon anything reall but the misfortune of the tymes ravished away all those advantages that I entended towards you. Amidst these contemplations, Stoke Bruern (esteemed the best living in my gift) fell void, and I did much please myselfe to thinke how faire an opportunity ther was at once to performe my duty in accomodating that church with one of your worth, and express my owne gratitude to you for some part of your paines with Kitt. But alas I could not long flatter myselfe into this happines, when I considered I should want confidence to offer you that (how good soever in itt selfe) which you could not legally, safely, or with contentment to yourselfe enjoy. . . . Whilst I was wearing my brains how to serve myselfe by this occasion of some such expression towards you as might not relish of complement, and dispaired of itt, I was by letters from Kitt and his mother att two distinct tymes sollicitated to make a tender to you of this living. I have been slow in resolving, but have att last fixed and chosen the yealding part, since their desires to me will soe well excuse the weakness of that present I would soe willingly make you, and since the defects of that will be in some measure repaired when you shall see yourselfe surrounded every way by Kitt, his mother and myselfe with grateful harts though as yett unpowerfull hands.

“Well then, Sir, I pray give me that contentment to lett me suppose myselfe in full possession of my estate as ever ; to be settled at home in peace and quiet, and to be possest of the present donation of a church preferment, the greatest that I am capable to owne, however, I am sure, the greatest I doe owne, *de jure*. . . . And in this well-settled resolution, I doe tender you any manner of presentation that lawyers or frends can advise, to give you full and plenary possession of the rectory of Stoke Bruerne, and wish you as full and compleat enjoyment of itt as ever I had of my owne. If I had my wish, I would soe serve you as might never sever you and your pupil, and if he retaine (as he hath great cause and gives me great hopes he will) the like affection to his that I doe to mine, he will, as much as in him lyes, prevent any parting betwixt you, and I hope will ever lett you share with him in earthly things, who have, as much as in you lyes, soe much enlarged his mind towards knowledge and his soule towards heaven. . . . I have sent you heereinlosed what I receaved from home, that you may see the ground you till is gratefull, however the hard weather hath hitherto nipped the crop.” *Holograph*.

\* SIR E. HYDE to his wife, LADY HYDE.

[1649, July ?] Peroune, Saturday morning.—“Wee are I thanke God gott safe to this towne, whither wee came the last

\* Afterwards successively Master of St. John's, Cambridge, Bishop of Chichester and Bishop of Ely.



night, and conceave ourselves now past the daunger of both armyes, one of which the Spanish, wee had the pleasure to see march by us. It will be Monday night at soonest before wee reach Paris, from whence thou shalt heare from me by the first opportunity. Wee are all very well, except my shoulder, which seriously, notwithstanding my Lord Treasurer continues still merry at it, torments me exceedingly, and therfore I will endure any remedy, as soone as I come wher Dr. Frozzar is, rather then beare it. I have another vexation to, that I can get no flesh yesterday nor this day, and the fish is so ill, and so ill dressed, that I am kept hungry, which thou knowest I like not well.

"If thou desyrest I should prosper, and have any happynesse in this world, thou wilt remember all that I have sayd to thee concerninge thy selfe, and not suffer a melancholique thought to enter into thy hearte, and I have no doubt but God will so blesse us, as to bringe us quickly agayne to each other's company; which believe me I desyre as much as I do to lyve, and the last only to injoy the blessinge of the first.

"Remember me very kindly to thy brother, to whome I reckon myselfe more beholdinge then I will say, untill I can do more then say. Desyre him to governe thee discretely, and sevearely when thou deservest it. My service to Sir C[harles] C[ottrell] and his Lady, and to the good neighbours. God of heaven blesse thee and all thyne, that wee may meete happily agayne, without any diminution of our treasure. Farewell." *Holograph.*

#### SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1649,] August [2-]12. St. Germaines.—"Thou wilt allowe me to grumble that I have not heard one worde from thee since I came from Bruxells, though I have writt to thee twice since that tyme. I am I thanke God in as good health as ever I was in my life, so that I cannot complayne of the ayre of France, though otherwise I am not at all taken with the delights of it, and on my worde, for all that I have yet seene, give me old Englande, for meate, drinke, and lodginge, and even for wyne too. I can yet say little to thee of our journey, the King's tyme for his remove beinge not yet certayne, but he resolves to be gone very shortly, and by the next I presume I shall write more certainly. Remember me to thy brother, and desyre him to excuse me for puttinge Edgeman to write somewhat to him, which I should have done myselfe, but the truth is, I am yet so full of businesse, that I scarce gett an howre to myselfe, nor am I sufficiently instructed with the post-dayes, but havinge occasyon to send Edgeman to Paris this day, I am compelled to referr much to him I should say myselfe.

"Remember me to all our frends, God blesse thee and thyne. Farewell." *Holograph.*

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1649,] September [1-] 11. St. Germaines.—"I have at last, and just as I was begynninge a grumblinge letter to thee for so longe silence, receaved thyne of the 3rd of this moneth, and am very gladd

thy brother is returned to thee, and I pray thee take care betweene you, that heereafter I be not so longe without hearinge from you. I receaved the bill of exchange the last weeke, but it was three howres after the post went, so that I could not then acknowledge it. I have now writt to Mr. Anscoombe that the businesse is done. I am very gladd thou hast had a refreshinge journey at Bruxells; I doubt not, but they made very much of thee. Indeede the newes from Irelande is a terrible blow to our hopes, but let me assure thee it makes not other alteration in me and my designes then to the place, not the purpose of our meetinge, for, though it may be, wee may not finde it safe to meete ther (yet that hope is not desperate) by the grace of God I hope wee may bring ourselves together, which upon my worde is as much in my hearte and resolution as ever. I conjure thee let me know the author of that pretie newes, that it is now declared that I am to stay in Spayne three yeares, and that I knew it when I was with thee; I wish with all my hearte it were true, for if it were, upon my life I would not stir from this place till thou camest to me, and wee would learne Spanish together; and be confident if I finde myselfe at any tyme fixed in one place, for a third part of that tyme, I will not lyve without thee. Believe me ther is nothinge like it, but on the contrary, greate endeavour hath bene used heere, to hinder us from the journey, and a full resolution that wee shall returne at the springe. I am very confident wee shall begynn our journey the next weeke, so thou wilt have one letter more dated from this place. I believe the Kinge (who intended to go for Jarsy tomorrow) will not fayle to sett out Wensday or Thursday at farthest, and then thou mayst be sure wee will not stay more then is of necessity. The doctor will write himselfe to thee, and assures me the quantity of mercury which is in the oyntment is so small, and so prepared as they ordinarily give to children, that it cannot do thee the least hurte, and must do thee greate good; but I referr thee to his owne derrections. My Lady Browne, who was as leane as thou arte, and is now plumpe, sayes, if thou wilt be cheerefull, and drinke soculate in the morninge, thou wilt be fatt. Remember me to all. God blesse thee and thyne. I have writt to Mr. Wake."

*Endorsed by Lady Hyde* :—"From St. Jarmines, the 15 Sept. 49."

#### SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

1649, September [14-] 24. Paris.—"There is now another post come and no letter from thee, which I wonder exceedingly at, for I have never fayled of hearinge once a weeke from Bruxells, and sure from Antwerpe the conveyance is as safe. When I writt the last weeke, I was not well, havinge then taken such a cold, that I was not without apprehension of a fever, and so bledd and purged accordingly. I am now I thanke God as well as ever I was in my life, and preparinge amayne for our journey.

"The Kinge went on Monday for Jarsy, and the next day my colleague and I came to this towne, wher wee stay only to dispatch a little businesse for our Queene, and to performe some ceremonyes with the Kinge and Queene Regent, and the greate person of this



Courte, who are not at very greate leasure to receave ceremony, the whole Courte beinge exceedingly discomposed upon the differences betweene the Prince of Condé and the Cardinall, which I believe will produce some very greate effectes.

"We have this morninge contracted for our transportinge to the skirtes of France, for coach, horses, waggon, and dyett, so that till we come into Bisquy, wee shall not be obliged to spend one penny after wee are gone out of this towne, and the truth is, wee had not neede, for wee are gladd to borrow above 100*l.* to carry us thither, whatever shift wee shall make after; so much our stayinge in this country hath cost us. Well, wee are of good cheere, and infallably on Wensday next begynn our journey. After that time I believe I shall heare seldome from thee, till I come into Spayne, but I will not fayle to write to thee once a weeke. By this tyme I hope our friends of the Forrest are arryved with you, and then it is not possible but the joy and kindnesse amongst yourselves, will supply all other wantes; in earnest I could lyve with greate content with you together with breade and water. For Gods sake be very merry in spight of any thinge that can fall out. I am so farr from thinkinge the affayres of Ireland desperate, that in truth I believe the Kinge will be ther before the middle of November, and that he will have a good possessyon of that kingdome. I have no more to say to you, but that I have provyded a large brybe for thee, and all thy company, even rattyne\* of the best, enough to make thy mother, thy selfe, sister and the gyrls each of you a petticoate and wascote; for ther is twelve ells, and the biggest woman in France uses but three ells. In the middle of the bundle, ther are halfe a dozen payre of etwees (*sic*) to be disposed likewise amongst you. I have left all this with my Lady Browne, who will cause it to be delivered to one of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's servants, who intends to goe for Flanders the next weeke, however you may be sure shee will take care for the speedy sendinge it. My deere, as thou lovest me, be merry, and be confident God Almighty will take care of us, whilst wee putt our trust intirely in him, and believe me, I have the same thoughts and hopes of our meetinge, as I had when wee parted, for I cannot lyve without thee, who arte all my happynesse. God blesse thee and thyne. Farewell." *Holograph.*

*Endorsed by Lady Hyde:—"From Paris, the 29 of Sept., 1649."*

#### SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1649,] October [1-] 11. Blay, four houres from Bordeaux.—"I know thou dost with a kinde impatience expecte to heare as often from me in my journey as I can write, and though I doubte thy letters will hardly overtake me till I come into Spayne, and so I shall be kept from the happynesse of knowinge thou arte well, upon which all my quyet depends, yet it were a greate heard-heartednesse in me, to disappointe thee of so just and so good an expectation; therefore I do from this place, as I shall from others as I advance, advertice thee, that I thanke God I am come this farr very well on our

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\*A woollen material, mostly made in France.

journy, havinge from the tyme wee left Paris, to this minuite, travelled as hard as I believe any people have done with so greate a trayne. Wee are up in the morninge and in the coach as soone as it is light, wee stay about dynner tyme two howres by the way, as much for the horses sake as our owne, and come into our lodginge after night, so that never travellers saw lesse of a country to satisfy our curiosity then wee doe ; and truly for ought I see of the country, I could be as well contented to lyve in poore Wiltshyre, as in any place I have seene. I do not suppose wee shall rest one day whilst wee are in France, I am sure if our conductor do not desyre wee should for the ease of his horses, it will not become us to do it for the ease of ourselves, which we must pay dearely for. Sure thou hast by this time thy old good frends about thee, and then thou canst not be sadd. I hope thou hast receaved my brybes from Paris which I sent thee worde I left packed up with my Lady Browne, who will be sure to send it safe to thee one way or other. But I would fayne have thee possessed of it before the cold weather. Wee are in some payne for feare of ill newes from Spayne, the last packetts mentioninge some indisposition or rather a greate sicknesse of that Kinge. If wee should heare worse of that, it would be a great blow to us, and puzzle us beyonde imagination. Enquyre at Mr. Wake's whether a packett of an unusuall bulke be not come to his handes for my Lord Newcastle, which I sent the day I left Paris, and if it should not be, let my Lord know I left it in Sir Ri[chard] Browne's handes to be sent by the post. Remember me to all with thee and God of heaven blesse thee and thyne."

*Postscript, at the top.*—"The kinge of Spayne is well recovered."

#### SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1649.] October [19-] 29. St. Sebastian.—"I am now in a worse condition then thou canst possibly be, for if thou hast mony, thou mayst have woode, and I am sure thou hast chimnyes enough, but wee heare have woode enough, yet if wee had never so much mony, wee can gett no chimnyes, though upon my worde it be as cold as it is wher thou arte. The last letter I writt to thee was from Yron as soone as wee came into this country. The same day or the next, we came on horsebacke (for nether coach or litter can climbe these mountaynes) to this towne, wher wee were mett a myle out of the towne by the Governour (who is Generall of all this country) and all the magistrates and gentry of the towne, with as much state as if the Kinge had bene in person heare ; all the artillery of the towne discharginge when wee entred the towne, and were then conducted to our lodginge, the best house in the towne, and as good one as ever thou sawst, without chimney or glasse window, which are thinges this people are not acquainted with. Wee thought to have stayed heare three or four dayes, for our refreshment after so longe a journy, but God knowes now how longe wee shall stay, for the next morninge after wee came, it begann to rayne in the extremest degree thou canst imagyne and hath continued so ever since, with a continuall violent storme and tempest, which makes us very cold and weary of a place wher wee are very civilly treated.



The weather must mend before wee can sett out, for wee shall be compelled I believe to travell the first three dayes by mule, as far as Victoria, the mountaynes admittinge no other passage, but wee have sent for a litter to meete us; our journey is like to be much longer then I apprehended, for they say, wee shall be fifteen dayes goinge from this towne to Madrid, which troubles me not so much with the drudgery of the travell, as with the consideration, that I am to be so much farther from thee. In earnest the thought of that is very grievous to me, for if I have an impatient desyre for any thinge in this world, it is to be with thee, and to have no occasyon to remoove me from thee two dayes, and in that condition (how unpleasant soever all other circumstances are) I shall finde all happynesse. Remember me to all thy company, and God of heaven blesse thee and thyne and bringe us all once agayne together. Farewell."

SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1649, October 26-] November 5. St. Sebastian.—"My last to thee was of the 29 of this moneth [*sic*] from this place, wher I did not imagyne wee should have stayd so longe, but the stay of our expresse at Madrid kept us heare, and the truth is, in one respecte it would have troubled us to have gone sooner (though wee have stayed with greate trouble, charge, and impatience) many of our people havinge bene sicke, and I doubte wee shall be compelled to leave some of them behinde us, amongst the rest sweete Dicke, who is so weake that I believe he will hardly be able to travell. Wee have now received such a dispatch from Madrid as wee could wish, and have a house provyded for us ther, and all thinges which wee could desyre, so that without fayle (God willinge) wee begynn our journey from hence on Monday morninge next, and if wee make no stay by the way, wee shall be at Madridd within twelve dayes, which consideringe the way, and the accommodation, will be more grievous then our twenty dayes travell through France was. Well, it is very cold weather, as any thou hast at Antwerpe, and wee cannot gett any fyre, but are laughed at for askinge for a chimney, so that upon my worde, I have bene compelled to clapp on as many wastcoates and drawers and such commodities as I used to weare the last winter at the Hague. This is your hott ayre of Spayne.

"I do now promise myselfe to heare from thee, and I conjure thee omitt no opportunity of writinge, as thou seest I do not, and let me know what letters of myne come to thy hande, that I may see which miscarry. Remember me to all thy company, to whome I will write particularly, as soone as I come to my journys end. God of heaven blesse thee and thyne, and I requyre thee to be cheerefull and merry as thou lovest thy owne &c."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1649,] November [18-] 28 st. no. Madrid.—"Wee are at last I thanke God come safe to this towne, after so wearysome a journey as thou canst not imagyne, for it is not possible for thee to conceave

such a country as this is to travellers. It is enough when thou knowest that the Inn at Pyrton is as much better then any one I mett with in the rydinge 400 myles, or indeede then any one in Spayne, as my house ther is better then that Inn; so that thou wilt easily conclude, wee had a very troublesome journey hither, yet I thanke God wee are all very well, save Dicke whome wee left sicke at St. Sebastians. I receaved heare thyne of the 19 of the last moneth, at which tyme it seemes thou hadst receaved none of my letters which I writt to the on the way, which I doubt not before this thou hast. My last was of the 5 of this moneth from St. Sebastians, when wee were ready to sett forwards towards this place. Wee have bene heare so little whyle, that I can only tell thee wee are heare, but without beinge taken notice of, our house beinge not yet ready, though wee stayed a whole weeke within three leagues of the towne, with most insufferable accommodation, upon promise that it should be every day ready; at last wee resolved rather to ly obscurely heare, then so inconveniently ther. Wee hope within three or four dayes our house will be prepared for us, since this late delay hath not [bene] out of any disrespekte to us, but accidents which have hapned [—]. This towne is in greate glory and gallantry, celebra[tinge] the feasts of the Queene's entry, which will yet hold some dayes. My last letters from Paris tell me my brybe was sent longe since to thee by a Scotch gentleman, which I was not gladd to heare, yet I hope he might be honest in such a service, and then it is safe with thee, as by this tyme our frends of the Forrest I presume are, to whome thou must excuse me for not writinge, the notice of this messenger beinge but now given me, and so wee not havinge tyme to write a worde to the Kinge or Queene. I hope thou dost cause the children (all of them, the gyrls as well as the boyes) to lerne French, whilst ther father is learninge Spanish, so that wee may have tounge enough amongst us. Remember me to all; by the next I will write more. God blesse thee and thine."

SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1650, February 20—] March 2. Madrid.—"My last to thee was of the 14 and 15 of the last month by Mr. Shelton, and though I have since heard nothinge from thee, I must not suffer this ordynary (though he goe two dayes sooner then wee expected) to returne without tellinge thee, that I thanke God, I am very well, and so farr now from beinge a cold, that after the sunn is up two howres, it is so hott, that wee can scarce endure the garden; indeede the weather is now warmer heare then it is in Englande in May, yet the eveninges are sharpe, and therefore I alwayes come into my chamber shortly after sunnsett, for which I am laughed at by my Lord Treasurer, who seriously I thinke is as lusty as ever he was in his life, and abuses me shamefully, and refuses to [—] me, and sayes, it was so agreed betweene him and thee at partinge, which thou must decyde. I longe to have an answer from thee to many of my letters, and to know if any miscarried. I send thee now one to thy brother, which thou wilt convey to him, if he be in



Englande, by such a hande as it may come safely to him. I would be gladd to heare that thou hadst receaved any mony lately from any of my frends, for a person who owes me 100*l.* sent me worde that it should be sent safely to thee before Candlemasse. I know thy brother's yeere is out aboute the middle of May, and by the Grace of God I doubt not but to provyde for the next, though I am [not ?] like to returne any mony from this place before that tyme, but do depend upon other wayes; yet I must tell thee, I shall have mony heare, and that thou mayst depend upon, therfore be of good cheere, and keepe up the spiritts of thy company, and believe God Almighty will not suffer us to starve, and beyonde just a competency of breade, I have no ambition, indeede I have no ambition but to be with thee, and to lyve and dy with thee in any condition. The other letter with the W. is for the honest Warden,\* which I pray thee send to him by the first convayance. I do looke every post to heare that he is at Antwerpe, for it is not possible he can sleepe quyetyly in that cursed ayre, or be longe out of a gaole if he stay ther; for no questyon ther new Othes of Allegiance will be briskely urged upon all ther subjects. I am troubled that I heare not at all from W. Hyde, which makes me feare that all is not well with him.

"Remember me to all thy company, and be as merry as poore, honest, undone people can be, and even so, God of heaven blesse thee and thyne, and bringe us well together agayne, which in truth is the dayly prayer of, my deare, thine owne &c."

*Endorsed by Lady Hyde* :—"Rec. 31 of March, 1650."

#### SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1650, March 25-] April 4. Madrid.—"My last to thee was of the 18 or 19 of the last moneth by the Count of Swaffenburgh inclosed under cover to Sir H. De Vic, and the same day thy well-come letter of the 17 of February came to my hands. The truth is, every letter from thee revives my hearte so much, that I am the better for it many dayes. I perceive some of myne have layne longe on the way, yet at last they have come to thee, which is a comforte, and whilst wee are at this distance, wee must be contented with those accidents. Thou hast given me a sadd accounte of thy condition, which would trouble me more, if thou hadst not concluded with some alacrity and assurance that thy spiritts are not depressed or broken. By the grace of God, thou nor thy company shall not want breade, and if I can bringe myselfe to thee (which be confident I desyre more then any thinge in this world but an honest peace for our poore country) wee will comforte one another in any condition. I cannot be sorry that thou art out of England, and I hope thy father and mother are not sorry for followinge thee, for truly meethinkes ther abode in that accursed climate, could not have bene pleasant to them. I do hope I shall be able by the next to make some guesse by what tyme I shall be able to send thee some supply, and it may be, by what tyme I shall hope

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\* Probably Dr. Sheldon, ejected Warden of All Souls' College, Oxon.

to be with ; thee for when I see a little more of the affayres heare and what cource the Kinge resolves to take, I shall sett my hearte so much upon returninge to thee, that I shalt not be longe kept from executing it. I shall not neede to bidd thee labour to keepe up the courage of thy father and mother, (I know thy own piety will not suffer thee to neglecte that, and that thou arte as good a daughter as thou art a wife) but thou canst not imagyne how much I longe to be with them, to whome I have the same affection that thou hast, and do flatter myselfe that God Almighty will yet inable me to do them some service, and that no fortune shall be so badd as to separate us agayne. I beshrew thee for not writinge in wordes at lenght, and not in figures, the summ for which our frende from the office lately sent thee a bill, it seemes to me and I can make nothinge else of it, to be for 200*l*. ; if so, it is a summ to putt life into thee, and will finde breade for some moneths ; and I cannot yet believe, that all affections in our frends in Englande are so deade as utterly to forgett us, but that in good tyme, they who strayne ther consciences to injoy plenty ther, will administer a share to those who keepe themselves intyre abroad against that temptacion, and I do expecte that some persons who are justly indebted to me, will finde some way to retorne parte of the considerable summes they owe me to thee, and if this summ amounts to two hundred pounds (though I like well not enquiringe after it) I shall rather believe it comes from such a hande, then out of the private stocke of our frende ; and I do looke to heare that thou hast from another place receaved 100*l*. which I had reason to conceive would have bene sent to thee by Christmasse. I know not what to say more to thee upon this sadd argument, then that wee must both rely upon God Almighty, that he will not suffer us to starve, since the distresses wee submitt to, proceede from our integrity to him, or rather, for not doinge that which cannot consist with our integrity towards him. If this madnesse in England cease not, no man can lyve innocently ther, and then thou wilt have the honest Warden's company, who I should be gladd to heare were with thee. I thinke the yeere by this tyme be neere out for the house, but I presume because you say nothinge of it, that you have contracted for another, if you remove, I hope you will have a garden. That thou mayst see how ill a husbände I am in comparison of others, wee have a whole English family comminge to this towne. Dick Fanshaw, whome I gave over for lost in Ireland, this last night writt to me, that he and his wife are landed at Malaga, twelve dayes journey from hence, and are comminge hither as fast as they can. What they will do heare, or how they will be able to lyve, God knowes ; that woman will undoe him ; if he had come by himselfe, he should have bene with us, and wanted nothinge, but he had neede have brought good store of mony with him to keepe such a trayne. Though I would purchase thy company at any pryce that is in my power to pay, I assure thee I do not wish thee heare with me, it beinge I thinke the most uncomfortable place for women to lyve in, that is in the world. If thy brother be with thee remember me very kindly to him, I hope that packett of the 2nd of March came safely to thy handes, and then ther was on [one] to him ; desyre him to write sometimes to me, and



thou send me worde whether thou hast not the copy of a cypher I had with Will Hyde, or thy brothers cypher, that if ther be occasyon, I may write to thee, without daunger of havinge it reade by others. Remember me to all thy company, and God in heaven blesse thee and thyne. Farewell. Thyne owne, &c."

*Postscript, at the top.*—"I have writt to Mr. Wake, and sent him a bill of ladinge of a vessell lately gone from Sivill to Ostend, in which there is two roles of tobacco, one from my Lord Treasurer to Will, the other from me to my father, and thirty-six boxes of soculate, wherof sixteen are at thy service, and if the Kinge be at Breda, send the other to his Majesty. If he be gone northward, dispose them all as thou wilt." *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE, at Antwerp.

1650, May [13]-[23]. Madrid.—"My last letter was of the 25 or 26 of the last moneth, since which tyme I have receaved thyne of the 11 of Aprill, and do thanke thee exceedingly for the lenght of it, and would indeede receive none shorter from thee, and meethinkes thou shouldst alwayes have enough to say to me to fill a sheete of paper. I am sorry our frends in England omitt writinge to thee, for though it might proove daungerous to them to corresponde with me, and therefore I absolutely forbear to provoke them, only Edgeman sometimes calls on them, yet I conceive thou canst not fall within any of ther ordinances, but that it may be safe to write still to thee, and indeede I have little hope of hearinge any particulars of the affayres of England but through thy handes, and therefore out of that abundance, if thou didst wante other matter, thou mightest well enlarge thy letters. Can it be possible that in the midst of these new threatens and othes, the Warden can finde it safe to stay in that cursed country? Ther can be no doubte, but they will injoyne all the obligations upon all people who lyve within ther dominions which may secure them of ther fidelity and allegiance to them, and therefore it is madnesse to stay upon the confidence that they can gett away, when they will. It is strange thy brother should undertake that journey, without communicange it to thee, since he might believe that thou mightest have such businesse in that place, which thou canst not well communicate by letter; but I presume he had good reason for what he did, and therefore thou must not take any thinge unkindly; however thou doth well not to send my letter to him, yett let him know that thou hast a letter for him, that he may not believe me faulty, and keepe it till he comes, and send me worde what he does ther, and when thou doth expecte his returne. And meethinkes he might finde a way to treat with his frende Mr. Ash, aboute sellinge some of my laden at Pirton, for if wee could gett a reasonable some of money for us, I believe thou wouldst thinke it no ill husbandry; and whosoever lookes to have it given to them by ther new state, will be gladd of a better title by his consent, whose in truth it is. But I have nether thought longe enough of this, whether it be practicable, or whether it be desireable, to be cleere in the pointe, but thou shalt do well to consider and thinke of it, for if ever wee gett into England agayne, wee

shalt not want a better or the same place, and if those divells settle themselves ther, that which wee have a title to, will every day grow more desperate, but seriously I do not in the least degree despayre that God Almighty will bringe those rogues to confusion, and restore the Kinge, albeit, he hath a very harde journey, and a melancholique prospecte towards it.

"I am sorry thy old disease of thy foreheade troubles thee still, but I hope Dr. Froyzard in his passage called on thee, and hath given thee some directions. Whilst the Kinge stayes at Breda, I know the doctor will be ready to come to thee, and I would have thee very carefull to watch this humour, that it gett not to much ground. If it were possible, I would be very gladd to prevent any indisposition, and that thou mightest be without cause of the least melancholique thought to perplex thee, but since it were madnesse to expecte such a degree of happynesse, ther is no reason it would make thee unwilling to communicate the worst of it to me, for ther is some ease in the very communicating it, and thou and I together are likelier to finde some ease or remedy, then thou arte by thy selfe ; at least it is a burthen fitt for us to beare together. I am very angry with thee for not givinge thy selfe the full pleasure and comforte of the company thou arte in, with the feare of what distresses you may all fall into, and even with a kinde of sorrow that you are together ; thou dost confesse thou wouldst not go into Englande, and the truth is, it were no place for thee or thyne, and I am confident thy frends would have made a very melancholique and miserable abode ther. What then could be better for you both, then both together to submitt to the same condition, how sadd soever, wher the very company and conversation one with another is a pleasure and joy that nobody can enough apprehende that injoyes it. I am sure, if they had wherewithall to supply thee, thou nor thyne could not wante, and if it please God to helpe us with any thinge, ther is greate reason it should be looked upon as a joynt stocke, besydes that thou knowest thou hast this last yeere wholly lyved upon them, and seriously, I am not more sollicitous for thee and thyne, then I am for them, and shall alwayes be, and if I am not able to assiste them, thou and I and all will starve for company. But I cannot thinke that fate is reserved for us, and though I am not for the present able to send thee any thinge (for though wee lodge fynely, and make a shift to eate well enough, yet trust me ther was never lesse mony amongst so many men, or greater wants of every thinge necessary, those two conveniences excepted) I am most assured I shall be shortly, and in the meane tyme thou must not be ashamed to be in debt if thou canst be trusted, and thou must write into Englande to anybody that thou thinkest will lende ; at least let our frends ther know the necessities you are all in, and if that mooves them not, they will lyve to be ashamed of it. I wounder thou hast yet receaved no supply from anybody, I do believe thou wilt shortly heare from some, who upon my worde, do butt pay, and not give, though some who are very well able, may finde in ther heartes to do that to.

"I am gladd thou hast gotten so greate a mastery of thy selfe as to be lesse impatient to have me with thee, yet I assure thee, that



shall not at all encrease my patience to be kept from thee, and when I once see that I can do none, or no more service heare, I will not be kept heare, only to be free from other troubles, my owne ease beinge to be putt after all publike considerations and after some private ones. Indeede ther is a parte of the north, that no company can carry me to ; ther are agayne other partes in the north, whither I could goe willingly enough, as if the Kinge were in Sweden, I should be well content to be with him, but if he goe into Scotlande, as I shall be able to do him little service heare, so I shall be very gladd and desyre to come to thee, and wee should be very well together, and really I desyre nothinge so much, as to be quyet wher thou arte, provyded that I omitt no parte of my duty in procuringe that greate and unspeakable blessinge. I have not receaved any letter from any one of those frends that were with thee, since ther comminge to Breda, nor have yett the least guesse what will become of that treaty, other wise then the confidence of many people, that the Kinge will make a full and absolute agreement with the Scotts, which I cannot believe possible. I have not hearde from Dr. Morly since he went from Paris, and should be very gladd that he were fixed at Antwerpe, wher I know he would be a greate comforte to thee. Wherever he is, send him this inclosed letter, at least if [he] be within any distance. Wee heare many are lately dryven out of Englande ; if any come into those partes wher thou arte, let me know who they are, and as many particulars of our frends in Englande as thou canst. Thou seest I encourage thee to write longe letters ; as they bringe me greate pleasure, so I know thou likest it well enough when I am so longe with thee. God of heaven bless thee and thyne. Farewell. Thyne owne, &c.”

*Holograph.*

*Endorsed by Lady Hyde :—“ Rec. 22 of June, 1650.”*

#### OLIVER CROMWELL to his WIFE.

1650, September 4. Dunbarr.—Assuring her of his affection, and referring her to Harry Vane or Gilbert Pickering for an account of the late “exceeding mercy.” *Copy. Printed in Carlyle’s Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell (letter 143).*

#### LIEUT.-COL. JOHN LILBURNE to the LORD GENERAL CROMWELL, in Scotland.

1650–1, January 13. “My howse at the end of Old Baly without Ludgaite.—Vouchsafe me the liberty of presenting you with a few lins, which give me leve to aver flows not from a complementall, but a reall graitfull acknowledgment of your Excilencys most obliging and nobell favours manifested unto myselfe (after soe many high and unfortunate misunderstandings betwixt us) in your laite signall and most remarkabell freindly carradge towards me and in my behalfe openly and avouedly in the Parliament howse, and in the Counsell of Staite the day before you last left London ; as alsoe for your most over-coming civilities extended towards me in your jurning for Scotland, the operation of which heare at London

was of a stranger natur then is fit for my pen to discipher. Yit though in some great mens minds heare it breed divers jelouses, and from severall of them caused such a storme to arise all of a sudden upon me that even confounded and amazed me to consider what should be the cause of it, or from whence groundedly it should arise, the strickest scrutiny that I could maike betwixt God and my owne conscience, fully acquiting me from either directly or indirectly plotting, contriving or acting any thing to the ruine of the publique or of any man intrusted with the mannadgment of it's affairs or doing any one singell act that had in it (to the utmost of my understanding) the least tincktur of base ingratitude towards you, or of the least forgetfullnes of your singuler obligations before mentioned, which I must aver (and I hope without the jealoussey of flattery, which thing in itselfe I hat as poyson) have ever since retayned soe deep an impression upon my sperit as compeld me while things stood doubtfull with your army, not to stand still as a cuitier (*sic*) but soe to act, as that I dar aver it, noe man in England of my privet and meane capacity, was more serviceabell to you and your great affaires then myselfe, which with my constant carradge since, hath maid me to be lookt upon with a scornfull and disdainfull eye, by all or most of those that the last yeare for my familiarity with, I was by many of my old (and of laite new) friends judged littell lesse then a malignant caviler.

"But my Lord, whilst I was amusing what should be the cause of the forsaid storme, I heard it was flowne as far as Scotland, in severall letters to your Excilency and others at the head quarters, the best antidote against which I judged to be pacience at present, least in apoligising against that which then I could not particulerly and fully understand I should have committed some mistaiks or seamed to impeache my owne innocency. Wherefor I have bene the more diligent, since this honest and faithfull bearer Colonel Prid's comming to towne (who by his honest, just and commendabell acting heare, is becomm the darling and beloved one of all the truly honest and just unbiosed men in and about the city of London) to associate myselfe with him, and fully and clearly without the least machiaviliain in me in the world to uncase and unbowell my whole soule and mind unto him as to publique things. And in reference to your Excilency have intreated him to say for me unto you, that which is not fit to be put into this paper, unto which most worthy Sir, vouchsafe me fredom (without judging me tedious) to ad: It was meet and drinke unto Jesus Christ (the Prince of peace and righteousness, and our Lord and master) to doe the will of his father (while he was in this wildernes or vaile of teares) which was manifested unto men by his going up and downe to doe good unto the sons and daughters of men, and that as well unto there bodys as there soules. And the worst from my hart I wish unto your Excilency is, that you may be a remarkabell immitator of soe glorious a pateren, the greatest oportunitie of manifestation of which to the sons of men you have now in your hands and are likely more fully shortly to injoy that ever man borne in this nation had, that ever I could reed of. And happy and blessed shall you not only amongst knowing men be accounted to be, but be really and sub-



stancially soe in that unspeakabell glorious immortalitie (in comparison of which all earthly glorys and injoyments are but fading vanities) where the true servants of Jesus Christ shall sing 'halalujah' for ever and ever. In the truly and hartly helping forward of which in good earnest, noe man in England shall be more forward and redy to hazard his life with you and for you, in the fase of redy to be discharged cannons and muskets and all the dangers in this world, then he who should count it very much his happines to be honored with two or three lins from your Lordship, and herein to find that he is by you esteemed amongst the number of, my Lord, your Excilencys faithfull friendes and hartly devoted servants."

SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1651, January 30-] February 9. Madrid.—"I thinke I promised thee in my last, which was at the end of December, that thou shouldst heare every weeke from me, after once the tyme of my journey was resolved on till I begann it; and truly I then thought I should before this have bene upon the way, but I tell thee agayne, dispatches are not easily procured in Spayne, and I have indured the delay the more willingly, that this cold weather may be over, for really I have never felt more cold, and envy thee who hast a chimney in thy chamber. It is yett so hard frost, that wee spende the ice of our owne fountaynes in our garden, which saves us two shillings a day, for how much soever I complayne of cold, my Lord Treasurer hath brought me to drinke all our wyne in ice. I suppose this weather will not last longe, and then ther will be no more complainte of cold this heare [? year], so that without doubt, if God give us health, wee shall be on our way towards thee before the end of this moneth, so that it will be tyme by that tyme this comes to thee, to prepare thy letters to meete me at Paris, wher I will stay no longer then is necessary. Send me worde thither whether I shall buy any thinge ther for thee, and bringe with me. I have receaved thynne of the 12 of December, and am very gladd, God Almighty hath bene so mercifull to thee, to supply thy necessityes beyounde thy expectation. I hope he will do so alwayes, and not suffer us to perish, whilst wee rely and depende upon him. Thou hast before this I presume receaved my little bill for 100 pistolls, and I believe since thou arte not like to be in greate straights suddaynely, I shall be compelled to exspecte that mony I shall be able to returne, till the end of Aprill, for I cannot without inconvenience procure it to be sooner payd; but by that tyme, if I am not with thee myselfe sooner, an honest marchant will not fayle to pay thee 300%, so that my drift is, that I may not in three or four moneths after I come to thee, so much as heare the sounde of want of mony, and in that tyme wee shall projecte for the tyme to come, and if wee can conveniently pitch upon a cheaper place to lyve in, at least, if Antwerpe shall be still thought best, methinkes wee might have a house with a garden. I am so ready to be gone, that I have already packed up my books which I intende to send to Bilboe, to be from thence sent by some Hollande vessell for those [parts and] so for Antwerpe, wher I presume they will be before me. Therefore look I have a convenient roome sett asyde for my study, least I disquyett the

whole house. I have sent thee inclosed letters for Pirton, which I hope thou wilt send with that caution, that our frend at the office be in no daunger by transmittinge them. I know not what to say more to thee at present, my hearte is so full of joy at the hope of havinge thee shortly in my armes, that I can thinke of nothinge else. I will write by all opportunityes when I am on the way, but thou must exspecte me with patience, for it is a very longe journey, and the truth is I am too old, and it may be too fatt, to ryde post, and must rest when I am weary, but thou wilt easily believe I will make no unnecessary delayes. Remember me to all thy company, and keepe them cheerefull and in health, and if God give us all that comforte, wee will not be cast downe with the rest. Thou wilt remember me when thou writest to the honest Warden, and tell him I am very gladd that that ayre continues still so wholesome that he dares venture his constitution in it. It will every day I hope be purged, and grow more pure. God of Heaven blesse thee and thyne. Farewell." *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

[1651, February 19–] March 1. Madrid.—“This is the last letter thou shalt receive from me dated at Madrid. Wee have dispatched all our businesse heare, and shall leave the towne within three dayes, and I shall undertake this longe journey alone, for my companyon likes this ayre so well, that he intends to continue in it, and hath taken a house in Valliodolid, four dayes journey from heare, wher he intends to lyve and dy, if no extraordinary accidents change his purpose. Yet do not doubte that I will be melancholique, for I have a very jolly company with me of no fewer then fifteen or sixteen. I intende to passe through the kingdome of Navare, to the citty of Pamplona wher I will stay only two dayes, and thence I will agayne write to thee, and so from the severall stages in France, as I meete with opportunity of writinge. How longe I shall stay at Paris I cannot judge, till I come thither, but I will ther looke to finde letters from thee, and in them tell me, what I shall buy ther for thee or thy frends, which may be gotten better ther then in other places. If I should not be with thee, by the end of Aprill, as I doubte not I shall, I have taken order that thou shalt receive 300*l.* sterlinge, with which I hope all thy debtes will be payde, and that (as I have told thee before) I shall not heare the name of mony, in two or three moneths after I come to thee, and then I hope I shall be able to provide for thee and all thy company, for another whole yeere, and in that tyme I doubte not God Almighty will doe somewhat for us, for in earnest (little Rogue) I cannot yett believe that wee are condemned to perish for want of breade. If we can but procure health (which I thanke God I have to heartes desyre) wee shall shift for the rest. I have sent by sea, three trunks, and one greate cabinett, which will be delivered to thy handes before I come, if they do not miscarry. For thy comforte, ther is nothinge in them but very good Spanish bookes, and therefore putt them into that roome thou dost destine for my study, which I exspecte to finde handsomely provided for that use. What should I say more, pull up thy spiritts, and be



merry, and charge all thy frends to doe so. Remember me to the doctors and to all thy other good neighbours, and even so God blesse thee and thyne and bring us well together, to the comforte of thyne owne &c." *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to his WIFE.

1651, [April 26-] May 6. Paris.—“ My deere, if thou hast received mine of this day seavennight thou knowest in what posture I then was, and though I am now much better yet thou must not take it ill that thou receivest the newes of it under another hand, for though the violence and torment of the payne (which had almost made me mad) hath now left me, insoemuch as I have been able these two last dayes to sitt up in my chaire, whereas for a weeke I had not stirred out of my bed, yet I am not able to stand upon my feete, nor to sitt in such a posture as is necessary for a writer, and therefore thou wilt be contented that I use another hand. I intend this day to eate a little flesh, and within a day or two more to be able with the helpe of my fyne new crutches to walke up and downe the chamber, and then it will not be long before I have strength to goe abroad, which God willing shall quickly bring me to thee : God knowes with what impatience I desire that happynesse. I have received by this last post thine of the 28th of the last moneth, together with another of the same date from the good doctor [Morley], to whom thou must againe excuse me for not writing, and tell him that it is not possible for him or me to make any judgment concerning a remove, or the place to which we should remove, till we conferr together, when he will understand many things which he does not yet knowe, and which I suppose will make some impression upon his judgment. I shall be extreamely afflicted if he should be out of the way when I come to Antwerpe, and if he must be, I hope it will be within call. I am very gladd thou hast had such good successe in my former imployment, and that the money will not be payd till I come thither. I hope there will be as little scruple of paying it then, yet I dare not send the second bills to be accepted least they should miscarry ; besides I want a letter from my Lord Cottington which I doubt will not be there before me. I wish since Mr. George Pawley was in towne that my letter had been delivered to me, which I conceive he could not have taken in ill part, but I make noe question the doctor and Mr. Wake well considered it, and declyned it upon very good reason. It would be a very great joy to me to heare that all my truncks were come to thy hands, and then thou wilt have little quiett till thou has fitted me up a roome for mysele. I will endeavour to execute all thyne and thy daughters commissions as well as I can, to which purpose my Lady Browne is already at worke in bespeaking bands and handkerchers, though under your favour your instructions are conceived very obscure and imperfect. It is possible I may yet be compelled to stay here long enough to receive another letter from thee, and then I would have thee inclose measures that may instruct me, each of thy boyes a hatt, which is the only thing I can imagyne to be bought for them here, and then send me likewise

the size of thy father's hat. I would have thee thinke of somewhat that may be fitt for me to bring for thy mother and thy ant and whatever els thou couldst wish to be said to, *my deere little rogue: Thy owne &c. E. H.*"

*Postscript.*—"I hope all my paynes are past, and that I have nothinge to doe, but to recover strenght, which may be the worke of few dayes. Thou needest not take much care for the accomodation of my servants since I shall bringe no more, nor no others to thee, then I carryed from thee." *The words in italics and the postscript only by Hyde himself, the letter being in Wm. Edgeman's hand.*

#### JOHN LORD BIRON.

1651, November [? 12-] 22 [*date of receipt.*].—"First that Sir George Radcliffe, to prepare his Highnes [the Duke of York] to a distrust of his servants, wrote a letter to Dr. Killegrew at Jersey to be shewed to his Highnes to this effect, that ill offices had bene done his Highnes to the Kinge at Breda in four particulars especially, instancing none of them, but that the said Sir George Radcliffe had given his Majestie full satisfaction in them all. What discourse was held at the publique table the day followinge concerninge that letter, Sir Christopher Leukenor both Mr. Mayes, Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Nicols are able to informe, myselfe beinge then absent. Sir Christopher Leukenor likewise passinge through Bulloigne from Jersey and discoursinge with Mr. Wyndham concerninge the foresaid letter, offers to justify that Mr. Wyndham told him Sir George Radcliffe mentioned me for the person meant in it.

"That his Highness coming to Paris, and meetinge there with letters from the Prince of Orange brought by Monsieur de la Vieuville earnestly disuadinge his intended journey into Holland, and offeringe him a yearly pension of 2,000 pistels towards his maintenance in France, was (upon pretence of other orders from his Majestie) prevailed with to remove to Bruxells. Mr. Elliot and Dr. Killegrew chiefly appeared in advisinge his Highnes to this resolution, Mr. Elliot afterwarde avowinge that counsell at Bruxells, and Dr. Killegrew, when at Paris I prest him to tell me the reasons of a resolution so contrary to the opinion of the Queene and all the persons of quality that happened then to be nere her Majestie, replied to me, that at that tyme they could not be communicated to me, but that at Bruxells it would appeare the Duke had reason for what he did.

"When his Highnes came to Bruxells he was met the very night of his arrivall there by Sir George Radcliffe and within a few dayes after by Mr. Elliot. Sir George Radcliffe upon the pretence of orders from the King at Beauvais entred immediately upon the government of all his Highness househould affaires. From him as I had before from Dr. Killigrew, I desired to be informed upon what ground his Highnes had made his journey thither, and that I might know that designe which was promist should be revealed to me there. His reply was to me the same with Dr. Killegrew's before,



that he was tyed to secrecy therein, addinge this further that beinge a privy counselor he might be intrusted with many thinges, which he could not accordinge to his oath reveale to me.

"Havinge thus settled himselfe in his Highnes's family, he fell to hold counsell concerninge his affaires, not communicinge any thinge of them to me, and had diverse conferences with the Duke of Lorrain, not acquaintinge me or his Majestie's resident Sir H. de Vic with the substance of any of them, and when I questioned him upon these particulars, his answer still was, that he had orders for what he did, and could very well justify himselfe therein.

"That upon pretence of hearinge good musique he carried his Highnes to severall masses. First upon All Saints day to the Archduke's chappell, where he appeared so publicly that it gave great scandall to all the English that were there. Secondly to the cathedrall church at Bruxells, upon occasion of a solemne thanksgivinge for the takinge of Monson from the French, which could not be but of very ill consequence, both in regard of those rigid and jealous people his Majestie had then to doe withall in Scotland, and of the offence it might justly give to the crowne of France, that his Highnes should be present at the solemnizinge of a victory obtained against them.

"Beinge very much ashamed of the wants and neglects and other inconveniencies I saw his Highnes falln into at Bruxells, and findinge how little power or credit I had to remedy them, I tooke a pretence of goeing to the Hague, that I might prevail with the Princesse Royale to deliver him from the incommodities he lived in by invitinge his Highnes to her. At that time her Highnes's affaires beinge in great disorder by the unfortunate death of the Prince of Orange, she could not presently resolve of it, but promist she would very shortly send for him, which delay Sir George Radcliffe not beinge able to endure, brought his Highnes onward on his way toward the Hague as far as Doort, to put a necessity upon the Princesse to receive him, much to the prejudice (as her Highness profest) of her affaires, as appeared by her sendinge Monsieur de la Vieuville to beseech him for the present to turne backe and make some stay at Rhinen till she could make her house ready for him. At Rhinen the same impatience held Sir George Radcliffe so that he prevailed again with his Highnes to make another attempt of cominge to the Hague, before I could procure the Princesse approbation of it, which gave her a second trouble of sendinge an expresse to stoppe him on his way.

"For the proof of what I have here written, I shall humbly appeale to the Queen's Majestie and her Highnes the Princesse Royale, many thinges of this nature, able to confirme the rest, havinge bene done in their houses, much to their profest dissatisfaction. Of the rest I am confident my fellow servants will not be wantinge to beare me witnesse, if they be called thereunto.—John Biron." *Copy. In Sir George Radcliffe's handwriting. Perhaps enclosed in the following letter.*

*Endorsed* :—"My L. Birons charge."

## SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1652, [January 31–] February 10. Paris. “I thanke you very heartily for your good newes of my Lordes (Strafford’s) safe arrivall in England, it was the first advertisement that I had of him since I parted from you save onely that I heard upon the by, that he had bene at Caen, and was come to Calais. I heare now that he got to London on Tuesday morning. I believe his goinge to Caen cost him as much as you estimated it at, and somethinge more. I am glad he is now where he is. I shalbe no more accused as the cause of his stay here, as I have bene very lately by some that are neere to him. But it is not the first time that I have bene misconstrued. As soone as I received your leter, I went immediately to Sir Edward Hydes chamber but he was not there. I finde it very hard to meet with him, for he goes out by seven in the morninge, and they sit constantly in counsell allmost every day. It is some comfort to see them follow business. I will watch close to finde him, and then I shall not forget you, as I am most confident that he will not. I have little newes, for I come very seldome at the Court, and their busines is close carried. I thinke that you heard of Mr. Longes accusation before you went, how he gave intelligence to Cromwell, (six yeares agoe) whereupon the Kinge lost his horse in the west. He denyes it, and Colonell Wogan affirmes it: I heare that Mr. Longe has lately put in his answer in writinge, to which Colonell Wogan talkes of a reply to come forth in print, but that perhaps wilbe prevented. It doeth not yet appeare who shall execute Mr. Longes imployment, for I believe he will not be used any more. Here was a little speech of the Kinge’s removinge from hence, but it is now still again. I neither see whither he can goe, nor where he shall have money to carry him. Wee talke of troubles in France betwene the Kinge of France and the Princes of the Blood, but I know nothinge what is done. Every day bringes out lyinge gazetts, and nothinge is reported on one side which is not contradicted by the other. If ever it be in my power to be usefull to you, I shall not fail in those offices which you may justly chalenge.”

*Postscript.*—“I suppose you have heard of the end of my busines at Court, it was heard, and I was quit of that which was made the cause of my removall from the Duke. There was no proof, the Kinge cleared me, but I should not have gone to the Duke without a speciall order, notwithstandinge that I was his servant, and had the Kinge’s promise to be one of his officers, and that I should goe to him when I had done with the jewells, all which was acknowledged by that Kinge. In fine the Kinge indeavoured to bringe my Lord Biron off, and commanded us to be friendes, and so an end of the busines. I have leave now to goe to the Duke, and thus it rests for the present.” *Holograph. Seal.*

*Addressed :*—“A monsieur, Monsieur Booth, merchand Anglois, a Calais. For Colonell Hollis.”\*

The SAME to the SAME.

1652, February [18–]28. Paris.—“If it were not to put you to

\* The following five letters from Radcliffe to Holles are addressed in this way.



too much trouble I should be glad to heare often from you, for many thinges come to Callais out of England, which reach not hither, at least I heare not of them. Wee had great talke of a bill of oblivion, but of late no wordes of it, as neither heare I any newes of the treaty betwene England and Holland. I cannot believe that the Parlement or Councell of State are asleepe, although the Diurnalls of late tell us very little of what they doe.

"I have again remembred your busines to Mr. Chancelour, who tells me that he thinks it may be effected for you. There is a command sent hence to Mr. Lovinge to make his accompts, which may very probably be the forerunner of his discharge. This is not absolutely resolved of, but I see there are inclinations enow to remove him. The Chancelour bids me make the Duke of Yorke sure for you (which I shall indeavour, and foresee little difficulty there) and for his part the Chancelour will not fail. It has bene objected to me, that you were not versed in busines of this nature. I could easily answere that you had sence and diligence enough to finde out the bottom of any mystery that might lye in that imployment, besides that the Duke was in danger to suffre more by the infidelity then by the ignorance of his officers. So I hope this wilbe nothinge. As I heare any thinge more, you shall heare from me; I shall still be enquiringe after it. I forgott to speake to Thom to write to Jerom as you desired concerning your leters and table booke sent to Caen; I will speake to him about it. The Chancelour was moved [troubled *inserted above*] with the newes of Captain Griffiths goinge for England, he sayes that the Kinge had very good inclinations towards him.

"I canne tell you no French newes, for I heare nothinge one day, which is not contradicted another. Some cry up the Prince of Condé's strength, and the power of his assistants, others vilifyinge it as much and advancing the Kinges forces. All that I believe is, that they want money on both sides, the consequence of which wante is felt at the Louvre. Mr. Longe has sharply accused my Lord Wilmot, but I heare of nothing done thereon. In all thinges else wee are much what as when you leaft us. Onely I am freed of my long attendance, and so at leysuer enough to doe my best in my friendes busines."

*Postscript.*—"If any little box or other thinge come to Mr. Booth, directed to Miles Petit, I pray you entreat him to send it hither. As I was making up this letter, Thom comes in and tells me that Jerom hath received a letter from you. Thom will write to him about the packet and table booke." *Holograph. Seal.*

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1652, [February 21-] March 2. Paris.—"The Duke has absolutely promised me that you shall have his consent to have that place when it is void, which I thinke wilbe shortly. There is one goeing from hence the next weeke to examine how things stand there but he desires that no wordes may be made of it. He approues of your beinge imployed, so as I conceive there is very good hopes for you. No occasion of furtheringe it shalbe let slip."

*Postscript.*—"I have often thought of removinge myselfe, either to Calais or Boulogne, for there is cheapenes, and frequent meanes to heare from my friendes, or send to them. What thinke you of those places, and whether like you better?" *Holograph.*

SIR GEO. RADCLIFFE to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1652, [February 28-] March 9. Paris.—"Major Jackson beinge newly come with Mr. Crofts out of Holland, gave me the inclosed to convey to you. I writ the last weeke, that a man was to be sent from hence to examine the accompts of the persons trusted to receive the profits of the Admiralty at Dunkirke and thereabouts, and I thought that I had good ground for my so writinge. But speakeinge to the Chancelour concerninge you on Thursday last he tould me that the person designed for that examination did decline the imployment, being unwillinge to give offence to Mr. Wyndham. Whereby I feare your expectation wilbe a while delayed. Yet the Chancelour puts me not altogether out of hope but that somethinge may be done, which I shall not fail to enquire after.

"What heare you of the bill of oblivion in England, or of the probability of a breach betweene England and Holland? That quarrell undertaken in earnest, and the generall peace betweene France and Spaine concluded, would make us cavaliers hold up our heades and looke about us. We had a Cardinall (Gondi) lately made here, and some saye that he talkes as if there weresome probability of the peace. But I dare not be confident. I pray you present my service to Sir Richard Lloyd. He has often good newes. The Duke of Yorke gave a warrant to Lieutenant Colonell Smith to receive the value of ten pounds sterlinge of Mr. Wyndham. The Lieutenant Colonel was in extremity of want, and thereupon I layd downe the money to him at the Hague a yeare agoe, hopinge to receive it again from Mr. Wyndham. I have the warrant, and an assignment of it to me. Mr. Wyndham hath often promised to pay me when any money comes in, but I get nothinge, and it is a summe considerable to me in my present condition. I would be loath to trouble you with an ungratefull imployment, yet if you meet with an opportunity to put Mr. Windham in minde of it some tymes, you may doe me a great courtesy, for I shall scarce hope for my money without callinge for. Mr. Wyndham sayeth that he payed to Lieutenant Colonel Smith 15*l.* upon another warrant. This, I thinke, is mistaken by Mr. Wyndham, for I cannot thinke that there ever was any warrant, but this which I have. And however, if the Duke granted two, it is nothinge to me; this is first, and was first notified to Mr. Wyndham by Dr. Killegrew, and I was then put in hopes of the money. I make no appologies to you for puttinge this cumber upon you, for I know you, and you know me to be your affectionate servant." *Holograph.*

*Notes, in another hand.*—"By deputations from Mr. Windham and Mr. Loving to Mr. R. J. I find their commissions are recited to be thus :—

"Mr. Wyndham's office is, agent for his Majesty's fleete in all the ports of Picardy and Normandy, and the ports of Oustend and



Newport, and factor for all men of war, to receive two *percentum* for factoradge.

"Mr. Loving's commission is to bee register of his Majesty's high court of Admiralty, within all his Majesty's dominions, and all ports in leauge and amity with his Majesty."

SIR GEO. RADCLIFFE to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1652, April [3-] 13. Paris.—"I have delayed to answer yours which the Bishop of Dery brought me in hope to have bene able to have sayd somethinge to you of your busines. The accompts are now sent hither, and there is a resolution to remove one of those men who has bene employed in that busines, but I cannot learne that any thinge is yet done, yet I call on, when I meet any opportunity. Your leter to the Chancelour may come seasonably.

"Yesterday wee had a new gentleman of the Kinge's bedchamber sworne, Mr. Crofts. My Lord Percy before he was lord, would gladly have bene a groome to the last Kinge, and was denyed it. Mr. Crofts himselfe sued to have bene a groome to this Kinge when he was Prince, and could not obtain it. Such alterations are in this world. It is thought that the Duke of Yorke will goe the next weeke to the Kinges army. The Prince of Condé is here in Paris, which makes a great expectation of what this Parlement will doe in favour of his party. Wee have various reports of great preparations in England for some designe, but no man can probably tell what they aime at. Mr. Booth is or wilbe troubled with some little thinges cominge out of England and consigned hither. I pray you when you chance next to see him, desire his favour to give me notice when they come, and to send them to Paris. My service to your wife, and to Sir Richard Lloyd." *Holograph.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1652, May [5-] 15. Paris.—"When I gave the Chancellor your letter I found him very busy, therefore he appointed me to come to him another tyme for he had some thinge to say to me. I did so, he asked me what had passed betwene me and the Duke of Yorke concerninge you, I tould him how I recommended you to his Highnes for some imployment about his tenths, in case any of those who were employed were removed, and that his Highnes was very willinge to imploy you, and promised me his consent and assistance on your behalfe. The Chancelour bad me take an opportunity to say as much to the Kinge as I had said to the Duke, and to tell his Majestie what the Duke had sayd to me, which I did yesterday, and the King heard me willingly and promised me to remember you when the matter came in question. The Kinge also said that it was tyme some thinge should be done in this mater, for he had had no good accompt of it hitherto. I said that for your diligence and fidelity I would be your surety, but the Kinge was pleased to say that he made no doubt of you. He seems much enclined to your favour. What use the Chancelour meanes to make of my speakinge to the Kinge, I know not, I presume he will give

you an accompt of it. I sent him word in generall that I had spoken to the Kinge as he bad me, and that I had a kind answer, but I met not the Chancelour since, for he was not at his lodginge when I was at the Louvre. I expect a leter from him before I seale up this.

"He commended your leter to him, and read most of it to me. I asked him if nothinge might be done about your warrant for the baronet, for the Kinge might trust you to put in your name as soone as you received it, he tould me that he could doe some thinge in that, but mentioned not the particular.

"I know not in what state we are here. The Kinges army lyes all about us, but suffer meat and provisions to come to Paris, yet interceptinge some, for soldiers must eate, which makes all thinges for the belly very deare. Here is no travellinge nere this towne; dayly, or rather nightly beating up of quarters, wee heare of, wherein the Kinge has comonly the better. The Kinges army is said to be 14,000 very good men, the Duke of York is with Marshall Turein who is generall. The Duke ventures himselfe, and chargeth gallantly, when any thinge is to be done. The Prince of Conde and his party are estimated to be 9,000 horse and foot, besides this towne, who are generally for the Princes, and goeing out on partyes, have diverse of them bene killed. But here are in this towne men of severall interests and arts to raise jealousies, wherein they say the new Cardinall of Retz is active. He is neither for Mazarine, nor for the Prince of Conde, but they say, endeavours to gaine the Duke of Orleance to set up apart for himselfe. Wee have talked much of the Duke of Lorraine and 10,000 men (more part horse) to come in, probably for the Princes; yet the Kinge's party say he comes in on their side. However wee see him not yet appeare. Our Kinge made an overture of a treaty for peace, which was embraced on both sides, but quickly ended in nothinge, Cardinall Mazarine beinge the apple of contention. The Princes will accept of nothinge without his banishment, which the Kinge of France will not give way to. My Lords Wilmot and Germyn are gone to the Duke of Lorraine, I know not what is their errand, for I am a great stranger at the Louvre, and a greater to all their business, which is some contentment to me to be so.

"I wonder at two thinges which you writ—1. The newtrallity of England betwene Spain and France. I had thought Spain had gotten better hold of them. 2. The layinge aside the sale of delinquents landes. I am a little concerned therein, yet that little is all to me. If you heare any certainty thereof further, be pleased to enforme your &c."

*Postscript.*—"Since I writ this, I heare much talke of hopes of peace." *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES, at Calais.

[1652,] May [5-]15. Paris.—\*"I have receaved yours of the 8th

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\* All Hyde's letters to Holles begin "my good frende" unless otherwise specified.



and that you may know that the caution in my former letter proceeded meerely from myselfe, I have upon the receipt of your last, acquainted the Kinge with the whole matter, what I had answered to your first, and the very ingenious reply you made, so that I thought you expected to heare no more of it, and therefore his Majesty was the only judge whether he would be mooved in it or no, for that you should never know that he had bene asked, if he thought fitt to deny it. I must in the first place tell you (which signifiyes a greate deale more then the other) that the Kinge mentioned you with much kindnesse, and sayd he would trust you in a greater matter then this, and was very gladd that he could this way relieve your present necessityes, and therfore badd me prepare the warrant presently for him, with a blanke, and he would signe it, which I did, and have it ready and signed by His Majesty in my handes. But I forbear to send it to you by this post, upon the fame heare of the exceedinge daunger of the way, and that the letters and packetts are every day taken, and I had rather this should miscarry, then the other. You may write to your frends that it is dispatched, and directe me whether I shall still detayne it in my handes till the wayes are safer, or send it to you presently, and you shall be punctually obeyed by, Sir, your very affectionate humble servant." *Holograph. Seal.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

[1652,] July [15-] 25. Paris.—"I was very gladd to receave yours of the 16th of this moneth, and according to your derections I have sent you the warrante, which by Dr. Morly's care, I hope will come safe to your handes. I shall be heartily gladd that you may dispose of it to your contente, and truly I suppose many worthy persons may reasonably believe that the tyme is now approching, in which those characters may be more vauable then they have bene, and no man be afayde to owne the havinge receaved them.

"I am exceedingly sorry, that the same straights and necessityes still inviron you, and I am more angry with some of our old frends for not takinge more care of you, which they might doe at a very easy rate, then for any thinge else they have done, or not done; and I doubte the shame of such omysions as these will make them lesse desyre to see those they have loved, then those they never hearde of. But be not reduced to more inconvenience by your owne melancholique. God Almighty will in the end make us superiour to these gusts and wee shall agayne enjoy a calme wher wee may with comforte remember what is past, and I shall have the happynesse to have some opportunity to expresse how much I am, Sir, your very affectionate humble servant." *Holograph: Seal of arms.*

*Endorsed* :—"That it be entred in his Patent G. C. of Midleburgh."

The EARL OF BEDFORD to SIR CORNELIUS VERMUYDEN, in the Fens.

1652, July 15. London.—"The occation of my troubling you

at the present is upon the presseure of divers, as well as my owne tenants that are very much concerned in the bancke upon the north side of Mortons seame, which they saye is very defective in many places and much ruinated, and was at the first very superficialle made in some places thorough the deceitfullnesse of the workemen, and if not repaired now the season serves for it, it will breake in winter. You know better then I can tell you the great consequence of it, therfore sir, my request to you is that you will see it substantiallie done before the season be past, and though it be no more then what the company hath ordered divers times, yet the doeing of it substantiallie and in time, beinge somethinge more concerned in it then any wone particular man of the company, will oblige me to remain &c.” *Holograph. Seal with crest, surmounted by coronet.*

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE to COLONEL HOLLES, at Colonel Wyndham's, at Boulogne.

1652, August [13-] 23. St. Germain-en-Laye.—“ I confesse that I wondered much that I heard nothinge from you of so longe time, beinge confident that the leters which I sent came to you, though the Chancelor thought that they might have miscarried. For your address to me it is the same it was, for I tooke order at my lodginge when I leaft Paris, that all leters should be sent to Sir Richard Browne's when they came, and he knowes every day how to send hither. But when Mr. Wyndham writes to Mr. Eliot or his daughter, or to the Duke of Yorke, if your leters come with his packet they will finde me here at the English Court.

“ I pray you remember my service to Mr. Wyndham, and tell him that I have lately spoken to the Duke of Yorke concerninge Lieutenant Colonel Smiths money, and his Royal Highnes tells me that he gave two warrants to him, one for 10<sup>l</sup> sterling (which I have, and I showed it to Mr. Wyndham) and the other for 150 livres. His Royal Highnes intended that they should both be paid (sendinge Lieut. Colonel Smith into Scotland) and he was pleased to tell me this weeke, that Mr. Wyndham ought to pay this which I have. I acquainted Mr. Wyndham with it, as soone as I had it (by Dr. Killebrew) who gave me hopes from Mr. Wyndham that I should receive the money. I am still in hope that Mr. Wyndham will remember me, and not put me to trouble his Royal Highnes any more about it.

“ For that imployment which was (and I thinke still is) designed for you, if now it be worth lookinge after, I moved the Duke lately. He layes the blame of the delay, where I thinke it ought to be laid, and has I thinke given it a quickeninge now a few dayes agoe, yet I dare not be too confident that any great hast wilbe used. I am in a condition that I can hardly speake any thinge concerninge the Duke's busines, now especially since my Lord Biron's death. They think that I might pretend to some imployment about his Royal Highnes and truely I finde the Duke constant in his opinion of me, and willinge enough to use my service. And I have great reason to believe that I stand upright in the Kinges good opinion. Yet I



have some motives which keepe me backe (at the present) from movinge for any thinge, least I should knocke my foot against that stone, at which I have stumbled three tymes allready.

"Mr. Chancelour tells me that diverse gentlemen in England doe weare the title of Baronet, who have nothinge under the Great Seal, nor more than a warrant under the Kinge's hand, and they have made choyse to forbear the passinge of their patents. But a patent with blankes cannot be had. If you write to Mr. Chancelor, either direct your leters to himselve (there goes one from hence every post day, to receive all our letters from the post) or addresse them to Sir Richard Browne for Mr. Chancelor which is the surest way.

"The Kinge does not neglect his business, especially that in Holland, but it is not yet time for his motion that way. Yonge Vane was mentioned for an Embassador to the States, but I heare that he goes not. I see no probability of any accomode betweene the two Republicques, yet there are some on both parts that indeavour it, but I believe they wilbe over voted by those that are for warre.

"Wee say here that there is liberty given in England for all men to compound for their estates, except onely those who were at the last action at Worcester, and thirty persons more, who were not named, but perhaps are by this time. If so, methinkes your wife might, with some part of your estate, save the rest.

"The Cardinal Mazarine leaft the French court on Munday last, and yesterday was appointed by the Parlement at Paris to consider of an acknowledgement to be made to the Kinge for this favour. It may please God to put thoughts of peace into their harts. [*Margin*: By what I saw and heard this eveninge, I hope wee shall have peace here within a very few days.] The Kinge of France is gone to Compeigne, but he has leaft a garrison at Pontoise to guard the new Parlement erected there. The Princes at Paris talke of levyinge money and men, but the business goes very slowly on. Soldiers of both sides wast all the country hereabouts, and there is no travailing the highwayes, without stronge convoys.

"Thomas Hodgkinson is recalled by his lord now at length. I thinke he leaft Paris this weeke, to goe by Rouen. My Lord Wentworth is here sicke of an ulcer in his bowells, it is feared that his life is in danger.

"The Duke of Yorke hath gotten a very great reputation and power in the French army, he is bold and active. My Lord Digby is made Gouverneur of Mante, Pontoise, St. Germain, and all this country hearabouts, with power to raise one regiment of foot, another of horse consistinge of ten troopes, and an allowance of 700 pistols for raisinge of every troope, and besides all this, he is to have a free company of 100 maisters horsemen besides their servants, which is counted better then a regiment. God send us every man some part of his owne, and however, patience." *Holograph.*

OLIVER CROMWELL to ANTHONY HUNGERFORD.

1652, December 10. Cockpit.—"I understand by my cousin Duncce of so much trouble of yours, and so much unhandsonness (at least seemingly) on my part as doth not a little afflict me

untill I give you this account of my innocencie. He was pleas'd to tell my wife of your often restores [*sic*; *should be* resolves] to visit me and of your disapointments. Truly had I but once knowen of your being there and have conceal'd myself, it had been an action so below a gentleman or an honest man, so full of ingratitude for the civilities I have receaved from you as woud have renderd me unworthy of human society. Beleeve me Sir, I am much ashamed that the least coulour of the appearance of such a thing shoud have happened, and coud not take satisfaction but by this plain dealing for my justification which I ingeniously offer to you and although providence did not dispose other matters to mutual satisfaction yet your nobleness in the overture obligeth me and I hope shall whilst I live to study upon all occasions to approve myself your familiar and most affectionate and humble servant."

*Postscript*.—"My wife and I desire our service be presented to your lady and family."

*Certified as a true copy from the original at Farley Castle, co. Somerset, by William Turner. [Printed by Carlyle, Letter No. 186.]*

THE MARQUIS OF ORMOND TO [MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD MASSEY.]

1653, March [11-] 21. Paris.—"I question not but that Dr. Makdowell will have given you the letters hee was charged with long before you can have this, soe that though yours of the 13\* of this month makes mention againe of what hee has answers unto, I shall not give you the trouble of any repetitions. His Majestie, I may upon my certaine knowledge say, hath not bin wanting to his busines in relation to Holland but hath pursued it dilligently in those ways that have bin thought the best by shuch both here and there as hee had cause to beleeve councelled him as faithfully and wysely as the uncertainty of the affaire would beare; but it may have, and I beleeve has, fallen out that honest and discreete men have differred in their opinions, in which case the ellection is properly His Majestie's, which I am confident hee hath made upon good grounds as I hope will shortly appeare by the hapy event. By what wee heare from Germany wee have cause to hope rather then despaire of the successe of His Majestie's sending thither, yet I thus farr agree with your opinion and beleeve that that Embassy would be much improved by shuch a declaration of Holland as wee are all to wish and labour for; and in that case I should not despaire but that Sweden, which lookes with most unkindnes upon us, would incline to reason. I acquainted His Majestie with your designe for the obtaineing of the *Garland*. Hee wishes heartily you had or could yet prevaile, and then I thinke you would readily see His Majestie's comission for the command of her, though I have yet sayd nothing to him of that. It would bee a good addition to those vessells brought in by Prince Rupert which yet I heare to bee noe more then his owne and one more with a prise. His Majestie hath heard from severall hands of Vantrupp's discours to his advantage which if it

\* See Report on the Marquis of Ormonde's MSS., New Series, i., 272.



continue may more advaunce our King's busines then what proceeds from his owne subjects, as less subject to any suspition of partiallity. I am comanded by His Majestie to let you know that he is informed that there is at the presse there a booke containeing a naration of all the proceedings in Scotland especially if not only since his goeing thither, and that you have some part ether in the composing of it or in countenanceing the publishing of it, and though he beleeves your parte whatever it is proceeds from an opinion that it may advantage him, yet hee something wonders that you should thinke it fit that any discours of that nature should bee published without his leave and approbation first had, and therefore in case there bee any shuch thing hee expects and comands that it bee stopt and a copy of it sent to him that his pleasure for the publishing or supresseing of it may bee had, and here I am called upon for my letter and must conclude." *Holograph.*

*Addressed* :—"For yourself." [*Printed, from a copy, in Report on the Ormonde MSS., N.S. i., 274.*]

The MARQUIS OF ORMOND to [MAJOR GENERAL MASSEY].\*

1653, April [3-] 13. Paris.—"It was not possible before now to give you His Majestie's opinion and pleasure upon the booke intended to have bin printed, whereof hee had at length a compleate copy sent by you, and haveing taken some view of it he comands mee to let you know that as hee beleeves you when you say you were not the composer of it, soe hee is not willing to suspect that whoever was the author had any malicious purpose of disserveing him when hee intended to have published it, because hee findes you (of whoes good affections hee is very confident) perswaded that it would have bin of advantage to him, but on the contrary hee inclines rather to thanke him for his good intentions then to reprove him for the presumption of writing and intending to print a naration of that nature without consulting his pleasure in the first place, imputeing that omission more to the evell example of the times then to an essentiall want of duty, and this is his gracious construction of maner of proceeding concerning that booke. As to the mater or scope of it hee observes both by it and the leters hee and I have received touching it, that it has regard principally at these ends, at vindicateing His Majestie from two groundlesse asspersions, unsteadines in the religion hee professes, and in the promises hee makes, and to lay open to the world the infamous hypocrisy and unparalleled villany of the rebells. The two first are things that hee desires and resolves should rather bee made manifest by his constant practice and defence of the one, and by a religious and punctuall observeance of the other as farr as it shall lye in his power, then by printed papers or by unseasonable retrospects into past passages which according to the pervers and querrilous constitution now raigeneing is liker to blemish then vindicate the cleereness of his proceedings and purposes. As to the detection of the machlesse wikednes of

\* There is no copy of this amongst the Ormonde MSS., but the letter to which it is an answer is there. See *Report, N.S., i., 275.*

the rebells, if it were severed from that other subject, and from some passages that seeme to draw two other partys into the lists againe that are beaten out by those rebells, it might not only passe but bee of very great use to his service. This being his opinion you will easily conclude that his pleasure is it should not be printed as it is, nor yet with any amendments till hee shall have seene and approved of them, and now haveing discharged myself to His Majestie's comands it is necessary I should doe soe likewyse to the respects you have bin pleased to expresse to mee, which I cannot doe without takeing that freedome which you professe and I approve of soe much that I shall desire you to continue it yourself and allow of it in mee. In that freedome I must tell you, that you cannot bee more confident in the justice and loyalty of your first engagement then I am in mine and yet wee have declared and acted (if not contrary) I am sure severall ways. I would aske you then how it were possible for mee without a tacite acknowledgement of guilt and in that a betraying of my owne beleaved innocency sylently to heare the one vindicated and the other a least impliedly reproched. The rule I have therefore set myself in this case as most charitable and prudent is as much as in mee lyes to avoyde any shuch dispute and to the utermost of my power to hinder it in others, as for more weighty reasons soe also for this that I would not bee one at makeing sport to the rebells, that must laugh at people that contend in print for the booty they have got by force and trechery, and keepe with armes and tyranny, which would bee the certaine conclusion if that booke should goe forth as it is, for though I and many more should never open our mouthes against it but satisfie ourselves with what wee find within us, yet some would be found that for some end or other would undertake the answering of it, and then some other would reply, and then when we should have an end, or what the prejudice would bee to the King and to all that wish him the recovery of his kingdomes who can tell? This may serve to let you see both my opinion of that booke severed from that I have sayd in the King's name, and my opinion of you, that you are one that will dispassionately and impartially heare what an other will ofer for reason though it may be contrary to what you thinke is soe. For conclusion to this I can make noe beter then to promis for myself that I will and wish for others, that they would lay aside the remembrance if it bee possible; if not that yet any shuch effect of that remembrance that may obstruct a necessary conjunction of all those that professe for the King and suffer by the rebells, trusting God, the King, and a truly free Parliament, (which is the blessing we are to pray and contend for) how our church and state may bee best governed. It remains only that I assure you, I am not privy to any ill offices done you to His Majestie by any person, unlesse you will call the informing him of this booke to bee soe, which I am confident was done purely in duty to him without any mixture of a designe or desire to prejudice you. If I had not brought this leter to a length more then usuall with mee I should say something to other partes of two leters of yours I have not answered, though what I could say would not bee materiall till wee receive further advertisements from thence."



*Postscript*—"You must excuse me to Sir William and Dr. Macdowell and to Alderman Bunce for this post." *Holograph.*

SIR GEO. RADCLIFFE to COL. GERVASE HOLLES, at Geertrudenberge.

1653, July [15-] 25. Paris.—"I received long since the letter which you mention, and one from Mr. Windham inclosed, which gave me so little hope of that, which I thinke he once had promised me, as that it was not worth troubling you any more about it. You had obliged me by doeinge your part with him, which I acknowledge with thankfulness, but the money was otherways disposed, which I thought I should have had, by his meanes. Since that time I did not know whither to direct my letters to you or else you might have bene troubled with them. For though I am no courtier here, and know as little of our affaires as an other, yet I heare some times of my Lord of Str[afford] though never from him. And I could wish that you and I or any other could quicken him to looke after his busines, which I feare is not managed, as it ought to be. He wants a good servant to looke to his estate, and I heare not of any matches either for him or his sisters. He is now goeing into the north.

"Our Kinge is ready for a journey towards you, for which all thinges are prepared, onely wee hearken after the treaty betweene the new Parlement and the States; and another betweene the States and France, till which be some way ended, or proceeded in, I believe our Kinge findes reasons to stay here.

"Your advertisements concerninge the people where you are, gives good hopes of the Prince of Orange's prevailinge, which if it were effected, then our Kinge had a fair game to play.

"The Duke of Yorke is now in the field. The French army is 12,000 horse, and 11,000 foot, which is a greater strength then they have had these eight yeares, as a very good man told me. The Spanish army is said to be 27,000 horse and foot.

"I thanke you very heartily for your letter, and I desire you to favour me to heare from you. Here I shall stay alone, for I heare of very few else, that goes not when the Kinge goes." *Holograph.*

DR. G. MORLEY to COL. GERVASE HOLLES, at Geertrudenberge.

1653, [August 31-] September 10. Antwerp.—"I am sorry to hear you have not bin well, but am glad you are upon mending without a physician, which is commonly but another kind of disease and sometimes the woorse of the two, though in case of danger and extremity a wise man is to make use of them, but I think not upon every little distemper, which nature assisted with a man's owne discretion and experience will easily rectifye. Dr. Earles writes me woord this week that our King owes his present weaknesse (which is yet very great though his feaver hath bin gone above this fortnight) rather to his physitians then to his disease. But his old physitian Freyser being now come to him, every body about him hopes he will quickly be abroad againe. Touching my assistance by my freinds and acquaintance in England for Mr. Dugdale's

encouragement in so woorthy a woork I dare promise nothing, as having indeed little hope I should effect anything if I did endeavour it, the rather because there is another woork of publick concernment too now in hand which will require a very large contribution, and Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Sanderson with the Bishop of Armach have I beleeeve engaged as many persons of quality as they can in it. And that is an edition of the Bible in the Chaldee, Syriak, Arabick, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, and Latine languages, the charge wherof will amount to neere 20,000*l.*, and most of the eminently learned in the tongues of our nation are now employed in it; the first sheet of it is sent me allready printed.

"My last letters both from England, France and Holland put me in hope there will be noe peace betwixt the English and the Dutch for all this; and I have it from a good hand in England, that there are new differences betwixt the grandees there. The Highlanders are (by there confession in England) 4,000 in a body and I am assured that two shippes of arms and ammunition are lately gone out of Holland to them. One thing I heare out of England which troubles me viz. that Collonel Sir Robert Phillips, Mr. Edward Phillips yonger brother of Montague in Somersetshire is apprehended with some others and to be tryed by a high court of justice (now erecting) for carrying on some plott against the State. This may perhaps fright those in England from following the example of Scotland and perhaps tis done to that end.

"I never send your letters but by the wagoner. Mr. Cudner tells me again that you might save sixpence a letter in some of those that come from England if they were not put in a cover to him as they are, but only directed to him for you which is as good."  
*Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

[1653? September 23-] October 3. Paris.—"I have receaved yours of the 25 and am very sorry to heare my old frend Frank Mackworth should give you cause to suspecte his kindnesse and his honesty, for such a transgression would be a greate breach of trust, but I hope you may in this be over jealous, for I should imagyne if Sir F. Mackworth had any such suite he would as soone rely upon my frendshipp to procure it for him, as upon any man heare, and I am sure no such thinge hath bene mooved to me. And that I might be sure to know the utmost, I acquainted his Majesty with what you writt, and he hath promised me, if any such thinge be mooved to him I shall know of it, and it shall be stopped. This farr I can secure you, but it will not be possible for me to stopp any graunts of that kinde, if his Majesty hath promised the like favours to others, but truly I do not know of any one that hath passed this twelvemoneth, nor can I tell how it can without my privity. God send us good news out of Englande, to refresh our spiritts, which truly meethinkes droope much with the proceedings of the Dutch. I wish you all happinesse, and am very hartily my good frend, your most affectionate servant," *Holograph.*



## SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

[1653,\*] November [18-] 28. Paris.—“I have yours of the 20 and I do assure you I had so just a sense of what concerned you, that I could not hasten it more, if it had concerned my life. But my presence heere was necessary to the dispatch of it, for a man can say many thinges, which he cannot fitly write, nor do I conceive you upon any disadvantage in the pointe you mention, for wee are all so good courtiers, that whatever wee thinke, wee lyve very kindly together, and use each others frends well. And indeede you are beholdinge to my Lord Keeper, who expressed much kindnesse to your owne person, upon my speakinge of the businesse, and refused to take anythinge for his owne fee, and you shall do well to write to him a letter of thankses upon the information I give you, of his favour towards you.

“By that tyme this letter comes to your handes, I conceive the Pattent will be past the seale, so that it will be ready to be sent by the next post, but I am not willinge to venture it that way, except le Blane the carryer goes himselfe, and then I shall take care that it be delivered to my wife at Antwerpe, to be transmitted to Dr. Morly. In the meane tyme you may write or send confidently to the gentleman, that the businesse is done, that he may not be drawne to other treatyes, and send my Lord of Norwiche worde likewise that it is soe, that he may assure the other of it. And when it is come to your handes, and your necessities therby supplied, trust me, that you cannot be more delighted, then I am with the opportunity of servinge you, being very hartily, my good frend, your most affectionate humble servant.” *Holograph.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

[1654,] February [3-] 13. Paris.—“I have received yours of the 5 and am gladd that you have in any tolerable degree dispatched your businesse, and I do conjure you, not to incommode yourselfe in the least kinde for me, and I must tell you, I would absolutely refuse it, if it bringe the least inconvenience upon your owne affayres. If it do not, you shall by the grace of God not fayle of it, at the very tyme the good doctor promises. I thanke you for the sense you have of my suffringes, which were different from what I expected, and in truth I thinke anger'd the Kinge more then me, and since I must have enimes, I could not have wished myne lesse subtle then they have appeared to be. If Mr. Longe can preserve his credit from other enquiryes, it shall not be lesned by any examination I will bringe upon him; on the contrary I wish heartily ther were fewer objections to his reputation, and my misfortune had bene the more miserable, if he and Sir Richard Greenwill could have founde credit with good men. I wish heartily you could send me worde that your good cozen had given your wife another visitt since the newes arryved ther of the peace with the Dutch, which I doubt hath renewed the ill nature of many of our frends. If he see her once more, I will take it indeede for a good omen.

\* The year is fixed by the allusion to the Lord Keeper. Sir Ed. Herbert was appointed to the office (after the making of the King's Great Seal) in the summer of 1653. In November, 1654, Hyde was no longer in Paris.

"It is very true the place you are in will not be I doubt longe fitt for your company, yett I will not encourage you to come for France, which is not like to yeild better conveniencies, and sure wee shall not stay longe heare, and then wee shall easily meete with lesse charge and trouble. The Secretary will be able to give you advise when wee moove if I fayle to do it, which I shall not." Remember me kindly to Frank Mackworth, and be assured I will always be &c." *Holograph.* [*Evidently written shortly before the next letter.*]

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

[1654,\* March 23-] April 2. Paris.—"I have receaved yours of the 26 of the last and I do agayne conjure you not to be troubled for the not gettinge your mony with reference to my wife, who I thanke God hath by her frends bene seasonably supplied, and the exigent shée was then apprehensive of, when it seems the good doctor made that proposition to you, was in order to her remoove from Antwerpe, which is now over; therfore let me advize you, when you gett your mony, keepe it, and be as good a husbände of it, as if you were sure to passe two more as ill yeeres as the last have bene. Only I must desyre you as soone as is possible, to pay the small summ dew to the clerkes for the fees to Dr. Morly, ther necessityes makinge them so clamorous and troublesome to me, who passed my worde for it to them that I am confident I shall so putt to use my little credit to borrow it for ther satisfaction, and they are the more clamorous that I may be obliged to do so.

"For the worthy person you mention, though I have not the good fortune to be knowne to him, I have heard so much of his honour and meritt, and I am sure the Kinge hath so greate an esteeme of his affection and ability to serve him, that I shall be very gladd to receive any commands from him, and you may passe your worde to him, that what he shall trust me with, shall be only imparted to His Majesty or just whome he himselfe shall desyre to have it communicated to, and that I will serve him with all my heart, and your obligation to him shall infallably be made good." *Holograph.*

ROBERT BOYLE to JOHN MALLET.

1655, September 5. Stalbridge.—Thanking him for his kind letters, and regretting not having been earlier to acknowledge them, owing to a distemper in the eyes. Is going up to London for awhile, but hopes to find him at Poinington on his own return to Stalbridge. *Seal.*

OLIVER, PROTECTOR, to COLONEL NORTON.

1655, November 19. Whitehall.—"I thought I should have seen you before your going downe, but missing of that I thought fitt to send this short epistle to you. I understand Colonel Goffe will be at Winchester to-morrow. I hope you will assist him with

\* This must have been written in 1654, as Lady Hyde only left Antwerp towards the end of 1653. See *Clar. S. P.* iii., 195.



your countenance. He is honest, so is his business, whosoever says to the contrary; and if security be judged necessary to be provided for against malignant and papist, a reformation of wickedness be part the return we owe to God, then my assertion is true; the person employed is a gracious man if I know one, and deserves your respect; all that I have to say is to tell you that I love you."

*Postscript.*—"My service to my Lord Saye if he be with you, and to my Lady." *Copy.* [*Printed in Supplement to Carlyle's Letters and Speeches, &c., ed. 1904, iii., 471.*]

#### SPANISH WINES.

[1656, January.]—Opinion of the Committee of Council to whom the petition of the merchants trading in Spanish wines was referred, that the proclamation to be issued for proclaiming the prices of Spanish wines should take effect from the 25th of December next. *Signed by Lambert and N. Fiennes.* For date, see *Order in Council of January 31, 1655-6* (I. 76, p. 503).

#### A GAME AT PICQUET.

165[6, January? \*]—"Cromwell.—I am like to have a good beginning on't. I have throwen out all my best cards and got in none but wretched ones, so I may wel be cappoted for I have all the harts against me.

"Lambert.—Now you have a new pack I am contented to play but you knew every card of the old ones and could make your game as you listed.

"Lawrence.—I tooke but a few yet they make me a great game, for I left al the little ones behind me.

"Fletwood.—If your honour had these my Lord Lawrence left, you would have a better game then you have. I cold wish you to looke upon them, but that I fear you can hardly tel what you wil play. Wel I am for the little ones if there be enow of them, for two quint minors wil win the game before you come to reckon the fourteen by knaves.

"Fines.—T'is fit you should play at some comon game where al the smal cards are in and where the ace goes but for one. I was too long at that sport and left it because I cold make nothing of it but here, whosoever gets one card is like to make a good hand. I have got a good [tearse] already.

"Mulgrove.—I was something scruple whether play were lawfull or no and so sate out the last game, which had like to have undone me; for the future I shal play at whatsoever game your honours please especially since you pay so wel now you lose.

"Viscount Lisle.—If I go into France I must practise another game but do what I can I shal be overreacht at La Mazarine.

"Desborow.—I am nothing but a ruff yet I shal do wel. I got a carde of the right suite and besides I had good luck in parting with my spade for a club.

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\* Endorsed "1654," which is probably when the skit first appeared, but the speeches put into the mouths of Venables, Montague, Pride and Lawson show that this version belongs to the beginning of 1656. Some of the speeches, however, remain as in the earlier edition. It was first printed in 1659.

"*Skippon*.—I sit here and hold the cards but I know no more how to play then the post.

"*Rouse*.—I am more diligent at this game then ever I was at any, but I got more at the last, when I played at Cent, for then I had 100 and al made. Al that I desire now is to save myselfe and helpe my kinred to some thing by betting on my hand while my luck lasteth.

"*Jones*.—I must needs loose for I have throwne out the card that made me win the last game.

"*Wolsley*.—A pox on't I left Peckadille and the Three Kings to come to play here, and I think I shall play all the dayes of my life and get nothing.

"*Cooper*.—I was pickt at Whitehall and thought to come and save myselfe among the cavilers, but I doubt I shall be deceived.

"*Pickering*.—I had rather play another game where more may play but I thank the Lord I can frame myselfe to any sport so as my Lord [P.] be in at it.

"*Strickland*.—You play not as they do in Holland where I learnt this game, for you make lifting [cut for the deal] here, and there they deale by turnes.

"*Maier*.—Al that I am I had in my rise I was the pittifullest game in the world before.

"*Sidenham*.—I am pretty wel though I have changed my sute, I went in with al one and had another as good in the pack.

"*Montague*.—They make me play at a game I never saw plaid at in my life; I must needs loise.

"*Blake*.—I shal be but a kinde of a stander by at this time so I shal have time enough to teach you the game against the next when you may play by yourselfe.

"*Thurlo*.—My Lord it wil not be so wel for me to play, but I wil stand behinde the chaire and make and shuffle the cards with which you are to play the next game.

"*St. Johns*.—I shal not play neither but ile go your halfe, if you keepe my counsel.

"[*Pierpoint*].—You play so rashly that I wil not bett a farthing on your hand.

"*Salwey*.—I am but a stander by but I observed that the small cards which are left out and not plaid with are all very clean, but the rest of the pack are filthily foul already.

"*Bradshaw*.—I dispatcht out one king and went in for another but I have mist him yet, but he hath not a card of his suite with him, so that I shal snap him when it comes into my hands.

"*Haslerig*.—May we not play Level Coile. I [have] not patience to stay till another match be made and had as live be hanged as sit out.

"*Nevill*.—I wil not play, for (besides that I love not this game) I am so doz'd with the spleene that I should think of something els all the while I were playing, and take in al the smal cards, for I am all the day dreaming of another game.

"*Waller*.—My Lord you have hang'd my king and I have no other way left but to play into your hands.

"*Whitlock*.—I shal be contented to play at any game, but I would be unwilling to play for a dead horse, but I care not if I keepe stakes,



"[*Knightley.*].—My Lord give me leave to speake against your game that so I may be thought not to bet, and then I shal be able to give you such advice as may helpe your play.

"*Roberts.*—I have the luck on't I swinn as well at this game as at the last, when I played at Loadam I had all the small cards and now at Picket I have all the great ones.

"[*Gerrard.*].—My Lord I do not like your game so well as to leave the match I have made myselfe, yet I do not greatly care if I venture a little upon your hand and try if I can get a stock to set up my youngest son for a gamster.

"*Barners.*—May not I talke as much as I wil in your play as long as I am resolved never to bet or play with you at this game for a farthing.

"*Vane.*—One had better sometimes play with a good gamster then with a bungler for one knowes not where to have him. If Cromwell had discarded as he should have done I had won my stake; as it is I shal save myself, which I fear he will hardly do, though he mingles the cards wel when he deales himselfe and hath excellent luck in cutting when another deales.

"*Rich.*—I play 1,000 times better now I have a bad game then I did when I had a good one.

"*Harison.*—I played the owle and went in for the fifth king when there were but four in the pack.

"*Lenthall.*—My Lord I lost dealing twice together because you interrupted me.

"*Lawson.*—My Lord this game was not dealt you. Ile throw up my cards.

"*Sir G. Askew.*—They wil not let me play, they think I play too wel for them.

"*R. Cromwel.*—I play my game in the country.

"*H. Cromwel.*—I play my father's cards here but I fear I discard a wrong suite. Those I keepe are leading cards at another game but are nothing worth at this.

"*Clepole.*—I have but one coat card and she lyes bare so that she wil be snapt quickly.

"*Ludlow.*—If I play I'le push. I care not what I fling out kings queenes or knaves.

"*Venables.*—I went out for the diamonds and met with nothing but clubs.

"*Al[derman] Atkins.*—I wil stand by your Highnes and bring you good luck. Ile make my fortune by lending the gamsters money.

"*Harvey.*—They caught me playing false and would let me play no longer though I was on my Lord's side.

"*Al. Titchburn.*—I had reason to desire so much to play at council picket since now I am like to lose so much by anothers ill play.

"*Nudigat.*—I lost by play but I get by leaving off.

"*Chute.*—There is such cheating that I wil play no longer.

"*Maynard.*—I wil not play, for if I shold I can be but of one side but now I mean to take ods and have money of both. Ile play at smal game ere ile sit out for I was never fit to worke.

"*Pride.*—Baxter [*Barkstead*] and I are at the old foolish Christmas game with honours.

"*Exchequer*.—Sure I must win at last yet at the present I have ill luck for I have three knaves in and had cast out the fourth.

"*Upper Bench*.—Sure you are little better then a cheat for I threw out one of them and you have taken him up into your hands.

"*Common Pleas*.—You served me the very same trick last terme and tooke in one of them whom I discarded, but had best leave your cheating and wrangling all of you lest you be found what you are and forbidden to keepe Christmas here any more and then we shall be forced to set up our misrule in the countrey where there is but smal game and where the box will be poorely payd.

"*Chauncery*.—If it had not beene for the queene I had cast out a knave which now proves the best of my game.

"*Dutchy*.—I am blank. I ow you for the last game, double or quitt. I have taken more then I should, so that I must reckon nothing.

"*Com. Excise*.—Gentlemen pay the box.

"*Presbyterian*.—I lost the last game for want of a king and now I have one that doth me no good in the world.

"*Annabaptist*.—I had a good hand but I playd the foole and threw it out so that now al my hopes depend upon one card.

"*Independent*.—I have now but smal cards and they of several sute so that I shal make little of it this bout.

"*National Minister*.—I went out for cards the bishops and deanes parted with the last game, but though I have [lost] most of them yet if my tens be good I can make a shift til another dealing.

"*Cavaler Divine*.—I was pickt out last time and now am repickt.

"*Papist*.—If you all complaine I hope I shal come at last.

"*Jack Trevor*.—Shal not I play; my Lord Protector hath given me a stock, ile pack my cards with any cavileer gamester in the towne.

"*Sir John Trevor*.—Wel sayd Jack thou art none of my son except thou art in at all games and canst carry a harp in thy pocket.

"*Sir John Price*.—I had almost lost all by play but have saved myself by betting on my Lord's hand."

*Printed with omissions and variations in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VII., and elsewhere.*

T. ROSS to COLONEL HOLLES at Mrs. Kilvert's in Rotterdam.

1657, June [5-] 15. Bruges.—"I have foreborne all this while to write to you, being in dayly expectation of his Majesty's returne hither from Bruxells, every day bringing us new hopes of it, untill yesterday, which assurd us hee could not bee here untill next weeke, but what part of it, is yet uncertaine, for the Spaniards are Rochesterians in point of money, and will keep him (I feare) there, untill all hee shall receive will bee run out in debt. Hee was at Mecklin to see his regiments march and I was told your colonels marcht above 400 men, but since I am informed, that upon a review of them, all regiments are soe vilely shrunk, that they are (except my Lord Lieutenant's) to bee reduced to four companies. The certainty of this I cannot affirme, but my next shall give it you. The Duke of Yorke marcht into the field on Tuesday last with a very



good equipage. The Duke of Gloucester comes hither with the King. Wee heare not yet that the armies have done anything. The English marcht six dayes since from Amiens to joine with the French army; they are commanded by Lockart. Captain Clarke is a Lieutenant Colonel and was very buisy in examining English gentlemen (among others a friend of mine that is here) at Bologne, desiring excuse for doing it, for that they had many enemyes on this side the sea, and must bee carefull. Notwithstanding about some twenty of their men are come into us at Doway where they are well received, and say that many more will follow. I doubt not but you understand how Cromwell behaves himselfe; hee hath got into his hands my friend Mr. Walton, who is an extraordinary loss. Upon what termes hee stands I yet know not, but hope to doe exactly, soone as the convoy arrives, which wee dayly expect, and then you shall heare from mee. In the meane time I doubt not, but you are following our plough, which God speed, else I must sinke. All your friends here are well, and remember you heartily, and hope after this sommers patience wee shall meet to the worke. I should bee glad to heare you had arguments to believe your Dutch and Cromwell would quarrell, wee talke loud of it here. Cromwell hath sent for Blake home, and its believed hee will never goe out Admirall againe. Pray faile not to let mee heare from you weekly.” *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COL. GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.

[1657 (?) July 22–] August 1. Bruges.—“Beinge the last weeke at Bruxelles I receaved by the care of Sir John Drummond from Bruges yours of the 18 of the last moneth, by which I founde, that another from you had bene sent to me, which I had not then receaved, but at my returne I founde one heare from my Lord Wentworth, and in it yours of the 1 of the same moneth, and though I may reasonably believe that you may by this tyme be on your way hither, I thinke necessary to venture this to lett you know that they are both come safe to my hands. Concerninge the gentleman you mentioned in your last, I finde he hath a very good reputation heare, beinge knowne to many, and I suppose havinge bene in no place, without the privy of those who are most concerned. However the animadversion was very well given by you for wee cannot be to carefull in that particular, and without honest mens communicatinge to each other what they see or heare of persons, wee cannot be enough armed; and when wee have done all wee can, daungerous persons will gett in amongst us, though I hope they shall be able little to advaunce the service of those who imploy them. I writt on Fryday to my Lord Wentworth, but know not whether my letter will finde him at the Buise.” *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1657, August [21–]31. Bruges.—“At my return to Bruges I found yours of July 30 (old stile) and am extremely sorry both for your son’s mistortune at home, and your being deprived of the oportunity of seeing him. Yet I hope, as his recovery is a comfort

to you, you may have occasion, ere three months bee fully finished, to venture to see him where he is, and I thinke I have some reason to believe what I say, and were I neare you I would tell it, but being at this distance I shall only desire you to cherish this hope in your owne breast, and not impart it to any whatsoever, nor mention it in your returne to mee, least letters should miscarry. As to Mr. Walton, I am very confident had the party that informed you knowne him soe well as I doe, hee would not have made that an argument of his shining in London, for since he was a man, noe gentleman in England out-shined him either in good clothes, or any thing that shewes splendid in the citty. As to the three hundred pounds it is truth, and I guess at your authour (Fr[ank] Love[face]) by the severe close, who I can assure you will never understand more of that person then hee does, hee not fancying him as to be a confident. But I can assure you, that this is truth, that after hee found hee was layd hold on, and that nothing of importance was alledged, or could bee proved against him only a strong suspition, and resolution to keep him in prison, hee resolved to ly by it; but a principall and most considerable friend of ours knowing the extraordinary use of him, importuned for an important business, speedily to sollicite his liberty, which hee replyed hee would not have, unless free from any engagement of oath or bonds, which the other gentleman did procure by a great creature of Nol's, and our friend had his liberty without any load for that mony. The hasty pressing of it, doubtless more then halfe advanced the price, but it was of such high importance that if it had bin doubled his friends would have layd downe the mony, (which they did) to have him free, and since hee hath bin soe, hee hath planted a fruit, to my knowledge will bee the fairest in our garden, and I dare say (collonel) if ever you and I meet at home, wee shall acknowledge a large share of that felicity to that worthy person. I had a friend went to him by the last convoy, on Monday last (when Will Egerton went alsoe) and I looke this day to heare from him, having sent to him by my master's command, who findes his industrie and interest soe considerable that hee is tender of him. You have extremely comforted mee, in the hopes you conceive of our designe, and really I should thinke myselfe very happy, if wee could procure 2000 guldens a piece for ourselves. I pray God send it. I heare Club is with you (pray omitt not mee kindest respects to him) I believe hee can better informe you then I of Ja. Munson, of whom I have heard nothing, but divers of our regiment are gone over this last convoy, bitterly complaining of Sir William Throgm[orton] who it seemes had left the regiment, but is gone thither againe. Albert Morton is sicke, where I cannot tell, Slingsby hath quitted (as they say) and in fine the regiment is mouldered to nothing. Since the defeat of the French convoy by Monsieur Bouteville (one of Conde's lieutenants who killed and took 800 horse and 900 foot, the exact particulars whereof take in the enclosed), our army besiegeth Ardres, and batter it dayly with twenty piece of cannon. The Spaniards besiege St. Venant, without the taking of which, their designe on Gravelin would bee vaine as wee hope however it will prove. It is apparent the English fleet on the Downes attend it, but wee are



confident the designe is broke, both by the late defeat, and the too late season. The diurnalls will tell Blake (Cromwell's admirall) is dead, who was the best man they had. I am to-morrow hasting to Bruxells, wee are as yet uncertaine whither the King will goe into the field or not, we hope the negative. I shall not faile to give you a weekly account of what passeth here."

*Postscript* :—"I writt to you twice from Middleburg." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

[1657-8, December 28-] January 7. Bruges.—"Honest Gervase, I deferred answering yours of the 21 of the last moneth for some tyme, supposinge I should eare this [have] bene able to say somewhat to you upon what Sir J. Mennes sayd to me of your readynesse to goe into Englande yourselfe to prepare and advance the King's service, of which His Majesty hath thought much, and many thinges occur which makes the matter of great moment and presents many conveniences to our view. Therefore as soone as wee gett any mony, that wee may supply you, both for comminge hither, and for the other journey, I shall be gladd that you spende a day or two heare with us, to consulte upon all particulars, which you may do with so greate secrecy, that no man shall know of your beinge heare, but whome yourselfe thinkes fitt to intrust, and I believe many usefull thinges will resulte from that conference.

"I pray do not fayle to send Sir J. M[ennes] worde as soone as Sam comes, that he may presently goe over to him, and I hope he will not make to much hast backe. Ther is great grumblinge at London against the debt, and at the Hague against Cromwell, who indeede uses them with all the skorne imaginable, yet they will beare all, rather then fall out. I wish you all happiness, and am very hartily &c." *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.

1657-8, [December 31-] January 10. Bruges.—"I have yours dated English Chrismass day and shewed it to my friend Mr. Walker, (for soe you must call him, when you mention him there) who [is] extremely glad of the safe arrivall of his horses, which shewes all to bee well from whence they came. It is his (Majesty's *inserted above*) pleasure that I should desire you to keep them there untill hee sends you farther order how to dispose of them, and Mr. Walker intreats you to bid the groome bee very carefull of them, and to trimme them, but you are not to tell the groome who they are for, but to talke as if they were to bee sold. I writt to you by the last, and told you my sense of Dud. Lovelace, but as to the mony I can say nothing to it, and (mee thinkes) Franke might as easily returne him his mony, as give his friends soe much trouble and expence of letters about it. As to Mistress Kilvert's things they are not yet sold, but are in a faire way, as you will understand by (Sir *inserted above*) John [Mennes] to whom (as soon as I received it) I shewed your letter, and hee thereupon advised mee to goe with it immediately to the Chancellor who was extremely pleased with the

particulars, and told mee that both hee and Sir John writt to you by the last, and hee hoped much to your satisfaction, but upon the sight of this letter, hee commanded mee to say to you, that upon presumption, that Sam is there by this time Sir John Men[n]es shall bee dispatched to you to-morrow, or, next day at farthest, soe that you may confidently expect him. I am glad to find Frank Lovelace soe confident there, I hope wee have as good grounds to bee confident here, that wee shall stand to our resolutions and speedily put them in execution. I cannot tell you any particulars ; if I could I should bee loath to anticipate the clein (*sic*) admirall [Mennes] who can say all to you. In my last, I entreated you to write for me to Fra. Knolles to speake to my paymaster at the Hague but now it needs not, for I have heard from him. All your friends here are very well, particularly Jack Heath, Rob. Phill[ips ?], Mr. Walker and Jack Jamot bid mee assure you they are your cordiall servants."

"Since I writt this, the King sent for mee, and commanded mee to let you know, that hee will this day send away a groome of his owne this day to assist in bringing away the horses, but you must not let him bee seen untill they are on shipboard, neither must Toll the merchant nor Mr. Walker's owne groome know who they are for ; but you are to talke of Mr. Walker's coming back to you, soe soone as hee hath sold his horses. Pray send us word by the first what ships are ready to goe back for Yarmouth." *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL [GERVASE] HOLLES.

[1658], January [10-]20. Bruges.—"Upon the confidence that Sam is by this tyme come to you Sir John Mennes makes this journey and will say all that is necessary to him, and you must use your authority with him, to be backe agayne in these partes by the end of February, and agree what notice and to whome he shall give at his returne. In my last I told you that the Kinge approoves of your disposition to goe into Englande and believes that it may be of use to his service, and I then prepared you to visitt your frends heare before your journey, but wee have since considered the untoward season for travell, and that if Sam shall be putt to stay longe for you, he may be disabled from returninge hither by the tyme wee expecte him, and that havinge so good a messenger as Sir J. Mennes, wee may with lesse trouble to you, instructe you as fully, as if wee conferred together, and therefore the Kinge is pleased to spare you the comminge hither, and commands me to advise you, that when you come into Englande, you doe with all the secrecy that is necessary to your security rayse the spirits of those you dare trust, by assuringe them that the Kinge will visitt them as soone as he can, and sooner then is generally believed ; that he does not wish his frends to do any thinge rashly to indaunger themselves, untill they ether heare that his Majesty is landed, or finde that a considerable force declares for him, or against the present power, in some other parte of the kingdome, and in ether of those cases, that is if you heare the Kinge is landed, or that a good body appears in any other parte of the kingdome against Crumwell, his Majesty wishes that you could possesse yourselfe of Boston, and I send you



heare such a comissyon as at the first entrance into action, is in our judgements like to be most effectuall. In the straights wee are in, you will receave it not amisse that the Kinge hath bene able to supply [you] with no more then 200*l.* for your journey, which Sir John will deliver to you, and say any thinge else that is necessary, and with him I pray settle some way that your frends may heare of you. God keepe you and send us a good meeting, and me opportunity to serve you." *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES at Rotterdam.

1658, [April 25–] May 5. Brussels.—“My last to you was by Mr. Colt, which I hope came safe to your hands, for I cannot doubt but hee is before this day arrived. I did in that entreat you to send to Fra. Knolles for mee, to entreat him to let us see him here againe as soone as possibly hee can, and I had then some reason to believe there was a remove hence intended by our master, but I am now assured that hee will very speedily bee gone into Germany, and will have my yonge gentleman [Mr. Stanley] waite upon him, soe that I must begge it once more off you, to send this enclosed to Mr. Knolles, and let him know, if hee will see us againe (as hee promised) that it must be within ten dayes at farthest, for it is believed the King will bee gone about that time. What the intent of this journey is, wee rather guess, then know, but wee hope it may contribute something considerable for the next season, upon which our thoughts now are wholly fixt. Wee shall (they say), goe directly to Frankfort, but before our journey I shall not faile to communicate to you what I can learne, in the meane time let mee rely on you to speed this to Mr. Knolles, and tell him that if he cannot come immediately, that at least hee must speed hither the mony hee mentiond, for wee must immediately make our provisions, which will bee chargeable enough, and not to bee avoided. The King will have very few with him, appointing all his company, and in the first place Mr. Stan[ley] to whom his kindness is extraordinary great. As to our friends in England, their condition is deplorable and I feare much, that wee shall lose some very considerable either by banishment into forraine plantations or the scaffold. Where the fault of this damned failing lyeth, you may judge, when I am assured by Nic. Armorer (one of their prime agents) that since they have bin their, they had opportunities, that had the King bin there in his shirt only, his buisness could not have failed. Oh excellent management! who hereafter will rely on our promises? I am sure in that, I shall ever bee infidell, unless I have St. Thomas’s argument. To endure this the better, wee must take up a great deale of patience, having noe other remedie. My Lord of Ormond will bee here to-morrow, and then certainly wee shall understand the riddle, in the meane time our grand minister would have us to hope, that as soone as the long nights come (that is his expression) wee shall make an attempt. But *credat Judæus &c.* However I shall bee vigilant to informe you if I spie any probability.”  
*Holograph. Seal of arms*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1658, [July 22-] August 1. Antwerp.—“I received yours of July 26 just as wee were going to Hochstrait, a village, where the King intends to spend (I believe) the rest of the summer, after wee have bin a week or ten dayes at Bruxells, whither wee goe to-morrow. Since our returne I have made all the enquiry I can after Mr. Murrey, and heare that hee hath bin here, but I believe hee was gone before yours came to my hands, or at least hee is private, being as I am told a little in debt in this towne. I should bee very glad hee could accomplish what wee desire, but very much wounder hee should (as you say) acquaint any man with the buisiness, but such as you should appoint. If it bee the person that I have formerly seen at this towne, I feare hee will faile our expectation, being a great undertaker. However I have prepared the way in case hee may [make] good his promise, and shall procure what is to bee of my part, soe soone as you shall bid mee strike. In the meane time, I heartily wish I could send you something of comfort from the result of our consults here, but really I can learne nothing, only I thinke wee have layed our heads together, to contrive how to get monie out of the merchants here, but feare wee shall hardly effect it, though I believe all arts wee can invent have bin used. It is sad to see, after soe many franke and generous overtures as wee have formerly had to put us into action, wee should either timorously or imprudently wave them, and make the highest of our designes to bee the extorting, at least importuning, a little summe to carry us up and downe this country to noe purpose, for after strictest enquiry, of wiser men then I, cannot finde that wee have done, or have in view, anything that tends unto action the next season, though wee have bin often bid to hope for long nights, and to say truth, if Plassendale (which was yesterday said to bee besieged) should bee taken, Ostend which is the sole port is left us, will bee soe blockt up, that wee cannot hope to get out should the Spaniard answere our desires in giving us men &c. If this bee not, perhaps wee may make some sally thence, if our friends in England will hearken to us, which is much to bee feared. I believe our journey to Germany will bee layed aside, for though our agent there intimates that all the electors approve of the King's appearing there, yet it is opposed by Pignaranda (the Spanish Ambassador) whom wee dare not oppose, hee being a person from whom wee are to hope much of the assistance (if any doe come) which the Spaniard will allow us. In the meane time, the Emperor, who was to bee yesterday crowned at Franckford, had written a very kinde letter to the King, and promiseth to doe all that lyeth in his power to serve him; but how farre that promise will reach time must shew. If either hee or Spaine doe us any good, I feare wee shall bee to seeke, how and where to put ourselves into action, our hopes in England depending (for all that I can heare) wholly upon the death of the tyrant, and the rest is from Ireland. What can bee said of that will scarce bee knowne, untill my Lord Muskerry and Sir George Hamilton (who are believed to bee now at Paris, returned from Spaine) come hither. There are in Spaine a body of 5,000 Irish, and certainly they may be better shipt thence, then frome



these parts. I received yesterday a letter from Mr. Knolles, and am glad to finde hee [is] soe neare his journey towards England. I believe before hee arrive there, my wife will bee over, being to come (I thinke) this weeke with my Lady Cartwright in a Dort vessel, therefore pray doe mee the favour to send the lace, which hee tells mee hee hath left with you, to my brother Mazeine by some safe hand. I would have written to him, but that his seemes to intimate, that hee should bee gone before this can come to you, if hee bee not, pray present my service to him and tell him I heard this weeke from Harry Medte[alfe ?] (who is at London) and desire him to tell Harry, that I writt once to the barbar's, as hee appointed, but that was lost, and therefore I have written by the last post to my wife, to give him her address at London, and an address to mee here, soe that we may constantly heare from one another, and desire him to informe Mr. William Wentworth who is now at London, how to write to mee likewise, for hee hath promised to doe it, upon some business that long since past between us. I heartily wish hee were over, that my yong gentleman's [Stanley's] friends might understand his condition, and supply him, for really wee are much in want, and had I mony of mine owne, I would rather spend it in his service, then press them for it, because they (I finde) thinke hee spends too much, which really I have used all endeavours to prevent and lessen expences, but cannot. And upon my faith, I had rather goe to plough then live as I doe, were it not to serve that noble family, to whom I am soe infinitely obliged, that I thinke my whole life too little to express my gratitude. I am now hot in pursuit of what I have long had in view, which is to finde a way by his friends here to make him to succeed your deceased fatt Colonel in the bedchamber, and hope to effect it at our returne to Bruxells by the good old secr[etary], and my Lord Gerard's meanes, who have already made an entrance into the buisiness, and are fairely promised, but wee judge it requisite to suspend the last push, untill our grand minister bee absent, for I have already felt his pulse, and find him unwilling that it should bee done, perhaps inclining more to a yonge Lord that was lately brought hither by his father, to balance (as wee guess) my yong gentleman, who is yet the favorite, and I hope will soe continue. I am sure hee shall not want the advice of very worthy men, how to stee himselfe, among the rocks and shelves into which his youth, and the leudness of some people, who are not his friends, would lead him. I have written at large to Harry Medte[alfe ?] by a friend who goes this weeke into England, and will leave his letter with my landlady at Charing Cross, whom Harry knowes, and I have enclosed his to her. If Mr. Kn[olles] bee with you pray tell him of it.

"Our letters from France doe now assure us that the King is alive at Amiens, though some here will still have him to bee dead. I shall bee glad to heare that this came safe to your hands, because I have written soe freely, and should bee sorry it should miscarry. Therefore pray give mee that satisfaction, as soone as you can. When wee are soe happy as to meet againe (which I exceedingly covet), wee will take the paines to make a character [*i.e.* cypher], which may secure us from the inquisitive, for really I have noe

comfort but in the blessing of your friendship, and noe ease of our present misery, but in freely opening my brest to you.

"Pray omitt not my service to the good woman. If I bee summoned to Dort to meet my old woman there, and have time to doe it, wee will visit you. Direct yours still to my brother Mazine for mee." *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1658, October [12-] 22. Brussels.—"I hope before this George Colt with his brother are arrived, which I perceiv they were not, when you writt yours of the 15th, which I yesterday received, with your other of the 12th, both which came together to my hands. I finde myselfe very much (as in all other things) obliged to you, for your great care in looking after a vessel, but I am extremely sorry, that hee whom you have found must bee gone soe soone, for the person on whom this journey mainly depends, cannot resolve on his going so suddenly, for the motive to it is to come from England, and wee looke for it every post; as yet it is not come. Wee cannot therefore hope for this excellent oportunity you have already found out, and therefore must begge your vigilance in attending some other, and as you finde any bee pleased to advertise mee of it. You need not stand to make any bargaine for that will not bee disputed if wee come, soe long as you can assure us of the honesty which is all that is desired. I confess I was in very great hope I should ere this have bin positive with you, but (as I sayd before) our dependance is on a returne from England, and I pray God, phlegmatique ones here doe not lay a clogge. I hope it will not bee in their power, but, considering former miscarriages, I cannot but feare. I gave you in one I sent by George Colt, a full account of your message to the King, and his answeere, with my reall sense of our affaires, which I hope you have received, and I shall bee glad to have your reply. I can now say noe more then I did then, but tell you, that all is drawne againe into the old channell, and I feare wee shall all sinke in it, unless something briskly attempted prevents it. A little time will shew us our destiny and as soone as I discover any thing of it, you shall bee sure punctually to understand it. This enclosed from Mr. Heath should have come to you by Mr. Colt, but Sir Gil[bert] Gerard who undertooke to deliver it to him, forgot it. It is therefore now sent to absolve Jack Heath from opinion of neglect of you. My old woman is your very humble servant, and doubts not of a share of your venison when you have it, but not before, and therefore you need not apoligize for that; your franke heart is sufficiently knowne. I am much astonished that our friend Francis writes not to us, I hoped to have found the effects of his returne before this, and I am sure never stood in more need then now, having scarce clothes to keepe mee warme. Honest Club is very disconsolate that you write not to him, hee feares you are angrie with him. Hee is now cursing the dice at tables with my old woman, who laughs at him, though hee hath not made a bull this day that wee yet heare of. Pray doe mee the favour to convey the enclosed to Leech, and say my service to George Colt and my namesake, with Mrs. Kilvert and the rest of my friends." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*



SIR JAMES WARE to WILLIAM DUGDALE, at the Heralds' Office near Paul's Wharf.

1658, November 3. Dublin.—“Your letter of the 23rd October came lately to my handes, and to answere your expectation in part, I have written something touching the Irish bogges and their drayning, although the truth is, this busines is already handled by Doctor Gerard Boat, in his *Irelandes Naturall History*, printed at London in the year 1652. Soe as if you please you may wholly lay aside what I write and have recourse to him.

“The moores or bogs of Ireland are of severall sortes, some of them are dry, or as they call them red bogs, because the surface of them together with the heath and moss thereupon growing is for the most part of a reddish cullor, although the cullor underneath be blackish. Out of these bogs they usually dig their turf, which is a very usefull fuell in those partes of the cuntry where wood and coale are scarce. These dry bogs are unfit for drayning, because after any trench is made in them, the mouldring earth will on both sides sink into them againe and fill them up.

“The wett bogs are naturally good ground but in length of time, in some places by springs under ground and in other places by rayne water or by some little brook not having a free passage out are turned into bogs.

“The best of these bogs are the shaking grassy boggs which are also the most easy to be turned into firm land, where the situation will beare it. There be other bogs which are overspread with little tuftes of rushes or reedes, which will beare a man, the ground between them being muddy and covered over with water a foote or two deepe.

“The manner of drayning the wett bogs, is first to observe where the descent lyeth, and there to cut a broad deepe trench, fitt for conveying away of the water, beginning the trench in the firm ground and soe by degrees entring into the bog, untill the mayne trench be brought quite through the bog. The next work is on both sides of the mayn trench to make lesser trenches for bringing the water from the other partes of the bog into the mayn trench, which will in a little time empty the bog of its superfluous moysture, and carry it in the mayne trench unto the next brooke, river or lough, as the situation of the land gives conveniency.

“By this meanes much good ground hath of late yeares bin gayned, some fitt for corne, some for pasture, and some for meadow, besides the amending of the ayre thereby, a thing not to be past over in silence.

“Next spring I hope to see you in London. In the interim . . . I am truly, your affectionate friend.”

*Postscript*.—“If you have not the foundation of the Abbey of Conall, upon notice, I will send it.” *Holograph*.

T. ROSS to [COLONEL HOLLES] at Rotterdam.

1658, December [20–] 30. Brussels.—“It is long since I writt to you but longer since I heard from you. I had written by Mr. Hopton (whom I hope you have ere this seen) but that I could

not enforme [you] of any thing, which hee did not know, and being sure that hee will conceale nothing from you that hee knowes, I thought it impertinent to trouble either him or you with epistles. There hath very little hapned here since his departure and wee are still in the darke, as to what the designe is, of which wee have, implicitly, soe great hopes; where-ever it lyes, by all that I can learne, it lyes not amonge our old tribe, who universally affresh send over their exceptions against our *Duumviri*, and protest to have noe more to doe with them. If Dick [Hopton] bee with you, pray tell him that his friend Hartgile Bar[on] is now here, and comes full fraught with this exclusion, and assures mee that it is the sense of all our old friends, and that a very important buisness is now offered with this exception that they shall not have to doe with it. Notwithstanding they are very confident, and say a short time shall shew us great things, and if soe, I cannot imagine it should come from any but John Presbyter who (you know) are very jealous of us, and perhaps it is the reason why what is offered by our party is at present not accepted, at least suspended, least wee should give them an ombrage, should wee bee knowne to bee active. However it bee, I wish what they promise may succeed, and that our good master may bee happily restored by them; if they doe it, or any else, I shall cordially honour the instruments. This day my Lord Lieutenant went to Antwerp to meet there Coracene [Caracena], and to receive the King's monie, but whether it bee the grande summe for his designe, or his arrears only, I cannot certainly learne. There is ready (besides what shall follow, which is said to bee much more) 60,000 ducats for our master's use in case hee demonstrate to Don [John] a probable enterprize, otherwise not to touch it. Now some say, hee hath demonstrated, and that the whole summe is to bee received, if soe, wee cannot long bee out of action, if a vanity of expecting accidents at home doe not gieve pretence to some men's cowardize to perswade the contrary. I doe extremely wounder that I heare not a syllable from our friend Franke, who hitherto failed his promise in all things to mee and I am reduced to very strange necessite, expecting a returne of his agency. If you know any way to advertise him of it, pray favour mee in it speedily, and if you can, add another to it, that is, if Mrs. Kilvert (to whom pray present my service) have any fine cloth of this colour to fitt a plush of Mr. Stanley's, if shee dares trust mee for two or three months I shall justly pay her for it, if shee will send six ells (if that bee enough for a suite, and cloak for him) or more as a tayler shall advise, to my brother Mazine, and I desire to let mee know what can bee done by the next; in the meane time, if any thing happens here (as wee dayly expect) you shall not faile of it from mee." Addressed to "Mynhere Noe Quewellerius de Bois, Wyn Cooper."

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1659, January [13-] 23. Antwerp.—"I writ to you from this place on Sunday was a sennight, and in it enclosed one for my friend Mr. Leach, and hope they came safe to your hands, and I should bee glad that your next would tell mee soe, for I am still in



paine, till I know mine to you are safe. Since that I have received the cloth, which Mrs. Kilvert was pleased to send, and entreat you to give her my hearty thanks for her great kindness in affording us credit, which I shall carefully pay off soe soone as our money comes, but in the meane time I must seeke as well as I can, to get it off, for it is too course for Mr. Stanley. It cannot bee denied to bee good cloth, but it is too thick and course for his use. However shee shall bee noe looser. I finde by some come from Breda, that Mr. Hopton is in your parts, and I hope, you have by him understood how wee stand here. Our condition since his departure is not at all mended, and I finde by one come this morning from Bruxells, that our grandees doe now begin to dread that a Commonwealth will bee the monstrous issue of the differences (if any doe happen) of the ensuing Parliament, soe that if our expectations bee from thence, wee are not to bee too confident. But I hope wee have some other grounds to worke upon, all other accidents being too light for those great confidences our great ones express of a change. All men here are extremely hopefull of a general peace, and some that pretend to best intelligence from France offer to lay great wagers (*argumenta stultorum*) that it will bee fully ratified in six months, and the match made the medium. About three dayes since Don Stephen de Gomarra past through this towne, and being visited by a person of quality (whom hee esteemed) and enquired off, concerning our master's condition with the Dons, hee assured upon his honour, that though the rebells of England had importuned his master for a peace on good termes yet now it should not be accepted, and that they were now resolved soe farre to pursue our master's interest that they will give testimony to all the world that they have really espoused his interest, and doe all that can be expected from them towards his restauration, and this, the new method into which they have put his buisness, should shortly manifest. This I had from the person's owne mouth to whom hee said it, but I believe only my share of it, though I am sure the Don said it. The Duke of Yorke went on Tuesday to Bruxells being sent for in hast, and Marzin likewise who sent for Jamot to meet him there. What the sudden buisness is, I know not, but this night I expect Jamot back againe, or a letter from him, and if any thing happen, you shall heare from mee by the next.

"My service to Mr. Lea [? Leach] and the two brothers my namesakes. Wee all believe here that the Plate-fleet is safe in Spaine. Jack Terwit is here, newly come from England and stayes only for a supply, to goe hence to visit you." *Holograph.*

#### T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1659, March [3-] 13. Brussels.—"I hope before this comes to your hands you will have seen, and put under saile our friend Dick [Hopton], whom both for his owne and our sakes I wish soe well that I would not for anything, hee should miss soe faire an opportunity. If wee are soe unfortunate as that hee should bee still with you, pray say my hearty service to him, and tell him I have performed all his commands, particularly to the Secretary, and our greater man,

but they can adde nothing to what hee hath already, only (as they both say) their very hearty good wishes for his good journey and success. It is not now a quarter of an houre since I was with the latter of them, and hee was pleasd to enter into discourse with mee, to comfort mee concerning our condition, and, after many positive assurances that all things in England, were in as good a condition as wee could wish them towards a change, hee gave this knocking expression viz. 'If thou and I were now in the House, and were resolved, with all art and cunning to doe our master's buisness (without point blank declaring for him) wee could not bring it to a better temper then now it is, for the scale is carryed soe even, that the two factions of Protector and Republique cannot close, hee being voted Protector, but soe farre from being acknowledged that they have not yet made any civill application to him either by letter or otherwise, but leave him naked of all power, and only make use of the Republicans to bandy against him, and divide his army, and at the same furiously drive on both to the prosecution of the war against Holland, which will certainly bee, though their fleet (the English) will not bee out these twenty dayes.' In fine, hee assured mee the two factions at home are soe irreconcilable, that wee need not doubt they will come to blows, and in this, almost all letters concur, soe that wee continue noe less, but rather more hopefull, then our friend Dick left us. What our temper, and the constitution of our hopes was then I am sure hee hath sufficiently informed you, and therefore I shall bee silent as to that part, only I cannot but tell you that I am heartily sorry that you are not in condition to goe away, and I cannot but tell you how pathetically the good old Secretary (who is really your servant) wished you there, both for your owne and our master's sake. For, said hee, they want such men among them, both for advice, and execution; and really I cannot forbear cursing that snaile Knolles, when I thinke on you, rather then on myselfe. I wounder I heare not of Leach, who went hence noe less a promiser then the rest, and that I should receive letters from him constantly, but as yet I have had none, nor doe I heare anything of five yards of cloth, which hee promised to send to Mrs. Kilvert (to whom say my hearty service) by Warner, but I hope a few weeks will put us past the need of these yonge gallants kindness. Wee are here very bigge with the newes of the Swedes defeat, and no less (but not soe apparently) with assurance of a generall peace, which they say will breake out on a sudden. In the meane time, our master is very chearfull, and if any sudden call make him to move hence, soe soone as anything comes to my knowledge, you shall have it with the first, and I hope much time will not slip, before wee meet either here, or at home, which an happiness, I wish next to heaven, for next to that is such a friend as you are to mee."

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1659, April [20-] 30. Brussels.—"Two posts are now past since I gave you an account of your cousin Club, and our difference, and have



just now received yours of April 29, which tells mee you have it. Since mine to you there hath hapned a dispute between Mr. Stanley and my Lord Newburgh, who comming (drunkish) to the tennis-court, where the King and Dukes were, Mr. Stanley and hee stood neare one another, and having bin used to rallie one with the other, Mr. Stanley putting his hand behinde Newburgh, twitched two or three of his hairs, and then shrunke behinde Duke Darcy to hide himselfe. Newburgh finding him, bide him leave playing the foole, and adding that hee would knock him else, Mr. Stanley replied, oh pray (my Lord) bee not soe foolish as to give such language in the King's presence. Newburgh returnes, you are a whore son puppy, and if the King were not heare (holding his fist at his face) I would pull you by the eares like a rogue and rascall as you are. Mr. Stanley (hitherto discreet enough) goes out without replying a syllable, after him steps resolute Club and seeming more concerned then Mr. Stanley himselfe, swore as hee went out (which my Lord Muskery told the King) that if the King had not bin there hee would have struck my Lord Newburgh. Well, away they went to Club's chamber, where, without more deliberation, they provide a good cudgell, and up they come (Mr. Stanley's man carrying it under his cloake) againe to the tennis court, and (the King being gone) Mr. Stanley findes in a lane, Newburgh pissing (which soone as hee had done) and when hee was turned to him, flies upon him with his cudgell, gives him six or seven blowes, and breaks it on his head. With that Newburgh snatches a [*word omitted*] from one of his men, and Mr. Stanley another from his, but, as they were beginning to fall desperately to it, the Duke of Gloucester (who was yet in the tennis court) had the alarme, and came and parted them. Upon this they were both confined by the King's command, whom this accident hath extremely perplexed, and speeches having bin made *pro* and *con*, at two severall counsells of Lords, all the great ones being for Newburgh, as Ormond, Taafe, &c. of that gang, but the two Dukes, Gerard, and the good old Secretary with the Lord Berkley and I thinke Langdale, for us. Thus for a weeke (yesterday) wee have bin in great expectation what would become of the buisiness, the cudgell being judged by all irreparable, as indeed it is, but wee used all arts and arguments to make the words, given to a person of his quality and honour, soe publicquely and bound up from other reparation by the King's edict against duells, to merit noe less, and the thing hath bin canvassed soe variously that at length the King tooke it into his owne hands, and yesterday made it up thus. Sir Edward Walker was sent to both of them, with a paper, containing what they were mutually to acknowledge, viz. temerity, both in the word, and the act of cudgelling, and to desire that both might be forgotten and friendship continued. When they met in the King's chamber, they both humbly submitted to the King, who told them hee pardoned the affront done to himselfe, and therefore thought it might become them to pardon one the other, which they promised, and soe are friends, at least outwardly. This buisiness discovered the inclinations of our whole court, the Irish and the Scots (all but honest Will Erskin) adhering to Newburgh, but all the English (except D. Darcy and two or three sacrificers to

Moloch) came and offered their service to Mr. Stanley, and had they bin left to themselves (as once wee thought they should) wee should have had hands to have beaten them both out of the country, for the next day after it was done, the Prince of Condé sent Marquis St. Etienne (with an apologie that hee came not himselfe, not knowing how the King would take it) to assure Mr. Stanley that there was nothing in his power but should bee ready to serve him. Then came the Prince de Lignes (the best man of this country) in person, with the like compliment, and all Condé's officers of qualitie, believing the thing could not bee composed as it is; and I hope will soe continue, till wee change climate. I would faine believe it possible wee may, in this juncture of time, wherein wee hope to see peace between France and Spaine, and the latter by the arrivall of his plate-fleet enabled to furnish the King with money to transport those forces, which will undoubtedly bee given him, at the disbanding of the armies. What your butterboxes will doe is doubtfull, though wee are apt to believe their eyes begin to bee opened as to our affairs at home. We are made believe, that they are in a much better posture then wee concluded them some weeks since, though by search I finde wee rely most on the presbyters, and they have put some chaines upon us, which wee must beare for a time, if they doe the worke, which I would gladly have done, by any hand, rather then live slaves abroad to &c. but of this not a word nor reply to mee. I am astonished at Dick Hopton, from whom I have not had one syllable since he went, nor the Secretary these three posts, at which hee admires and believes somebody comming by the convoy. However I have writt to my brother Mazine to send to you Mr. Hopton's buffe-coat, and entreat you to send it over by Mr. Warner. If hee know not where to finde Dick Hopton hee may enquire of Mrs. Brookings over against the Three Tuns at Charing Crosse, as from mee. As for Leach hee deales unhansomly with mee, and foolishly with himselfe, for hee writt but once to mee, and in that promised an horse to the Duke of Glocester to whom I have made some way, by friends, for him, and I have sent him directions how to [word omitted] him, but cannot heare a word of him. If Mr. Warner know where to finde him pray doe mee the favour to tell him this, and let him say it to Leach. The old Secretary is cordially yours, and is glad to heare Mr. Warner is satisfied with his warrant. He hath nothing at present to command him, but if any thing happen between this and Monday, you shall have it from mee. I am extremely troubled that my Lord [Strafford] still forgets you, I feare hee is sadly entangled in his estate. I am told by Sir Jo. Stevens that hee is soe, and that it much afflicts my Lady Darby to see it, and differences between him and his sisters, one of which is married to the Lord Rockingham, who useth her basely, the other my Lord (through his aunt Roscomon's meanes sayes my authour) hath turned out a doores, and allows her poorely. I am extremely afflicted to heare this of a person I soe highly loue and honour, but I feare, hee wants good servants about him, our friend Harry being in Ireland, and none else daring to tell him what the world sayes of him, or prompt him to looke into his owne buisiness. But I hope, if anything of what wee expect come to an issue, something



of action will call him from that supine life, that hath plunged him into these inconveniences, which I heartily wish removed both for his owne, and your sake whom I value above any friend in the world." *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1659, [May 25-] June 4. Brussels.—“I have yours of the 27 (Maii) with the enclosed to the good Secretary, who desires mee to make his apologie to you for not writing this day, which hath brought our letters from England and filled his hands soe extremely with buisness that hee hath noe leasure, but is really your servant, and will not faile to returne you an answeare. What I offered to you as my advice before was out of a zeale to my master's service (to which I am sure you may contribute very much), and an affection to your person, which (I hope) you are satisfied I cordially love, and were it in my power to send with this what might make you to step immediately into the buisness (where I now more then ever wish you) you should not want it. For happily (before this can come to your hands) you may heare by some other way, that the game is already begun, our last letters giving this account: That the Parliament being in very great distraction, and not knowing how to satisfie the souldiers, have voted that they shall bee payd all arreares, and have a future settlement, but can finde out noe way to doe it but by selling Whitehall, St. Jameses, Hampton Court, and Sommerset House, all which are immediately to bee exposed to saile. But this satisfies not the army, noe more then the choice of their General Fleetwood who is not now alone, but they have voted three more to bee joined with him, viz. Desborough, Fairfax, and (which is to mee a wounder) Lenthall, whom they have likewise made Lord Keeper, and have with all voted old Cromwell a tyrant, and caused his statue to bee demolished in Westminster, and sent Dick (with a promise of 10,000*l.* *per annum*) to grass into the country. But in the mean time his brother Harry in Ireland is not soe tame; but there being a designe on foot, by the Republicans, against him, and a resolution to surprize Cork castle, to bring it about; having intelligence of it, hee sent and surpriz'd the chief of them, hath hanged some, imprison'd others, and banished the rest that are detected, and very boldly hath declared those at Westminster rebels; and they on the other side have, by this time, done the like to him. All this, the army does not soe well like as to bee all unanimous, and our friends very confidently say that in a few dayes the inferiour officers and souldiers will pull them once more out by the eares, their orders being but very slowly obeyed, for which they have already imprisoned Ireton (the mayor) and when they would have settled the militia (their way) and had called a common counsell, they durst not put it to vote, because that found soe many against it. In this confusion they were, and by this time (I hope) in much greater, for when the letters came away, there were risen, in the Forrest of Deane, 800 men, at the first meeting who declared for nothing but their forest priviledges, which they say have bin extremely violated. The last

weeke I had a letter from a friend, which told mee, that our friend Dick [Hopton] was gone in such hast out of towne, that hee could not write to the Secretary or mee, but desired mee to send Jamot word that hee wished him there, which was the signe to let mee know when they were neare beginning, soe that I am confident these foresters are his, and I am sure that is his chiefe scene. Massey was gone likewise, and your cousin Frank Lovelace, soe that wee doubt not but that ere this they are more thousands then at first they were hundreds. Wee are here in great expectations that every day will produce something of moment, and I will assure you that nothing shall come to my knowledge but you shall have it with the first, and this not only to comfort you, but that you may consider (if it can possibly bee) of an expedient to part away on a sudden, for such will bee our departure hence, and I believe sooner then the world imagines. This for newes. For the rest, I received your second with the enclosed for Jack Heath, who very much wounders (and indeed soe doe I) that any one should send a letter to bee delivered with care and speed (as that was addressed) to one that neither knowes the person from whom it comes, nor the pretence shee makes to Sir Richard Page's papers, which though they are not worth a solz yet hee will not deliver them upon a letter *ab ignoto*, from Wapping, and soe with his service to you hee desires you to let the party know. Wee have had here this weeke many emissaries who are most returned, all satisfied, some with pardons and security for penitents. Pray say my service to good Mrs. Kilvert. If wee bee soe happy as to goe on a sudden pray assure her, I will first secure her debt. Dear Colonel, I have but one wish before wee goe hence (soe confident I am it will be) which is to see you, which I cannot tell how to compass, because I must now waite close to equippe my yong gentleman [Stanley], if a sudden occasion happen.

"I forgot to tell you that (they say) Montague hath sent the Parliament word that hee received his commission from the Protector, and that hee will obey none else. Scotland is as unsettled as Ireland."

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

1659, June 8-18. Brussels.—"I had before paid you my acknowledgements for your favour of the 27th of May, but that I have bene partly busy, and was in hope every day to have some good newes from England to have cheered you withall, for from these partes I expect little good untill the peace betweene the two crownes (which is most certainly concluded) shalbe published and proclaymed. I am of your opinion, that notwithstanding the jarrings and murmurings among the rebells in England, they will not fall to blowes against each other. They every day endeavour to supplant one anothers faction, but they will not fight, knowing their danger if they should. Our last letters say, that the comon soldiers in England begin to grow soe highe there and soe insolent as they are formidable to, and much courted by, both the members of Parliament and their superior officers, and some are of opinion



that the Parliament will be broken before the end of this moneth. The new governors in England have lately cashiered about sixty officers of the army (which they are new modelling) and restored diverse Levellers and expelled Quakers, to make it a godly army. Lockert (the Gouvernor of Dunkerke) is att London, and seemes willing to submitt his charge to the Parliament. Noe minister from any Province or State hath hitherto congratulated the new unsettled Gouvernement in England, but only Monsieur Newport, the States Ambassador in England. The French Ambassador is there and soe are the Venetian and Denmark Ambassadors, but none of them have bene soe base as to congratulate the rump of the old Parliament, which the Dutch Ambassador hath kissed.

"Wee heare nothing of the English fleete under Montague, nor have those in England heard from him since their deposing of Richard Cromwell, soe as they apprehend he may not pay them that obedience they expect from him. Richard Cromwell hath left Whitehall, and remaynes now in the housekeeper's lodgings at Hampton Court, without being permitted to lodge in the house itself.

"The Earl of Warwick is lately dead, and now Charles Ritch is Earl of Warwick, being as vertuous and loyall a man as his grandfather [*sic*] the old rebell Warwick. I wishe you may heare from your friends to your contentment by John Warner, and that it lay in my power to serve you." *Holograph.*

#### CHARLES II. to the EARL OF LINCOLN.

1659, July [15-] 25. Brussels.—Acknowledgment of a loan of 200*l.* "which he hath lent very seasonably, when my occasions exceedingly stood in need of it." *Signed.*

#### SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.

[1659 ?], July [16-] 26. Brussels.—"Honest Gervase, yours of the 22\* is very wellcome to me, and I do assure you if the Kinge had bene supplied heare as he ought to have bene, you should have bee putt before this tyme into a posture of remoovinge without the helpe of your frends whose dispositions meethinkes should mende, upon the suddayne changes they see, which may be a resonable instance to them, that another may fall out that they as little looke for and then they will be kinder to you and all of us. I am ashamed on the behalves of some of them, that they nether remember you, nor one whome you preferr before yourselfe, but the world will mende. The exception you take to the commissyon is a very reasonable one, and I will speake to the Secretary that it may be amended, yett you know it is intended only for a temporary one, that such may only meete and consulte who dare trust each other, which a greate number will never be induced to doe, and when once ther is an appearance in action, another modell will quickly be made. I suppose you have

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\* See S. P. Flanders (vol. 32) under date.

commissyons enough for horse and foote, which is the mayne foundation. I have some reason to hope you will finde the country better disposed and prepared then it hath bene, and some very good friendes who have bene hearetofore to slowe, with whome I doubt not all our frendes will joyne heartily." *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.

1659, [July 27–] August 6. Brussels.—“I writt to you on Saturday last at large and I hope it came safe to you. I can adde little to that, but that as yet wee have no express from our friends, though wee have expected one these five dayes. With him wee doubt not the last resolution of our friends, and without him few believe wee shall take any heid. Nothing came by this last post, that is generally knowne, either pleasant or much disagreeable; for the Parliament is buisy in examining and clapping up some of our party, but can alledge nothing against any, but generall suspitions. The most considerable that is purely ours, is one Andrew Newport (the Lord Newport’s brother) a very honest gentleman but nothing proved against him. Two other, one Major Harlow (Sir Robert’s son, but much honester then his father) who was Massey’s major, and a very active man, with him Phill. Howard, both for saying the army will dissolve the Parliament, which is indeed still believed though they are briske in their authority; for the army is divided, the foot against the horse; these for a Republique, and the other for a single person, and soe furious some of them are that an officer [Hesilrige] meeting Sir Henry Vane, tooke him by the throat, and told him that unless hee did desist from driving that faction which hee now heads hee would cutt his throat. Since which Vane hath absented himselfe from the House. The citty is highly unsatisfied for the settling of their militia, as you will see by the booke, which minceth the matter, for wee are made believe they will not suffer it to proceed. Monke is very refractory in Scotland and refuseth to send a regiment into England, as was desired. Our friends quitt London apace, whither in obedience to the Act, or on designe to free themselves a little time will shew. Wee here flatter ourselves with an hope of the latter, for wee thinke it impossible that our great ones should carry so chearfull faces if all were desperate, though I confess, to mee winter was a twelvemonth, was too sad a president. Yet there is something more then sport of hunting, that the King went two dayes since to a little house of the King of Spaine’s some eight miles hence, where hee may at any time slip away, without giving that alarme which his offer to goe hence on Sunday was a fortnight gave. Hee came hither this day to see his letters, and is gone againe, and wee hope (though God knowes blindely) that some of those sallyes will bee to purpose. I hope before this comes to your hands a friend of mine will see you, and take your commands for England. I feare I shall stick here yet a month, for the Dons use our master most basely, and detaine his money. Soone as I am able I will bee with you, for I long to see you, and wish wee might never separate, for besides yourselfe I



scarce know any to whom I can safely unload. Soe base the age! soe bad the men! but I will not now play the satyrist for feare I loose the post." *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1659, August [14-] 24. Antwerp.—“Att my return from Zeeland—whither I went to fetch a shipwrecked wife who was in the last great storme—I found yours of the 19th instant, which very much troubles mee, not for the newes in it, which I am confident is very false, but for that I perceive it makes you sad, which I hope you are not by this time, but being better informed, much the contrary, for what both the rogue Downing and the booke averre is certainly knowne to bee their artifice to make the world believe their condition to bee better then it is, and beget an opinion that they are not sinking, as indeed they are unless God to punish us yet farther, shall strangely boye them up againe, for they are up, almost in all parts of the kingdome, except those adjacent to London who prudently yet forbear, having all their force upon their arme. But Chester (the citty and castle) hath declared for the King, and Sir George Booth was there at the head of 6,000 men when the last letters came, and by this time is believed to bee twice that number at least, for Lancashire is risen likewise, and their forces marched to joine with him in that county. Manchester (which never before was ours) hath declared for us (the King's indulgent declaration being published in all parts) and Coventry, and Hereford, and (say very authentique letters) all Wales up, as one man. And now I have told you this (which were it single, you would thinke sufficient for us begin with) I must cleare one thing to you, which I believe you have read in the books, concerning Massey, whom they boast to have taken prisoner, but that hee escaped by the fall of the horse and trooper that was behinde him, an escape that amazed mee till I yesterday met with a priest come from London on Fryday last was a sennight. The books tell you that Colonel Okey was in the west, and had suppress the rising there, but tell not a syllable how, or whom hee had subdued, but the truth is Okey was sent downe to suppress those that met (as you may have heard formerly) in the Forrest of Deane, but Massey now rising in that country with a very considerable party, their parties (sayes my authour) met twice and fought, but never asked for what. The third time they met, and engaged their whole bodies. The rebells asked who they were for; they answered for the King, whereupon some of the rebells threw downe their armes, and the rest were routed, in which root, it appears that Massey (like Harry Vaughan at Valenciens) engaged too farre, and was taken prisoner, and carryed away, but that accident of his fall relieved him, his party pursuing too close to give the rebells time to recover him. In the conflict Okey was soe ill wounded that hee was immediately carryed away to London, where on Fryday was a sennight in the morning, hee dyed of his wounds, as both the Chancellor's and Secretary's letters, and some passengers affirme, and Massey (who hath struck the first blow) is at the head of a good body, and Gloucester with Bristow (and say some Exeter) declared for us. Blague is indeed a

prisoner, and was soe almost a month agoe, but is it any great loss ? Certainly hee had noe interest where hee pretended it, and hee has the misfortune to bee taken soe foolishly, that some believe it willingly. The rebells are in a very great confusion, and London, where they keep their cheife post, soe little confided in, that the Parliament dare not trust their new militia to bee their guard, but are forced to entertaine four troops of horse, out of those few they have to employ in their defence. One that day that Okey dyed, Lambert was to march out with (some say 6,000 men and fourteen peice of cannon, but passengers that I have spoken with affirme) three regiments only, but whither hee went towards Glocester or Chester was not knowne. However they say either of them, are able to stand against the greatest force the rebells can send against them. Wee hope that those forces being withdrawne, the citty will begin to act their part, and bee seconded by Kent which yet is awed by two troops of horse and three companies of foot lying at Canterbury and scouting upon all roads, and looking diligently to all ports, soe that there is noe going yet towards London, and this is the reason our Master was not gone over one Saturday last, but is seeking some other way to get to his friends, who are in as good a posture as can bee, without his person, which they infinitely covet. Where hee is now none can say, neither which way his brother and the Lord Langdale are gone, but I hope wee need [not] doubt their safty, nor the good condition of our friends, And therefore dear Colonel, bee not dejected with any rumours that shall bee spread by malicious knaves, or foolish cuckolds. Direct yours constantly to my brother Mazine, and if Warner arrive pray let mee know it with the first. You shall heare constantly from mee that you may the better know by what wee have here, how to depose of yourselfe. Pray if you see my Lord of Roscommon present my service to him. Would either the juncture of time, or my condition suffer mee, I would bee with you, but I am forced to attend here.”

*Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.  
 [1659,] August [18-] 28. Brussels.—“I make all the haste I can to acknowledge yours of the 26 and to returne my answer into Mr. Rosse’s hands at Antwerpe, who I præsume will convay it to you with all speede. I do hope you are well informed of the straights of this place, and under what prodigious necessities wee labour, and then you will the better accepte the little I can supply you with, towards your present journey. I have desyred Mr. Shaw to deliver 200*l.* to Mr. Rosse, which I have likewise desyred him to transmitt to you, and I do promise you and your good landlady, that if you miscarry, shee shall not loose by her trustinge you. Give me leave now to say a little to you upon the mayne busynesse, both as a minister of the King’s, and as your particular frende. If you see the busynesse is handsomely begunn in Englande, and principally by those who have bene hearetofore to blame, who, whatever they finde necessary to lay out to the people in the severall places, have as good intentions to the Kinge, as you can wish, I am of opinion that you will finde the place to which you



goe and that country, farr from beinge unprepared, on the contrary I hope possessed, and declared, and some of those of your country, who were hearetofore of another minde, very well ingaged to serve the Kinge. If this be so, I must conjure you to forgett all that is paste, and without the least mencion of it, to joyne heartily with them; and if ther present professyons be not to that full height with yours, make no dispute, but assure yourselfe all will be as it should be, and do not, in that case, putt any of the commissyons you carry with you otherwise in execution, then they shall advise, and in all thinges comply with what L. W. shall advise, who is as faythfull to the Kinge as you can wish. But if contrary to expectations you finde all quyett ther, and that nothinge is prepared at Boston, in God's name then proceede as you thinke fitt, and lett not our frends ther looke on whilst the rebells apply all ther power to supresse ther neighbours. I pray take care that when Sam Burgesse comes into this country, wee may have notice of it, and wee will not fayle to send by him armes and ammunition to those places which are declared. I can say nothinge to you of the Kinge, beinge not sure that his Majesty is yett imbarcked, though I know he indeavours it with all possible impatience, and I hope some other doors will be shortly open to lett him in, then wee have yett knowledge of. I have no more to add, but that I wish you a good journey, and that wee may shortly meete agayne, and that I may have opportunity to serve you." *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

[1659,] August [21-] 31. Brussels.—“Sir Willyam Throgmorton havinge hearde of the convenience you have for your transportation, seemes inclined to runn his adventure with you, and so to make what hast he can to his olde frends in the north, who are I hope by this tyme in a good posture. I am sure he is so well knowne to you, that you will be gladd of his company, and that when you are once on shore, you will do him all the offices you can, for the transmitting him whither he would goe, excepte those gentlemen with whome you first meete, shall desyre his assistance. I præsume you have receaved myne of the 28 which I commended to Mr. Rosse. I wish you a good journey, and that wee may meete happily wher wee first sett out.” *Holograph.*

T. ROSS TO COL. GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.

1659, September 14. Antwerp.—“I writt to you by the last by which I sent you those sad tidings which made mee congratulate the loss of your passage, and I must doe the same againe, believing our misfortunes too sadly true, and the danger you have escaped, inevitable had you gone on. Wee expect from England nothing but lamentable complaints of treachery and baseness, and it is said Sir George Booth rageth most horribly, and vowes the discovery of all those that promised to joine with him, and most unworthily failed. If hee doe soe, I thinke few will blame, but rather pittie him to have to doe with unworthy men. But I hope our game

is not wholly lost, for wee are all here of opinion that our master is gone directly to the interview of the two Kings at Bajon, and few doubt but hee will there finde all that reception hee expects. This was his intent, before our hopes in England were brought to that height, which lately they were, and had hee not bin invited that way, hee had before gone the other. Hee was (as I am informed) at Paris on Wensday last, and my Lord of Ormond ever since the 3rd instant, at which time it seemes our master did begin to dispaire of his buisiness, being delayed by the threachery of some at home. All the Duke of York's people viz. the Barkley's, Talbot, Bronkart, Leyton, with my Lord Langdale, &c. are returned to Bruxells and the Duke himselfe expected there to-morrow. My Lord Gerard and Mr. Stanley gone with the King. When I can understand any thing more worth your knowledge, or what course our family will steer, I shall not faile to give it you."

SIR EDWARD HYDE to MAJOR GENERAL MASSEY, at Dort.

[1659,] November [2-] 12. Brussels.—"Sir, yours of the 6 came not to me till yesterday, and I am willinge to believe that you will have left Hollande before this come thither, and Captain Titus is of the same minde. However I send it forwarde to tell you that I can now assure you that the Kinge is at Fuenta[ra]bia, so that by this tyme he knowes the intentions of both crownes to him, and I hope he will make what hast is reasonable towards those parts. Wee know no more of Englande then our letters from France tell us, that ther is a decemvirate settled, wherof six are of the army, Fletewoode, Lamberte, Desborough, Vane, Sydenham and Berry and four other, Whitlocke, Harrington, Saleway and Wariston, who are to governe the three nations; but I must tell you this newes comes to Paris by some persons who have gott over, for the packetts come no more then ours, which makes me conclude that they are not at any unity. Sure they will not alwayes shutt out all commerce from the rest of the worlde. Your two frends have bene in hope that you would have bene heare by this tyme, and one of them thinkes of visitinge the other syde of the water as soone as is possible, yett wee would be gladd to heare from thence how things stande, that he may be fully instructed, and towards that your presence is very necessary, therefore if your affayres ther do not detain you, wee do all wish that you would be at Bruxells as soone as may be, and then wee shall easily agree what wee are all to do, I am not out of the hope that this may finde you at Antwerpe, and therefore I send it to Mr. Shaw to deliver or send forwarde." *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1659, November [10-] 20. Antwerp.—"Yours of the 18th (of the many I have had from you) was the most welcome to mee, for that it hath absolved mee from many apprehensions which your long silence bred in mee, for since that of October the 7th I have had not [one] from you, and having answered that from Flushing, I feared



that either some extraordinary indisposition or some displeasure (which I hope I shall never incurre) had deprived mee of that content. But your last hath at once satisfied my feares, and given mee the fecility [*sic*] to congratulate (*ex imo corde*) your owne, and your son's recovery, whose health and happiness I as cordially wish as his nearest relations, having none of my owne that I value equall with you, and I hope you believe my affection to, and esteme of you, must necessarily bee deriv'd to him who is soe exactly the son of such a father. And I yet have a firme confidence that the dayes (wherein wee may better give testimony of our infringeable friendship) are not farre from us, for our master hath bin received at Fuentarabia (the place where Don Lewys d'Haro resides for the treaty) with all imaginable expressions of welcome, and in the same manner, as if the King of Spaine himselfe had come thither, nothing of pomp or ceremony omitted. Don Lewys, when the King was about a league of from the place, met him with all the gentry and nobility of the country, and though the weather was very foule, and the place too, yet hee quitted his coach and on his knee kist the King's hand. These high expressions of civility were seconded with things more to our purpose, viz. with a full information of all that had past at the treaty, and particularly relating to His Majesty, in all which he is soe well satisfied, that the last letters from him, both to the Dukes and Chancellor, express soe much satisfaction in his buisiness, that hee hopes in a short time to bee back in or neare these parts to follow it to some good effect. Some letters that I have seen from the place say, that Don Lewys before the King's arrivall was very sensibly troubled that hee was not there, fearing the treaty would bee ended before hee came, and highly blaming the person I last mentioned for carrying him soe farre out of the way, which hee did to avoid the French court, where hee knew hee should not bee welcome, nor doth hee finde his entertaine-ment there much to his gusto for what hee hath done ; soe that hee findes his intrigues as unhappy to himselfe as to us, who may curse him for the loss of time soe precious to us at this conjunction, which calls for our master's presence in these parts, and wee had certainly been happy in it, had it not bin for this unfortunate man. There are severall expresses gone to him, to let him understand how affaires stand in England, and wee dayly expect the tidings of his motion this way, the treaty being ended, and the peace signed on the 7th instant, and on the 8th the ministers were to part. What the King hath done, on the French side, wee (at least those of my forme) know not, but my Lord of Ormond is at the French court. The effects of his negotiation cannot bee long concealed. Almost all the letters of strangers both from the Spanish and French courts say that the two Kings have jointly espoused our master's interest, and that an Embassie is prepared to the rebells of England to demand his restauration, but of this I can give you noe assurance. But I am very confident if that bee not, things of better moment will bee put in execution. I believe you are not ignorant that Monke is marching towards England, and that Lambert marched out on Monday was a sennight towards him. Monke declares for the dissolved men at Westminster, Lambert for the Junto at

Wallingford House, but his men as they went out of London, professed they would not fight against Monke unless hee declared for the King, which some letters here say hee hath done, but I doe not believe it, nay I feare wee have never yet done any thing to invite him to it, unless the nobility and gentry (whom hee hath long courted) of Scotland hath undertaken that province. Some letters say hee hath made Arguile his Lieutenant in Scotland, to raise 6,000 men, and to suppress all that shall appeare for Wallingford House. If this animosity continue between these partys they will open a faire way for us to step in speedily, but I apprehend their agreement, though they are more equally balanced then ever before, and therefore more like to fight. I have not yet received my letters from my wife, from whom I expect an exact account of all our friends, Harry Medc[alfe ?] being in towne, but I hope to have them to-morrow, and if I have any thing worth your knowledge, expect it by the next. In the mean time pray say my service and thanks to good Mrs. Kilvert for her great patience. I am kept here penniless, and almost naked, by our great man, who had order to dispatch mee long since, but hee keeps mee warme with good words. The letter you mentioned was sent to him when I received yours of October 7th—in which it was enclosed—since which I received none from you for him. If hee have given you noe answeare, and you desire it, I will write to him.” *Holograph.*

T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1660, [February 27–] March 8.—“I hope before this will arrive you have seen my friend Mr. Trelawny, whom I now heartily wish to bee here, things falling out as I did believe before hee went hence, for in the first place the Rump is cashiered, and the manner was briefly thus. The secluded members having made their agreement with Monke, about sixty of them met by appointment (all with swords) in Westminster Hall, on Tuesday last. As soone as they were assembled, came an order from Monke to the captaine of the guard, to permitt them to goe into the House, and sitt there as members. Whereupon they went up all together and Mr. Prinne, with basket-hilt by his side, first entered, and told the Speaker, they were come to sitt there as members lawfully chosen and illegally kept out, and soe going to his place, the rest followed, and tooke their places, which the Rumpists perceiving to bee done by the approbation of the souldiers, the leading rogues, viz. Haslerigge, Scot, Mildemay &c. sneaked out without speaking a word; some few only, with the Speaker, who perhaps consented to the designe, keeping their seats. The first thing they did after they were in order (which was quickly effected, this being done with very little confusion) they voted themselves to bee an House of Commons, which inferres there ought to bee another. Then they nullified and protested against all that had bin done since 1648; then that they would sitt but eight dayes, and dissolve themselves, to give way for a free election of a Parliament by the people without any limitations to their choise or as they termed it qualification. On Wensday Sir George Booth, Major Generall Browne, and your friend



Massey, by Monke's appointment, were to sitt in the House, and all things in such a faire way to the re-establishment of our master, that wee looke every day for some invitations home ; and I heartily wish you here, that with others, you may have your taske cutt out for you, for wee doe not expect the way should bee without some little rubbs, because its believed the sectaries, like mad dogs, will dy biting.

"If the letters to-morrow tell us more then this gentleman, who came out of London on Thirsday morning last, and got hither last night, I will send it to you, but this is sufficient to let you see, that God hath opened us a certaine way to get home againe, and that without any apparent hazard. My Lord Mordant, Jack Heath, Robert Phelps, Jamot (and indeed all men) now walke publicuely, and feare noe goalers, and were I at liberty here, I would soone bee with them. When this gentleman came to Dover, the officers there would have stopt him, for want of a pass, but when hee told them their Rump (in plaine termes) was b——, and that if they stopt him they should soone repent it, they slunke away and left him alone, who two months since they would have given some hundreds to have had in their clutches.

"This newes is soe great, that wee are all very buisy, and most to enquire more, soe that I must begge of you to write it for mee to my cosin Ross at the Hague, and make excuse for mee. Forget not my service to good Mrs. Kilvert and her daughter, and if Ja[ck] Trelawny bee not already returning, hasten him. I am soe much overjoyed that you must pardon my method, and all other my faults."

"The Duke of Yorke hath accepted of the King of Spaine's offer to bee his High Admirall. Monke was voted to bee Generall of the armies in the three kingdomes, and Lawson vice admirall, by these honest [men] the second day of their sitting. As I was about to seale this, I am assured Monk's agreement with the citty and seclued members is under mutuall hand and seale." *Holograph:*

*Addressed only to* "Mynhere Jean de Mey, Coopman," at Rotterdam, *but endorsed,* "Mr. Ross's letters to my father Hollis when with K. C. 2 in banishment, 1649 usque 1660. This, uppon the first newes of the K.'s hopes."

#### T. ROSS to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

1660, [February 29–] March 10. Brussels.—"My last to you was on Monday the 8th instant, wherein I gave you an account of what the express on the 7th at night brought to our master, to whom this post hath confirmed all hee brought, though perhaps what you[saw ?] in Monk's and his officers letters to their friends in Scotland and Ireland may seeme to declare other things then wee hope for. But I have not only seen very good letters, but have likewise here discoursed with the most knowing in our affaires at home, and particularly with the last express (my friend) this morning, and am assured, that though Monke should not have said all this (as wee imagine) to cajole his army and officers, of all of whom hee is not over confident, yet it is not in his power to overthrowe what is

designed, and wee shall certainly see greater evidences of their honesty, that are now at helme, when the militia both in citty and country are settled, then yet can appeare. I have sent you here enclosed the names both of the Counsell of State, and the commissioners of the militia for the citty, wherein you will see a medley of knaves and honest men, but the latter sort in number much (as I am assured) exceeding the former, none of which are engaged in the King's blood. Some letters say that Sir William Waller is to bee Lieutenant Generall of the army, and Rossiter Generall of the Horse, and Major Generall Browne to command the citty militia, for the truth of which wee are to expect an expresse's arrivall, or the next letters. However wee are here very chearfull, and confident that all will goe on regularly and well. The qualifications for elections in the free Parliament (as they call it) are only these, first that noe man that hath actually bin in armes against King and Parliament shall bee a member, yet may they have their voices in chusing. 2ndly noe fanaticque secterie. 3dly noe Papist. Soe that there is roome enough for honest men to get in, and after the militia is soe settled, as they need not feare the army, wee shall not bee long absent from home, nor indeed, at present, is their any obstacle, all men going there barefaced. And considering your cosin [Denzil ?] is now at the helme, and that it concernes our master to keep all affections as warme as hee can, and to have such persons at home both to persuade, and assist the people to stick to principles of loyaltie and honour, why should you bee absent. At least I could wish you heartily here, especially when mony is expected, and every body looks for a share. To-morrow the Princess Royall goes hence, towards Breda, and the King with her, as farre as Antwerp, but returnes hither on Saturday. If Jack Trelawny bee still in your parts hasten him hither. Pray say my service to good Mrs. Kilvert and her daughter, and preserve mee still in your kindness." *Holograph.*

CHARLES II. to [the EARL OF CLARE ?]

1660, March [6-] 16. Brussels.—"This honest bearer hath sayde much to me of your affection and desire to serve me, and you know it is not the first time I have receaved that information, and that I have confidence in your kindnesse. I wish you and your frindes knew me well enough and that there were a good opportunity for us to understande each other's intentions and purposes. You would then believe me to be as sollicitous for the peace and happynesse of the nation as any man can be, and that I resolve to take the best wayes I can to compasse it. I pray continue your zeale in performing all the offices with your frindes and relations that may contribute therunto, and you may be confident I will merit it from you by being very kinde to you as your affectionate frinde Charles R." *Holograph. Small red seal with the Royal arms. The letter H in the left hand corner. [There is nothing to shew whether it was written to a nobleman or a commoner, but it is evidently addressed to some moderate man who has only lately actively taken up the King's cause, and probably to one of the Holles family.]*



T. ROSS to [COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES], at Rotterdam.

1660, March [11-] 21. Sunday. Antwerp.—“This is the 3rd I have mean’t you since I received one from you, the two former were in that weeke, that Jack Trelawny was with you. I received this enclosed from him yesterday from Bruxells, where hee now is, and tells mee hee lookes to be dispatched for England the next weeke. I suppose hee will not only in this give you an account of your concerns there, but likewise of all that is newes since hee saw you last. Soe that had I now time, I should forbear to say any thing of what the last weeke brought, only this morning came a report from Bruxells that the Earl of Manchester, as Speaker to the House of Lords, hath writt to all the Lords to come and take their places in the House, which agrees with some letters that I saw, intimating that the Lords house was preparing. Many are gone this weeke for England, and I believe many to goe the next, among other Dr. Morley, and Sir Hugh Cartwright. You may perhaps, see many things in the books that may shock you, as particularly Thurlow’s being made secretary to the Counsell of State, but I am told from very good hands, that it is to our master’s advantage, and already some false brethren discovered, and a list of those villaines is in his hands. All letters that I have seen, give us the hope of being speedily called home. Jamot tells mee two months will bee the farthest, and I am confident hee knows much. I goe to-morrow morning from hence to Bruxells, and shall informe myselfe, as well as I can, of all things, for the Thirsday-post, by which you may expect to heare fully from mee.” *Addressed only to M. de May.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.

[1660,] March [21-] 31. Brussels.—“I have yours of the 9 by Mr. Trelawny, and had not bene this longe without acknowledginge it, but that I thought ther was somewhat more to be done then the bare acknowledginge it, and hoped to have bene able to have done more then it is yett in my power to doe, our old disease of wants and beggery beinge as stronge upon us as ever, havinge supported our creditt these late three or four moneths, purely upon the regulation of the bills from Spayne, which are not yett arryved. I have reade your letter to the Kinge, who thinkes it tyme that you were in Englande, I meane at London, not with any particular instruction, for in the light wee stande, and whilst the pretences are fayre, and our frends expectations so positive, nothinge must be attempted on the King’s behalfe otherwise then it shall be directed ther, but that beinge upon the place, you may use your interest with my Lord Clare\* and both of you with Rossiter, to dispose him frankly to the King’s service, to which His Majesty hath assurance he is well inclined, and to send any advize hither, which you judge necessary. I cannot referr you better then to Massy, Titus, and Jack Heath, who will all convay your letters to me, and can helpe you to a cypher, if you have occasyon to use it. I know well the

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\* See p. 143 above.

debts you ly under at Roterdam, but I hope your credit is no worse now then it was last summer, and that your good landlady will trust you as shee was willinge to do then (for which shee shall not be a looser, though you should dy) and therefore I have only made shifte to supply you barely for the journey, and to that purpose have desyred Mr. Shaw to send you a bill of exchange for 200*l*. which I doubt not he will do, under this cover, and then if you please, without making any journey hither, which would be but losse of tyme, take the first opportunity to transporte yourselfe to London, wher I suppose you will be in all security, and can ther take your measures what to do yourselfe, and what to advize us. You will remember my service to my Lord Clare, and assure him of my constant service, and do not forgett me to my Lord Straforde, and havinge sayd this, I can add no more but that you shall alwayes finde me very heartily Honest Gervase, Your most affectionate servant."

SIR EDWARD HYDE to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES.

1660, April [17-] 27. Breda.—"I am so indisposed, feaverish, goutish and let blond, that I cannot acknowledge yours of the 22nd with my owne hand and yet I cannot suffer you to continue longer in the mistake you were in, when you writ that letter. I doe alwayes use that freedome with my friends, that if I meet with any thing concerning them, that may beare any misinterpretation, I informe them of it, that they may do themselves right by an explynation, and you may be most confident I would have dealt so with you. I must have been a very unreasonable man, if I had been displeased with what you said or did; the truth is the mistake was my owne, upon the misunderstanding your former letter, by which I conceived that you had a great desire to make hast into England, if you had wherewithall to beare your charges, and remembering that the widdow was the last yeare willing to dispense with your absence I thought shee would have beene the same now, when the season is like to favour you much more, and therefore by his Majestie's direction I sent you credit for that small summ, but your reasons for a longer stay are so just, that they are not to be replyed too, and I would never have advised you to have left this countrey without an entire approbation and consent of the woman, who if I live shall be no looser by trusting you if all your other friends should faile. I returne you your papers againe and I hope the good newes will come so fast upon us that the King will be able to send you such a supply as may free you from engagements. I am sure you shall want no office that can be performed to you by my good frend, your affectionate servant." [*The concluding words and signature only in Hyde's hand.*] Signed.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES, at Rotterdam.

1660, [April 25-] May 5. St. no. Breda.—"Your welcome letter of the 30th past I have receaved by the hands of this honest bearer John Warner, master of his Majestie's barge, whome his Majestie



hath graciously receaved, and I hope it will not now be long before his Majestie may have occasion to make use of his service in that his place. All things in England goe on well hitherto in order to his Majestie's restoration. Our great expectations now are upon the resolution of the Parliament which is this day to meete att Westminster. Wee hope the citty contynues firme to their professions for the King's establishment, without which its now evident to them and all discreete people the kingdome can never be happy or quiett. The militia of London was to be mustered as yesterday in Hide Park and wee have reason to beleve the officers and soldiours who belong to it are very well affected to his Majestie's interest, and that appearing to be soe, will the rather incline the Parliament to shew themselves with freedome to the like affections. I shall not till this evening receive my letters from England. The King is still here, and intends to remayne in this place untill he shall understand what resolutions shalbe taken by those in power in England. I wishe you may be enabled to returne into your owne country now very suddainely, and that wee may there have a happy meeting, which is my hope wee shall by the mercy of God, who hath miraculously inclined the harts of the people to His Majestie." *Holograph.*

SIR GERVAS CLIFTON to his kinsman, GERVASE HOLLES, Master of Requests, at his house in Chapel Street, Westminster.

1660, September 16.—“ I tooke great content to read your name in the lynes my cousin your son brought me, having bin over many yeares together a stranger to that and your person, in which wayes I knowe not any frend I could more hardlye have dispensed with such a privation, but now ther is a blessed tyme commed, which (as absence could not lessen our mutual affections) will reduce us to our wonted familiarity, and some more frequent entercourse then not many moneths sinc I had any hopes in my short remanet of life to see, who but by faith beleeves no miracles. Your son is so intent a solicitor of your busines, as I was not able to detain him from them here longer then from Sathurday til Tuseday, of whom I am almost equally glad with yourself to see you may promiss yourself soe fayre hopes or rather assurances of much comfort, being of all the yonger Hollisses in my judgment not only best to be liked of two to one, but of ten to two if the name hath spred to that number and they no other then those I have observed.

“ Sir, I receaved the box of figs you mentioned and my cousin your lady so kindly remembred to send, for which I return her more thanks then she hath reason to give the man that made them up, who for lack of papering them instead of putting leafes about them, made the whole at the opening appear putrid and inedible, but her favor was not the less, for which I rest her debtor more then wordes can paye.

“ I am not worthy the suplement you offer of the record you mentioned, having no less lost the subject out of my fragil memory, then you out of yours, albeit by your seriousness in weightier thinges you have a better excuse for the act of oblivion. I must

nowe crave pardon to trouble you as you tender my ease which in my age amounts to my health, which is to beseech my Lord Chancellor to put into the Comission of Peace for Nottinghamshire Henry Sacheverell esquire, left out in thes new ones and others, put in not near so able ; he being a gentleman of great blood, estate and experience in cuntry busines, and whom I will answer for, shal doe the King as good and faithful servis as the best man in the shyre, and truly dwelling not farr from me may take much of the trouble off me wher as the other two now inserted are neither so well planted for suplying my want of strength to endure jorneyes, nor so acomplisht to bear out other defects in me, that are seldom seperat from yeares of 73, which is my date . . .” *Holograph.*

SIR EDWARD HYDE, Chancellor, to the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[1661,] February 24. Worcester House.—“The great honour your Grace vouchsafed me on the 25 of the last moneth, could not have been this long unacknowledged, if, as I was to expect your particular commaunds from your secretary, Mr. Clifford, so I had not expected the opportunity of transmitting my duty to your Grace, by his return, nor do I yett know whether this will have the honour to kiss your hands by his conveyance, or by another. If he deferrs his journey longer, I will agayne trouble you by him.

“I do assure your Grace, I made no expressions of my devotion to your service, to Ned Villyers, which were not very hearty. I have allwayes had great affection and duty for you, and I am sure when your Grace recollects all you have observed in me, from the time I had first the honour to be known to your Grace, you will have no cause to believe the contrary, and if you have not all the effects of the service you commaunde me, it will be but justice in you, to impute it to any thing rather than the want of that sincerity which I profess, and your Grace may be as confident as of any thing in this world, that I will never deceive you, and promise any thing that I will not exactly endeavour to perform. I shall inform your Grace by Mr. Clifford of all that I know in the particular mentioned by him. In the mean time I do assure you, if I know the King, he hath great kindness for you, and I hope you will be as little offended with me for telling you, that your Grace is not much beholding to the world for its justice towards you, there being enough disposed to disperse anything to your disadvantage, of which some instances may be given since your leaving this kingdom, all which I know will have no other operation upon you, then the obliging you to keep the stricter guard upon yourself ; and that you will pardon this natural licence in, my Lord, your graces most obedient servant.”  
*Copy.*

LADY ARABELLA WENTWORTH to her cousin [GERVASE HOLLES].

[1664,] March 18.—“My sister Strafferde writs me word of my brother’s resolution to goe to sea with the Duke and that hee has writt to you about getting his leave of the King, but certainly the love you have to him will refuse so hazardous a motion to us all,



knowing ther is but him, I beseech you rather diswade him from it, whoe does it upon the being told how that it is reported hee is of an unactive spirite, and therfore unfit for imployment. I pray God he may convince them a better way then by his owne danger and prejudice and the ruine of his pooer famely of which he is the honor and hopes ; for God's sake use your interest to prevent this. I am sike with feare. This dessigne looks desperate, I pray God set him above the inconstansie of the world which is not worth ones trouble ; for my part I think it much happier that he has noe publick imployment as things goe and considering most of them that have, and perhapps the future may let us see it was providence that so orders it for his greater safty and advantage. He might sufficiently give testimonie of his abilities by his industrie (as is needfull) in his owne fortune, and a good thinge to be sure of, this not being an age of honest peoples getting of fortunes. I pray God ever protect and direct him ; methinks it is a great unsettlement in ones selfe to be disturbed at what people say, as long as it is not true. I am blessed in being now of such a temper as noe unjust coolnesses or frownes can disorder me, nor favores transport me. Sure it is easie for my brother to be wiser then this, having so much a better judgment and more experience. It is ver<sup>y</sup> weake I am sure to be in the power of others humours. Good nature at the first surprise of the ficklenes and forgetfullnesse of others, canot but be concerned, but when that upon noe cause continues, it is belowe a soule to heede it. Good cosen pardon this scribe, and once againe I beg of you to put my brother off these thoughts by which you oblige us all, &c." *Holograph.*

[WILLIAM] EARL OF STRAFFORD to his cousin, GERVASE HOLLES.

1664, March 25. Wentworth Woodhouse.—“ I cannot be so unreasonable as to take amisse yours of the 21st for I know it proceeds from your reall freindship which I have and shall ever receive with infeigned valedew and thankfullnesse. That which made mee desire what I mentioned in my other letters was because I did consider that by an ill custome of being often late in a morning I may have given colour for some to doubt I would not be so active uppon occasion as were requisite, and though I think few of any judgment could have such a weake conceite, yet to right myselfe the better I was desirous to lett people see I beleve personale hazards and ordinary diligence are but very little matters for any that have sense of honnour. For imployment I have acquainted you on what grounds I desired it ; it was meerely duty and not interest, but it has been so little approved and I have been so hardly dealt with that as I have affore expresst I neither intend againe to desire imployments nor any thing else, nor wilbe forward to catch at favours now or hereafter though offered, therefore my sister Arbella was much mistaken in supposing my thoughts of attending the Duke was for any such designe, or that I am much more concerned then is fitt for other mens fancys. I have told you my only motive and there was nothing of the mixture of any desperate humour in my desires of goinge, for with God's blessing I should hope to return in

a little time both with life and limms, though the danger were greater, and I have no intention to be carelesse either of my life or estate, but if the necessary and yet very smale vertue of good husbandry be sufficient to shew wisdome and galantry, many a wretch may perhaps out goe mee or any I can name. Few woemen are good judges in these things and my sister Arbellas letter I here return you does not alter my opinion, which I say not in any unkindnesse for I know my sister writes out of great affection for mee, and that may excuse all mistakes and leave mee obliged to her, but if you doe really find that I cannot be ready to goe with the Duke, or that one cannot follow as I desired, there is then no more to be said, therefore I beseech you to consider well of it yet, and to your judgment that are on the place I will referr myselfe, and this I doe with assurance that you have so much worth in your selfe and so much love to mee as you will take the right way herein. I must only adde that as by what I expresst in my former letters it was but little sooner that I could have sent, or knew there was any cause by the objection against mee, so I thought by assignement at least of rents I might quickly be furnisht, and it was on those termes that if need were I desired it, not of the King's mony, but from my Lord Tresurer himselfe, to whom I have long had freindship and received a favour of that kind uppon an occasion formerly." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

[WILLIAM] EARL OF STRAFFORD to his cousin, GERVASE HOLLES.

1664, June 21. Wentworth Woodhouse.—Stating that having unluckly never received Holles' letter of directions, he could only write to the Bishop of Lincoln in general terms. *Holograph.*

SIR H[UGH] CHOLMELEY to SIR RICHARD FANSHAW, Ambassador at Madrid.

1665, May 3. Tangier.—“I could not let this bearer Sir Bernard Legome passe for England, without giving your Excellency my most humble thanks for the favour of your letter, with which you were pleased lately to honour me. I am glad Tangier meets so powerfull a patron for it as is your Excellency. I can say onely this that the importance of it is very plain, since in this Duch war it is become a magazine for this part of Spain as to the English trade, and so it will prove for French in time of war between that crown and Spain. Wee hear too it does much disturbe the affaires of the Duch by alarms they meet of English fleets coming to attend this place. I need not mention of what importance it is to our affaires with the Turke, indeed to all His Majesty's concernements who hath few friends in this part of the world, and therfore a Mole's more necessary for a Prince that glories in being master of the ocian. Wee abound now in all sorts of delicacys, and plenty of fresh provisions, as wee hear better and cheaper by much then it is with our neighbours at Cadiz or Malago; indeed there is no difference between this place and England, nor did I ever know it at any time so well. My Lord Bellasis hath setled all things to an universall content, and is very much delighted with the place. For the Mole, I doubt not to



give such accompt thereof as may be expected, nor doe I intend to stir from this place until I have done as much as may be sufficient for forth rate frigotts to careen in and that I hope in lesse then two years, if wee meet no more such ill contingences as hath hitherto hapned to our worke. I need be no more particular with your Lordship, because Sir Bernard, who was sent hither by the King, will tell your Excellency all that is worth your notice, how wee daly entertaine Christian and Turks that come to see us, and how and in what condition hee finds this place in all particulars." *Holograph.*

*Addressed* :—"For his Excellency my Lord Fanshaw, his Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid."

*Endorsed in Lady Fanshaw's hand* :—"From Mr. Chumly."

#### LORD HOLLES to LORD AMBASSADOR FANSHAW.

1665, May 18-28. Paris.—"This place doth now afford so little matter of writing, as it makes me very silent, that these two last weekes I have onely sent Sir George Downing's letters without accompanying them with any of mine, knowing his would tell all that is to be told, for the scene of action lyes there, and all places else expect from thence to be entertained with newes; yet I thinck his of this post will be hardly able to informe one thing, which is, that his Royal Highness is retired upon the English coaste, in a piece of gallantry I thinck to give them [the Dutch] leave to come out, so as within very few dayes it will be seene whither they intend it or no. They talke bigg and have still done so, which makes me feare them the lesse.

Sir George Downing doth I believe tell you they will certainly come forth immediately, but I am a Thomas to that point as yet. My opinion is, they will first see a little what will become of the French mediation, which goes not very fast on for ought I heare: the Ambassadors at London have pressed his Majesty to declare himself what he would require of the Hollanders upon some imperfect propositions from them, and his Majesty desires them to sett downe in writing what they will propose, which they refuse as yet, and his Majesty refuses to give other answer till they doe, so both sides lye at their close guard and neither comes on; nor is either very well satisfied: if his Royal Highnes can gett out the Hollander, it will be quicker worke. Wee expect also to heare something of your greate preparations against Portugall. I doe not find the busines of cutting the new water-course at St. Venant wholly accommodated, notwithstanding our Spanish Ambassadors undertaking to this King it should be given over, for wee heare this weeke the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo hath sett more men at work, which angers this court." *Holograph.*

#### The EARL OF STRAFFORD to his cousin, GERVASE HOLLES.

1666, July 28. Wentworth Woodhouse.—Congratulating him on his recovery from dangerous illness, and hoping that "cousin Frecheville [*i.e.* Col. Holles' son] will so well recollect himself as to be of much comfort" to him. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

[ The EARL OF STRAFFORD to his cousin, GERVASE HOLLES.

1666, September 3. Wentworth Woodhouse.—Knollys acquaints me that you much desire my coming up before the Parliament sits. I have already expressed my mind to you on that subject and see no reason to change it. "I would neither revive an old nor make a new suite what ever befall mee. If it be needfull for thanks or some other cause hereafter, upon any notice I will, God willing, come as soon as you desire, and in your consideration I shalbe very much rejoyct that anything considerable can be done in that business. . . . For my own part, I confesse, as I have been dealt with I have no relish for businesses from thence; but I pray God all things may goe on well and that is all I have to doe." I hope you will have reason to be more and more satisfied with my cousin Frechville. *Holograph.*

The SAME to [the SAME].

1666 [-7], February 4. W[entworth] W[oodhouse].—I enclose a letter I had yesterday from Sir Edward Walker and I desire you will let him know that "Phil Carpenter informed me that he spoake very slightly of mee and said he was sorry I was so little the son of my father. I desire you will doe mee the favour to tell Sir Edward Walker that he is in the right, that I have borne this long in my mind yet no otherwise then it befits mee to doe, and he had immediately heard from mee as he has now if I had not understood that it might have been some inconvenience to him that told me. . . . However, now he knowes the businesse and I wishe he may cleere himselfe. Knollys writ awhile agoe he heard my Lo. Holles was very ill which I was troubled at, but since he writes it is only the gout, so I hope he wilbe the better for it. They say it keepees off other diseases, which is some comfort for my owne particular too, being now, but yet I assure you unwillingly, entered into that tribe." *Holograph.*

The SAME to [the SAME].

1667, July 27. Wentworth Woodhouse.—Asking him to attend diligently at the House and in Committee to hasten on a bill of Lord Clare's. Has assured his Lordship that he will need no ones "desire" to make him as forward to assist in any service to the family as is possible. *Holograph.*

[GEORGE] DUKE OF ALBEMARLE to [THOMAS] CHICHELEY, one of the Commissioners of the Ordnance.

1668, April 6. Cockpit.—Asking to be told, for the King's information, what would be the cost of the arms of a regiment of foot of one thousand soldiers. "There is to be a partisan, two halberds and two drums (for each companye of the tenn companies of the said regiment) for the lieutenant, two sergeants and two drummers of eache company, and two thirds of the soldiers arms are to be muskets, the other third to be pikes." *Signed.*



C. DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENNOX and H. EARL OF WINCHILSEA  
to MAJOR RICHARD MANLEY, Treasurer of the Militia for the  
county of Kent.

1669 [-70], February 15.—Warrant for the pay of the non-commissioned officers of Major Manley's company.

|                            |             |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| Four Sergeants, eight days | 10s.        |
| Three Drumers              | - - 6s.     |
| Four Corporals             | - - 8s.     |
| One Clerk                  | - - 2s. 6d. |

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to his cousin [GERVASE HOLLES].

[16]70, May 1. Wentworth Woodhouse.—“. . . Methinks that [business] of the nonconformists begins to threaten, and especially seeing they have seemed to be willing to comply if some things had been granted to them which might have been. I should have thought that had been the better way at any time, and at worst it must have brought some advantage and could cause no harme, for if reasonable things will not satisfie they are the more inexcusable, and the necessity for stricknesse were more apparent to every one. . . . I doubt if some such thing be not endeavoured, it will not prove so well as is to be wished. Every one of us is concerned in it and the King and Church as much as any can be.”

Sends a hearty invitation from his wife and himself for Holles to spend a few of the summer months with them in their “good air.” *Holograph.*

The EARL OF ORRERY to COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

[16]70, October 17. Ballemartir.—“I did from Wickhem acquaint you of my greate trouble that I could not waite on you ere I left London, which I hope you have pardond, since twas my greife but not my fault.

“I have sent you by my true and worthy frind, your son, Sir Freshevill Holles, som bottles of usquebagh to warme your stomack this insuinge winter, and also by him I present you with som of our best black fryse [frieze] which is a warme and light weare. . . . I had, the beginninge of this month, a most gracious letter from his Majesty, all writt with his owne hand, which had brought me to London this sitting of the Parliament, had not the gout, the night before I was to have tooke ship, ceised me in both my feet. As soon as the fit is over, I will, God willinge, hasten to London, wher I hope it may be in my power to serve you, and I am sure it is in my will, being bound by many obligations by yourself and your generous son.” *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

JOHN MUDDYMAN to [JOHN WILMOT] EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[1671, September].—I am very sorry you “find your eyes can neither endure wine nor water. I have beene soe employed about your busines here in towne that I have not had the leisure to write to you all while (*sic*), but I hope when you come you will find all things in soe very good order, that you will give that small omission to my great merit and dilligence in promoting the good old cause.

I presume Killegrew (whose talent is description) has given you to understand what a diner and day you lost when you left us at Gyroes [Garraway's ?]. I confess your suddain start surprised me as much as Harry Savile's attempt upon my Lady Northumberland, but possible that story is not vulgar enoug in your parts for a simile yet; if you have mett with it already you may skipp it here, if not, read it as I heard it. The Lady was at my Lord Sunderland's and the knight errant lodged in a convenient apartment, from whence in the dead night, tempted by his evill genius or the earthy part of his love, hee mad a sally into her bed chamber, having the day before stole away the bolt soe that there was nothing but a latch to lift, but whether offering any ruder proofes of his passion or contenting himselfe with a simple, though unseasonable declaration of it, her scrupulous virtue was soe alarmed that shee rang a litle bell that hung unfortunatly at her bed's head with that violence as if not only a poore lover's heart but the whole house had beene on fire. Whereupon her servant coming into the roome our disconsolate lover retired overwhelmed with despayr and so forth. The famyly breath nothing but battell, murther and suddain death, soe that either way wee are like to lose a very honest fellow, but I hope shall gaine this wholsome document; how necessary it is for every man to stick to his owne calling.

"This side [of the page] shall carry you within the rayles of Covent Garden where you shall behold the furious combat of Ashton and Etheridg, which ended hapily in a fall on Ashton's part—company interposing and not suffering um to renew fight.

"Now my Lord as to a concerne of your owne. Fate has taken care to vindicate your proceeding with Foster, whoe is discovered to bee a damsell of low degre, and very fit for the latter part of your treatment, noe northerne lass but a mere dresser at Hazard's scoole, her uncle a wyght that wields the puissant spiggot at Kensington, debaucht by Mr. Buttler a gentleman of the cloak and gallow-shoe, an order of knighthood very fatall to mayndenhead. But I forgot to tell you what a rout this adventure of Savile's has caused among all the ladys drolles. The ladyes will now not converse with old Waller without their women in the room. Some have submited to be searcht by a jury of midwives as Robin Spencer, Harry Norwood, Nick Armorer, Lord Hawley, and are upon due examination restored to all their rights and priviledges, but the rest are all turned to grass this hard season. Bartholmey and Southwark fares being done 'tis thought 'twill goe very hard with most of um this winter."

The EARL OF CLARENDON to VISCOUNTESS CORNBURY, at Clarendon House, London.

[1672-1674\*.] March 1. Molins.—"My deare daughter, since I can receave no letter from thy husbände or his brother, it becomes me to thinke that they have reason for ther silence, and to finde

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\* Lord Clarendon was at Moulins from July, 1671, until May, 1674.



out some other way of correspondence, which I know not how to draw more naturally then from my other children; and therefore I must exspecte that from thee and thy two sisters, which the brothers will not performe, and that one of you will every weeke lett me know that you are all well, which will keepe me quyett and without grumblinge, and if thou gives them this order, I doubt not but they will observe it, and take ther turnes. It may be ther may be that civillity payde to Ladyes, that this letter may finde the way to thee without beinge opened, of which if I am assured, I will heareafter sende thee all the newes that Molins affordes, wher ther dyed this weeke a good woman, that had lyved a widdow full three-skore and tenn yeares since her husband's death, and the good capuchinn in whose armes shee dyed, assured me, that he did believe in his conscience that if shee had lyved so much longer, shee would never have married.

"Indeede I thought by thy last letter, which in many respects was very pleasant to me, that every post would have brought me an accounte from thee, but three moneths are past without any. Lett thy next tell me that thy husbände is resolved to bringe thee in May to Bourbon, which for many reasons, will be very wellcome newes, and in the meane tyme send me worde what English Ladyes are like to come thither. Speake to thy husbände, that when he findes the opportunity of any frends comminge this way, that he will send me Gerard's Herball, if he can in coulours, and since he intendes guardninge so much, I will inable myselfe to conferr with him in his owne dialecte, and I would be gladd of any booke of husbandry that Mr. Evelin hath sett out. If I receive an answer to this, the correspondence is settled. God blesse you all, and, my deere, thy most, &c."

*Postscript.*—"Whatever else thy husband forgetts, lett him not forgett that our Lady Day will be quickly heare." *Holograph.*

THE EARL OF CLARENDON to his daughter-[in-law] VISCOUNTESS CORNBURY.

[1672-1674], January 12. Molins.—"My dear daughter, I have two of yours before me to acknowledge, one of the 13 of November, the other of the 24 of the last moneth, and if this conveyance holds good, wee will not be so longe heareafter without hearinge from each other, and I shall be very gladd to have so good an intelligencer of what is done amonge the Ladyes. I am angry with thee for being troubled at an accident that is so common amonge women, who frequently repayre those oversights by bringinge children, when they are lesse expected, as I do not doubt thou wilt do in good tyme, and that my daughter Harriett will requite thee with the same newes, that I now receave of her by thy kindnesse, without which I should hardly have knowne it till the christninge. I do assure you, your husbände shall deny me very impudently, if he doth not bringe you to me, which is one of the greatest happinesse I pray to enjoy in this worlde, which if my enimes could depryve me of, I shoulde not exspecte, but since it is in my frendes power to grante, I cannot imagyne it will be denyed. God knowes the com-

pany of my wife and children was alwayes my greatest delight, when I injoyed many other blessings, and if I could still possesse what is left of those, I shoulde feele all other losses very little. I have had some hopes of gettinge neerer to Englande, that wee might not be at such a huge distance from each other, but whether that may be done you will know before I shall do. I would have the doctors consulted with, whether the waters of Bourbone may not be proper for you. If that were so, May would bringe all the English Ladyes from Mompelier to meete thee. One way or other wee must meete, if God please, and meethinks the breedinge woman should be at ease tyme enough for us to be altogether. But I doubt nobody can foresee what will be done in Englande so many moneths hence. God blesse thee and all thy frends and thy most affectionate father Clarendon." *Holograph.*

J[OHN], EARL OF BRIDGEWATER to his nephew, SIR JOHN NAPIER,  
at Luton Hoo.

[16]73, April 25. Bridgewater House.—Asking him to meet him in London, concerning the business of the trust. Lord St. John is coming up to town from New Park on purpose that it may be finished. *Holograph.*

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to his cousin, GERVASE HOLLES.

[16]73, September 20. W[entworth] W[oodhouse].—I am glad of the news you write me of my Lord of Ossory being Admiral, for "I am confident he will deserve it in reall service to the King and Kingdom. . . . He is so much my friend that I have hopes it cannot be long before the King may vouchsafe to afford me some oportunity to serve him and to recover a little of some of my sufferings," in which case I shall have the happiness to be more serviceable to my friends. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[16]73, October 13. W[entworth] W[oodhouse].—" . . . My lord of Devonshire writes mee word he heares for certaine the defeate of the French amounts to no more then taking a convoy with wagons of provision, and that they have had successe in parties since. At Paris I heard there was newse of foure thousand Marshal Turenne lost by that means was reported at London and that he had returned and killed men, women and children and burnt the towne. A few days more sure will shew the truth, and till it be more certaine, I cannot believe such cruelty as destroying women and children, though to punish such a threachery. . . .

"As to matters of religion especially, I am much against violence, but none wisheth the securing of the Protestant religion more, which besides other discreete and moderate wayes, I think as to the Papists might be best done by alowing them a sett number of Preists for every county that needs, and private exercise of their devotion, and for the nonconformists, so they would in everything else promise to comply, as I have heard they have sometimes offered, I should wishe their ministers were dispenced for using the crosse in baptisme, ring in marriage, surplice, and some such lesser matters,



seeing no inconvenience hereby, and hoping they might in a little time be wiser and in the meane that we might all live like good subjects together and with cristian charity. This end I am sure is good, but I am not so confident of mine owne judgment to be positive these wayes are best to attaine it." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

J[OHN], LORD FRESCHVILLE to his cousin, COLONEL GERVASE HOLLES, at his house over against the Earl of Burlington's "in Pickadilly Street," London.

[No year,] November 10. Stavely.—Concerning a gardenner. Did not see Lord Strafford before he went to London. Is about to go to York for a month. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME, at his house in Portugal Street, over against the Earl of Burlington's.

[No year,] January 19. Stavely.—Concerning the gardener mentioned in his previous letter. Sends respects to his "deare cousine Berkely and pritty Gervase." *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME, at his house in St. James' Fields.

[No year,] December 3. York.—Praying him to assist the bearer, a "poor injured old man" to recover his rights. Hopes he is in good health, also cousin Berkeley and little Gervase. Has been at York "all but six weeks." Has with him there his wife, his daughter Frances, his niece Browne, and Ramsden. *Holograph. Seal of arms.*

J[OHN] EVELYN to JOHN CONNY, Chirurgeon, at his house near the East Gate, Rochester.

[16]73, December 28. Sayes Court.—"I shall not neede to repeate the occasion of sending this expresse to you, when you have perused the inclosed . . . I have not omitted to make an advantage of it by ingaging the Commissioners of the Navy to assist me in procuring supplies. The messenger goes from you to Deale, where, it seemeth, ther are severall souldiers sick in the Downes of the small pox, whom they refuse to receive on shore. This has produced an expresse command to me, under his Majestie's owne hand, to send away and take order therein, and of that too, you may be sure I will make some use to our advantage that poore people may at last have their monye."

*Postscript.*—"The first accompte I send in to the Navy Office shall be yours." *Holograph. Seal.*

DR. JOHN TILLOTSON, Dean of Canterbury, to SIR WILLIAM JONES, Attorney General, at his house near Southampton House.

1675, September 1. Canterbury.—"I received yours last night after the post was gone hence, else I had returned you an immediate answer, for though I was very much surprised with the contents of your letter, yet the thing admits of no manner of deliberation.

I am, as I have great reason, extremely sensible of his Majestie's grace and favour to me, of which I shall ever endeavour to approve myselfe not unworthy; and I do most thankfully acknowledge Mr. Secretarie's great kindnes to me, especially being so much as I am a stranger to him; but that I must put upon your account. If you know me right you know how contented I am with my present condition, and how indifferent as to a change, but as to the present overture, it is what my narrow fortune will not permit me in prudence to think of accepting. I am neither able to beare the present nor future charge of it, nor is any thing that I have capable of being held *in commendam*. I have but two things, Lincolnes Inne, and the Deanery of Canterbury. The first to be sure cannot, and as for the Deanery it is I believe without example that any one hath been a bishop and deane of a cathedral church; and to go no further the present bishop of Bristol [Carleton] was forced to quit his deanery of Carlisle when he tooke that bishoprick. So that upon the whole matter I must entreat you with my most humble thankes to Mr. Secretary to represent to him the true state of my case, and how much it would be really to my disadvantage, which I am sure he designs not." *Holograph*.

WILLIAM DUGDALE to —.

1675 [-6, February 9], Ash Wednesday. Blythe Hall.—“Sir, having at length received from my noble friend Mr. Chetwynd the very originall paper itselfe which giveth the full and true accompt of that great elme—which was of that kinde, we call a wiche-hasell or wiche elme—about forty yeares since growing at Feild, in the parish of Leigh in Staffordshire, where Sir Hervey Bagot then lived; though I have nothing else of any great consequence to say to you at this time, I have thought fitt to send you an exact copie thereof; whereby you will discern, whether it differeth from that relation which was formerly given you thereof.

“Sir Hervey Bagot's great elme, at Feild.

“This tree, being stocked, fell full six score foot in length. It was eight yards and eightene inches about, by girth measure in the middle, whereby each foot forward did make full forty-one foot and sixteen out of one hundred and forty-four. Thus twenty foot forward maketh twenty times forty, so eight hundred. So eight hundred maketh sixteen tunns, six times sixteen maketh ninety-six. Thus ninety-six tunns, after fifty foot to one tunn, and the odde measure.

“Forth of this tree were made foure score paire of vathes; and eight thousand foot of sawing in bords, quarters, and square tymber, after six score *per centum*. There was so much bough-wood broken in the fall, as made fourteen load for Sir Hervey Bagot's own teame, to carry to his house, being not above three hundred yards.

“*Probatum* Sir Hervey Bagot, William Cowper, steward; Roger Shaw, bayliffe; Lawrence Greves and Humphrey Chetton, cutters; Francis Marshall and Thomas March, stockers; Walter Dixon, surveyor.

“By my last, I thinke I told you that our freind Fabian Philips was under a cloud, but I heare it is now blown over.” *Holograph*.



[HENRY SAVILE to the EARL OF ROCHESTER, at Woodstock.]

[16]77, November 1. Whitehall.—“If your Lordship was as ill as you told mee in your letter, either you are a greater philosopher in bearing of pain or a greater hypocrite in making it more then it is then we can ordinarily meet with in these parts. However the case stands, I was mighty glad to find a man both lame and blind could bee soe merry. I thought there could bee but one lame thing upon earth in perfect happiness, and that is Fanshaw for his having a daughter, a Princesse, who yet remaines in paganisme for want of baptisme, which the fond father delayes to take some prudent resolution concerning the godfathers. Hee thinkes the King ought to bee kept for a sonn, and the Duke of Monmouth dos not yet owne the alliance enough to hold his neece att the font, and therefore I beleeve that honour will at last fall upon his Grace of Buckingham. Mrs. Nelly, who is his great friend and faithfull counsellour, advised him not to lay out all his stock upon the christning but to reserve a little to buy him new shooes that hee might not dirty her roomes, and a new periwigg that she might not smell him stinke two storeys high when hee knocks att the outward door. What influence this wholesome advice may have in processe of time I do not know, but noe longer agoe then yesterday hee was out att heeles and stunke most grievously, and putt mee very much in mind of a predecessour of his of our English royall blood (as I take it a Duke of Excetter) that was soe poor in Flanders (if you will beleeve Phillip de Comines) that hee had noe shooes att all.

“Since the Prince of Orange has declared his love to matrimony, that sacrament growes soe modish in the court that Mr. Roper has most happily consummated with Mrs. Walker.

“Harry Killegrew has been a widdower these two dayes and laments his condition that fortune has made it possible for him to play the fool again, considering what use hee is wont to make of the power of committing errours, besides human frailty in generall.

“My Lord Manchester has to the astonishment of all his acquaintance a new suit, but it is black, and therefore fowly suspected it was left him by his sister Irwyn for mourning; else his Majesty concludes that ceremony had been performed in the auntient russett his Lordship use to weare upon the like occasions.

“Notwithstanding all the demonstrations of joy both in the court and citty for this great marriage, I doe not heare of any of the sweet singers except the old bard Waller that has taken notice of it. I have not yet seen his verses, but am promised them before I seale this letter, and then yourselfe shall bee judge whether the old gentleman stinke in the socket, or blaze a little yett; and now I am upon poetry I must tell you the whole tribe are alarumed att a libell against them lately sent by the post to Will’s coffe house. I am not happy enough to have seen it but I heare it commended and therefore the more probably thought to be composed att Woodstock, especially considering what an assembly either is yett or att least has been there, to whom my most humble service, if they are yett with you.

“It were worth your while to see how the old ladyes and the young

beggerly bitches are sueing for places about the Princesse of Orange (who is to bee the next week); my Lady Arabella Macarty and my Lady Elizabeth Dalaval take it monstrous ill not to bee Ladyes of her bedchamber, which they say is like to bee disposed of to my Lady Inchequin and Bentick's wife when hee has one, and hee dos endeavour that Mademoiselle Beverwest should bee that happy woman. A daughter of Ned Villiers now in France and another of Sir Charles Wheeler's are to bee maydes of honour, and, England affording noe more beautyes, I heare they have sent into Holland for two to bee ready against the returne of the Prince thither which must bee before the end of this month. I did propose a detachment from the Dutchesse of Mrs. Clarke and Mrs. Mannock but I had not interest enough to bee heard. Sir Gabriel Sylvius is to bee chiefe Major Domo, and would fain carry Mrs. Howard over with him, but I heare this new preferment adds noething to her inclinations to him.

"I obeyed your commands to His Majesty who has heard with very great delight Paisible's new compositions, and was not lesse pleased att all the complements you bestowed upon him; but I would not have you think hee takes soe much pleasure in your good wishes as in your good company, which is soe necessary heer to dispel the cloudes of dullnesse the Dutchmen have made that you cannot bee thought otherwise then a traytour to King and country, and a most unmercifull monster to your acquaintance if you come not quickly to towne though upon croutches."

HENRY SAVILE to the EARL OF ROCHESTER, at Woodstock.

[16]77, November 6. Whitehall.—"This is onely to enclose these last workes of Mr. Waller which I promised you in my last. Hee has found noe more applause from them then I doubt Mr. Butler will from a third volume of *Hudibras* hee has newly putt out, whereby it is humbly conceived that a muse is apt to decay towards four score as well as other mortalls. I wishe your Lordship would take the opportunity as you have formerly in your indispositions done, to shew us that five and twenty is much a better age for poetry. You must pay some fine for your absence from towne and therefore pray doe not thinke to come empty. If you doe, att least come quickly and that will make amends for all." [*The next paragraph is cut out in the original.*]

"My Lord of Leyester is att last dead and our friend just as proud of the Earldome faln to him as our other friend of Dorsett was. My Lord Sunderland who is an executour is not yet returned from Penshurst, soe that wee doe not yet know whether H. Sidney's portion bee left soe large as to disturbe my Lord Leycester's philosophy; but in the mean time hee sais, 'tis all one.' Pray lets heare some good newes of your recovery, which would bee welcome newes to many good people, though it may bee some dull ones had rather heare of your funerall then of your returne hither, but may God in his indignation strike all such block heads dead and leave none living but such as have in some measure the same good wishes and service for you as I have."



## HENRY SAVILE to the EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[16]77, December 17. Whitehall.—“Out of a quality common to most men of beleeving easily what they desire earnestly, I have sufferd myselfe to bee silent longer not onely then kindnesse but even common manners would have suffered mee to bee; but the truth is the whole towne have soe confidently reported your Lordship would every day bee in towne (nor was this contradicted by your own servants) that I have wearyed myselfe with that expectation and can noe longer hold out but I must aske your Lordship how you doe, your health beeing what I am most concerned for when I have not your company, which I valew soe much that, as usually happens, I preferr that both to your health and my owne. There is not one sinner in England now out of London but yourselfe; George Porter has been heer a fortnight and is allready three surfeits before you, one of spratts, one of tripes, and the third of Newarke ale, the rogue is grown soe ravenous that now hee surfeits of every thing hee sees but Mrs. Long and his sonn Nobbs which hee can never have enough on. . . . Sheapherd has been overturned in a coach att Matt Clifford’s funerall and broake his head, and a little before was runn with a sword under the eye endeavouring to part Buckly and Etheridge squabbling in a taverne, soe that hee is absolutely become a man of blood and talkes of nothing but a regiment against the French. Hee has allready allotted what estate hee will have in France; and for a house att Paris I doe not find hee will bee satisfyed under the Palais Royall; this is a sorte of madnesse now soe common heer that either to doubt of making warr with Franee or beating them when it is made is an offence against the nation, and though the Parliament will occasion your coming up within a month it were well enough worthy a journey sooner to see how the stile of the court is altered in this point, and to see his Majesty soe merry with the confederates in the Queen’s withdrawing room whilst poor Barillon stands by neglected. The greatest newes I can send you from hence is what the King told mee last night, that your Lordship has a daughter borne by the body of Mrs. Barry of which I give your honour joy. I doubt shee dos not lye in much state, for a friend and protectrice of hers in the Mall was much lamenting her poverty very lately, not without some gentle reflections on your Lordship’s want either of generosity or bowells towards a lady who had not refused you the full enjoyment of all her charmes.

“My Lady Portsmouth has been ill to the greatest degree. The King imputes her cure to his dropps, but her confessour to the Virgin Mary, to whom hee is said to have promised in her name that in case of recovery shee should have no more commerce with that known enemy to virginity and chastity the monarke of Great Britain, but that shee should returne to a cloyster in little Brittany and there end her dayes. I have not yet heard that her Grace has confirmed this bargain, but there are fooles who beleeve it, and because the physitians have concluded it necessary for her to goe to Bourbon and the tenth of March appointed for the day of her goeing, it is not hard to have wagers layd that shee will returne noe more. I had almost forgott for another argument to bring you to

towne that a French troop of comædians bound for Nimeguen were by adverse winds cast into this hospitable port and doe act at Whitehall soe very well that it is a thousand pittyes they should not stay, espeacially a young wench of fifteen, who has more beauty and sweetnesse then ever was seen upon the stage since a friend of ours left it. In good earnest you would bee delighted above all things with her, and it were a shame to the nation shee should carry away a maydenhead shee pretends to have brought and that noe body heer has either witt or addresse or money enough to goe to the price of. The King sighes and despaires, and sais noebody but Sir George Downing or my Lord Ranelagh can possibly purchase her. His Majesty has called to your house a new peer, or to speake more properly restored an old one, Sir Robert Sherly, under the name of Lord Ferrers of Chartly, which hee claimes in right of his grandmother, sister to the last Earle of Essex of the house of Devereux; and which is more extraordinary, this is done meerly by his Majesty without any interposition or money given either to mistresse or minister. I will not thinke it soe essentiall to fill this fourth page as to aske pardon for the other three, but you know what your company is. I could never leave it under severall houres, soe that in writing I cannot leave you under severall pages. Your Lordship will forgive my methods of this and many other kinds, they are most of them very unjustifiable, but if I am right in anything under the sunn it is in the most reall and unfeigned professions of beeing to you and yours a most faithfull humble servant."

#### THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

[1678,] May 13.—The King's speech to the House of Lords. *Differs somewhat from the speech printed in the Journals of the House of Lords. Probably a draft.*

[HENRY SAVILE] to the EARL OF ROCHESTER, at Adderbury.

[16]78, June 2.—"Though we have had some scurvy alarums since you left us concerning your health, yet the last time I saw my Lord Cornwallis hee assured mee you were upon the improving hand, of which if there bee a man living gladder then myselfe I am much mistaken. As for mee, you can not but have heard the misfortunes that have befallen both my body naturall and body politick, how I have been sacrificed to that filthy dogg Lauderdale, and how the returne of my . . . paines have throwne mee back to dry mutton and dyett drinke; and whether this latter doe most afflict the pleasure of my body, or the former the pride of my soule it is hard to determine, but both together doe for the present make mee unhappy enough. How soon his Majesty will deliver mee from the one and Mr. Barton from the other lyes in the ones royall breast and in the others skill chirurgicall. I suppose your Lordship has heard that all the fine gentlemen who intended to conquer France are disappointed, and that this noble army is out of hand to bee disbanded, to the grieve I thinke of none but those who are of it, and of them many have layd out summes which will inconvenience



them ; soe that if suffering bee part of the businesse of a souldier, diverse of them have made a notable progresse for the time. On Monday there goes a yacht into Holland to bring Ambassadour Hyde again into England, the use of publick ministers abroad growinge lesse necessary every day."

[HENRY SAVILE] to the EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[16]78, June 4.—" Your Lordship will find the inconvenience of having a friend in towne that keeps much att home, for betwixt kindnesse and idlenesse you will find yourselfe in danger every post day of being asked how you doe. Fanshaw, who has better intelligence of your health then enjoyment of his owne, gives me new assurances of your beeing recovered beyond all hazzard of a relapse, that is just the state your friends would see you in, for you have had soe many returnes of your disease that till you are growne to a considerable strength wee shall allwayes thinke you in some danger. And now I talke of poor Fanshaw hee is just returned from an expidition I suppose hee made your Lordship privy too. I was intrusted as beeing able to give him some instructions. I doe not find him otherwise altered by it but that his mouth stands quite awry (which hee onely calls a soare lipp), but it has taken noe thing from his lameness onely added to his leanenesse ; hee weares three flannell wastcoates and is slenderer then Churchill. The truth is of all men living I ought not to railly him, but as hee is the onely creature upon earth poorer . . . then myself, there is somewhat in the nature of mortall man, that though never soe miserable hee will look out something to triumph over. Now in this case poor Fanshaw is the onely trophy I have in this world.

"For Parliament affaires to-morrow is appointed in your house for the utmost decision whether my Lord Purbeck bee a viscount or noe. Viscount Montaigne has brought in a petition against Viscount Hereford to prove that there can bee noe such title pretended to by him who has it, and 'tis said it is like to bee made out ; soe that you see all the businesse of the Lords is upon the viscounts bench where my Lords Viscounts Yarmouth and Newport make noe small figures. Your cosen, her Grace of Cleaveland, having (as shee thinkes) broak the match of her sonn Grafton, and gott her son Northumberland made Duke, prepares for her returne into France on Monday next. Wee the poor Commons goe gently on towards disbanding the army and discharging the fleet. To-morrow is appointed to rayse money for the latter, and if you will fright your neighbours with a land tax I beleewe wee shall make your wordes good before this sessions ends. As for court newes you know all prudent persons have ever been wary of writing, espacially since Mr. Lane was once turned out about it, but since I am out already I will venture att one small piece of intelligence, because one who is allways your friend and sometimes (espeacially now) mine, has a part in it that makes her now laughed att and may one day turne to her infinite disadvantage. The case stands thus if I am rightly informed :—My Lady Hervey who allwayes loves one civill plott more, is working body and soule to bring Mrs. Jenny Middleton

into play. How dangerous a new one is to all old ones I need not tell you, but her Ladyship, having little opportunity of seeing Charlemayne upon her owne account, wheedles poor Mrs. Nelly into supping twice or thrice a week at W. C[hiffinch]s and carryeing her with her ; soe that in good earnest this poor creature is betrayed by her Ladyship to pimp against herselfe, for there her Ladyship whispers and contrives all matters to her owne ends, as the other might easily percieve if shee were not too giddy to mistrust a false friend. This I thought it good for you to know, for though your Lordship and I have different friends in the court, yet the friendship betwixt us ought to make mee have an observing eye upon any accident that may wound any friend of yours as this may in the end possibly doe her, who is soe much your friend and who speaks obliging and charitable things of mee in my present disgrace. When all this is done I doe not see in your present condition how you can make her sensible of this, for to write to her were vain ; but I fancy my Lady Southaske has soe much witt and cunning that you might give her some directions in this matter that might prevent any future ill accident. I leave all to your Lordship to whom alone of all men living I would write with this freedome, where prudence would have advised silence, but my zeale for your service and my trust in your secrecy overcome all other thoughts or considerations."

[HENRY SAVILE] to the EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[16]78, June 18.—"How pretious a letter from your Lordship is at any time I doe not intend to bee soe complementall as to tell you, but to find your Lordship soe well recovered that you can reach the fourth side of a sheet of paper is soe good newes that I will not thinke you any longer in danger of any accident whatsoever to throw you back to your former weaknesse, now that you are in soe safe handes and not in this wicked place of temptation. As to your opinion in that state matter I mentioned to you I do very much approve it, and have myselfe been of late see battered in politicks that if there bee a man alive who ought to retire from businesse and have noe more civill plotts it is myselfe. But what would you have ? The lease of my house lasts above two yeares longer and the steame of Guy's wisdom dos soe fly into my head, that I cannot but attempt notable undertakings, and wanting ballast to sayle steadily upon the least foule weather, I am apt to oversett: This is matter of fact and as well the truth as the stile politicall. Such a collier as Manchester will ride safe upon the Dogger Banke when, it may bee, such a pretty pinke as your Lordship shall bee in danger, and where such a dungboate as Lauderdale rides admirall, what vessell of valew or worth can thinke it calme weather ; God send him in Charon's ferry boate to end this melancholy sea voyage quickly. Duke Hamilton and all the great Scotch Lords are returned into his power with a very unkind reception heer. How hee will use his eneemyes when hee has them in his mercy wee shall soon see, and doe already pretty well guesse by the nature of the man for whom I suffer that glorious disgrace (as your Lordship is pleased I thinke rightly to call it) and in which I have as yet had



noe other consolation but a perfect assurance from Colonel Machnohton that my health is drunke all over Scotland. More martyrs thicken upon us, and Sir Robert Carr, for voting in an election contrary to orders from Whitehall, is removed from the councill table. The report yet flyes that your cosen Sir John Talbott shall have his place, by which your Lordship may have att least this comfort that though you have not yourselfe talents for businesse, yet you may find them in your owne flesh and blood, and doubtlesse there may some prudent embers lye hidden in your Lordship if you would racke them up which in time might bee of use to your King and country. I beg of your Lordship to take this time of your leasure a little paines to examine yourselfe in this point. My Lord of Ossory and Lory Hyde for the civill and the military are returned from Holland, there beeing noe more businesse left there for any man in either of those capacities.

"Colonell FitzGerald is lately dead, much lamented by [all] who loved good officers and good understandings. . . .

"The House of Lords have not done anything lately worthy record, and though wee seem more busy, this week has advanced us but little, by reason the accounts of the navy were not ready, but this day a vote has passed that after Tuesday noe motions shall bee made for further supply till after the next recess. Mr. Harry Bertie is voted duely elected at the committee but it is not yet reported to the House. I will not keep your Lordship any longer, especially when I beleeve myselfe the man of all your acquaintance who have given you the least quarter of this kind in your weake condition."

[HENRY SAVILE] to the EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[16]78, June 25.—"I am most infinitely obliged to your good Lordship for your kind remembrance of me, and if the good gentleman who loved sack and shugar soe well was soe lucky as to bring mee into your mind I wishe there were more of them, though meethinks since the death of poor Sir Simon Fanshaw that sorte of excellent breed is allmost extinguished, or att least soe farr decayed that except an old cavalier corporall that I beleeve you have seen begging in St. James's Parke, there is noe more any such person then a phoenix to bee found in these parts. A true good fellow is like a kingfisher, can onely breed in calme weather, the continuall noyse of horse, foot, dragoons, cuirassiers, granadiers, guidons, aid-de-camps, and a hundered such wordes repeated tenn thousand times a day in Whitehall gallery have frighted away even the thoughts of the least indulgence to a man's pleasure, and whoever is not now in this hott season in a *drap de Berry* coate with gold galoon enough to load a mule is not thought affectionate to the government or the army, which your House has voted shall stand a month longer then wee intended; and if wee can come of soe and att the end of August say *cedant arma togæ* wee senatours shall be much lighter att heart then wee are att present, how cheerfully soever wee may beare our apprehensions in our faces. I will not say how good a time this is to bee in the country, how good a time to bee sick, nay how good a time to dye in, for feare you should either

thinke mee neer my end or beleewe I thought you soe, and were therefore gathering some philosophical comfort out of Solomon or Seneca or any other who has treated *de vanitate mundi*. But this I will say that my taile beeing now liker Dick Newport's then my Lord's, and I presume my spiritts wasted with my flesh, I am troubled with spleenetick vapours that make mee dislike the world as much as ever I approved it. From the rising of the sun to the setting thereof, I see noe thing that pleases my eyes, or heare noe thing but what grates my eares ; onely I am promised a moments titillation by Mr. Staggin who is come over with great credit and many new aires. His Majesty has allready constituted him lord paramount over all the musick. Hee may raigne there like Great Turke and cutt whose catts-gutts hee please if the harmony bee not to his liking. With what moderation hee will use this absolute power, I leave it to fate and the immortall gods to determine. George Porter about a fortnight since brought a little stock of Berkshire health to towne, which hee has since swilled away in tavernes, and now lyes soaking in bedd for more breath. He had a great tryall on Saturday last att the barr of the Lords where there was an appeale against him, but hee came of soe victorious that there was not a voyce against him. The Purbeck will 'tis thought at last prove as errant a sonne of a whore as hee was allwayes taken for. Hee carryed the difficulty of the fine in your House ; but for the bastardy, the Duke of Buckingham has leave to bring in a bill for the confirmation of it. Not beeing att court I can send you noe newes of Ladyes."

[HENRY SAVILE to the EARL OF RÖCHESTER.]

[16]78, July 2. Leather Lane in Hatton Garden.—"Your Lordship will see by the date of this letter why I have not troubled you these tenn dayes. The truth is this is a place from whence you cannot expect much newes and yet some little you shall have before I have done. But heer I have chosen a neate privacy to sweat in, and soe finish the last act of a long teddious course of physick which has entertained mee ever since December last, and if it had then been putt to my choice whether I would have undergone what I have suffered, or have turned Turke, notwithstanding all my zeale for the true protestant faith, I doubt my whole stock of religion had runn a great hazzard. I confesse I wonder att myselfe and that masse of mercury that has gone downe my throate in seven months, but should wonder yet more were it not for Mrs. Roberts, for behold a greater then I, shee is in the same house and wee have mett heer from severall corners as mad folkes doe in Bethlem. What shee has endured would make a dam'd soule fall a laughing att his lesser paines, it is soe farr beyond description or beleefe that till shee tells it you herselfe I will not spoyle her story by making it worse, or by making your hayre stand an end and hinder any thing else from doeing soe for a month after soe tragicall a relation. The other day Mr. Fanshaw came and made a third with us, but will have his worse pox then ours passe for the scurvy out of civility to his lady, though the rogue bee a filthyer leaper then ever was cured in the gospel ; and without another pool of Bethesda or another Saviour hee is the most incurable animall that now crawles upon the earth.



"On Saturday last was a generall rendezvous of above 10,000 men upon Hounslow Heath where all the bloody doings was that one souldier killed another for waking him when hee was asleep who is to bee hanged for his paines ; but by the assistance of the civill power, for as yet the army is not soe great but that Kingston assizes is better then martiall law. To shew military discipline, Sir Philip Howard was suspended his employment for not obeying some orders the Duke of Monmouth gave him in which though his Grace bee found in the wrong it is thought fitt the other should suffer for examples sake to shew that orders must bee obeyed though never soe foolish. Some thinke they will take this occasion to bee ridd of a man they never cared much for, but others beleieve the Queen will have credit enough to make up the businesse, the dispute hapning for the place and station of her troop. There are foure of our regiments more gone into Flanders upon a certain alarum of warr, the King of France refusing to deliver the townes till the King of Sweden have Stetin restored to him, and though it is really now very probable, the House of Commons are resolved not to beleieve a word of it, but goe on towards the disbanding the army. The Lords doe disturbe us with little conferences to gain time till wee can bee convinced of the certainty of the warr. Wee both adhere, and God knowes where the dispute will end ; but as little sanguin as I have been in beleiving it, I am now for the first time of opinion the warr is very certain as you will soon heare by some act of hostility from his most christian Majesty.

"There are terrible doings att Paris betwixt my Lady Cleaveland and her daughter Sussex. As I am a friend to the family, till the story bee more compleate I will not venture at sending you the whole relation, but whilst the mother was in England the daughter was debauched by our Embassador Mr. Montaigne, who has lived with her in most open scandall to the wonder of the French Court and the high displeasure of this, the King being very angry with the Embassador, and his friends and ennemyes now struggling att Court to support or ruine him ; the latter is I thinke the likeliest in every court, it beeing the easiest and the worst natured. As this matter comes more to light I shall tell you more, and of any thing else that happens worth your knowing least you should fall to the ordinary ignorance of a meer country gentleman. Were I att home I should find somewhat more to entertain you, but your Lordship will bee pleased to consider that though Leather Lane bee in London, yet it is as remote from noble court notions as either Woodstock or Banbury, all I can say is *qui bene latuit, bene vixit* ; and if I can add *bene sudavit*, I am as happy as I can bee in any other circumstance of my life but that most essentiall one of beeing to the Earle of Rochester and the noble Lord Wilmott as faithfull an humble servant as is in the world."

[HENRY SAVILE] to the EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[16]78, July 13. Whitehall.—"Your Lordship is soe well read, that you cannot but have heard of an old Roman generall, who was

recalled from banishment to command the army, noe other man in the Commonwealth beeing found soe fitt for it. I shall desire your Lordship to let that old gentleman putt you in mind of mee as well as your old man of Verona, for there beeing an affaire of some difficulty to bee performed in France, His Majesty sends mee in all haste. I am to see him this afternoon, and goe poste to-morrow morning along with my Lord Sunderland who goes Embassadour Extraordinary. My stay need not bee long and shall not bee above three weekes, unlesse I can heare that your Lordship will take the advice which all your friends would give you, viz. to goe into France, and then I would stay your coming. Doubelesse my Lord a winter att Mompellier would doe you much more good then att Adderbury, and if you saw how Sir John Chicheley is returned from thence and had seen in what condition hee went your Lordship would bee of my opinion, but this is to bee left to your Lordship's owne prudence who doe very well comprehend that all domestick considerations must bee sacrificed to those of health.

"My Lord Feaversham has carryed his cause in the House of Lords for 3,000*l. per annum* during his life out of my Lady Katherine Watson's estate. Mr. Montaigne is putt out of the Councell and banished the court for coming from Paris without orders from hence. What further resentment will bee shewn for soe unjustifiable a proceeding lyes yet in His Majesty's breast, though the towne will needs foretell that hee shall loose all his places. My Lady Shrewsbury is brought to bedd of a chopping boy. Sir Richard Powell dyed heer in towne yesterday, and is gone to day into Berkshire to bee buried. Your Lordship will easily beleieve that upon such a journey and soe short warning I am in too great a hurry to give your Lordship much trouble, I should bee wonderfully pleased if I could receive any commands for your service where I goe."

HENRY SAVILE to [the EARL OF ROCHESTER].

[16]79, April 16. Paris.\*—"By one Mr. Hill, a servant of Mr. Montaigne's, I have sent your Lordship the first present I have made into England since my beeing heer, and it is that circumstance I would have your Lordship consider, and not what it is I send you. There is a pott of *Aigre de Cedre*, and two bottles of *Syrope de Capilaire*, both great coolers, and I suppose I need not tell you the way of using it is halfe a spoonfull in a great glasse and spring water powred upon it; the truth is I left you in soe good health that I doubted you would returne to your usuall course of life and in that case this may bee sometimes necessary to refresh you; there is further, in order to another vice your Lordship is given to, a bottle of *poudre de cypre* to keep the ladies heades sweet, and a bottle of myrtle water to keep theire tailes streight; with these conveniences and good health I shall not bee one of those friends who would advise you to keep your temperance or your virtue longer. They are both excellent in the way to health, but base companions of it. You see, my Lord, I can not yet give in to the

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\* This and the following letter are probably dated new style.



true and decent gravity of a minister, but I hope I shall mend against I see your Lordship at Bologne, the certainty of which voyage dos yet continue though it is putt a little further off, because of a grave Spanish Embassadour who is yet at Brussels and comes [in] the paie of that country ; but you shall bee certainly informed of every alteration in that kind that may bee of use to you for your comeing upon that errand which I hope is already secured for you, for I have sett my heart soe much upon meeting you there that I shall runn madd if anybody else should come in your place.

“ Our friend Mr. St. Johns with all his steeds is still att St. Denis in order to the fatning his horses for sayle, so that it may bee hoped by that time they are disposed of, hee will not upon the whole matter bee above fifty pounds a looser by the expedition. His parts are taken notice of by those who attempt to bee his chapmen, and I have been asked allready if, besides not speaking the language, hee bee not *un peu fol*. I shall not presume to give your Lordship any account of any other of your friends heer. The two Caledonian Countesses who are most in your favour doe I suppose give you an account of themselves ; for your Lordship’s comfort and their honours, I cannot heare that either of them have any inclinations besides yourselfe ; if either they or any other alurement can at leasure draw your Lordship hither I cannot but thinke a long vacation as well past att Paris as at Woodstock, but as you have both time to consider of it and other circumstances to guide you I leave that consideration wholly to you.”

[HENRY SAVILE to the EARL OF ROCHESTER].

[16]79, June 30. Paris.—“ When I came first to this towne I found myselfe soe little capable of beeing happy without some commerce with your Lordship that I thought to draw you into a correspondence by sending you a small present of powder for your periwig, and coolers for your vohd if you should bee like that gospell dogg that returned to his vomitt ; but this plott did not take, for either Mr. Hill (Mr. Montaignu’s servant) did not deliver you my present, or your Lordship did not thinke it worth thanks, and I have now been foure monthes as much forgott by your Lordship as if I had not my whole life had a most particular kindnesse and service for you. By this, I may reasonably presume that either you are not well, or I am not well with you. Either of these I assure your Lordship would afflict mee extreamly, and considering how well I thought myself with your Lordship when I came away, if there bee a change, it is one that will trouble mee more then all the great changes that have hapned in England since I left it. After all I will hope that there is noe more in this matter then a little idle remissnesse to our absent friends, to which God knowes the frailty of our poor natures dos too much expose us all, but for a mortall sinner in this kind commend mee to that stinking whelp Sheppherd to whom I recommended a lady’s concerne three monthes since without ever having heard more of him, or her either, but that goeing in pilgrimage to Loretto shee with two other worthy persons of the same sex and nation, were robbed, stript of their mens cloathes,

and beeing discovered to bee shee-pilgrims were layd in jayle where I suppose they now doe either rott, or [*word cut out in the original*] to get out again, which will bee but an ill piece of courtship to the lady they are goeing to visite. But not to entertain you with ladyes you dooe not know, the inclosed was sent mee yesterday by one you doe know, I have not seen her, nor heard of her till shee had need of my conveyance for this letter to your Lordship. I doubt shee is a great object of charity. I am sure shee had had mine if shee had sent for it, for I allwayes thaught her one of the most unfortunate and most meritorious of all the numerous traine of clean and unclean that have gone into William Chiffinch his arke or my Lord Manchester's chamber. I have allwayes taken soe much pleasure in conversing with your Lordship that without any mercy upon you I should scribble on if I were not called on for my packett which must bee shutt, but I cannot forbear telling you in very good earnest I thinke my Lady Kennoul the devoutest creature living; as for her cosen the other Countesse I can give you noe account of her, nor doe I know how shee beares the depart of the Prince de Morbeque who is returned into Flanders. I heartily wishe your Lordship some of the good wine I dayly drinke, it is such as Mr. Harvey himselfe would approve of; but I confesse the small beer is very badd, and a man cannot gett a pipe of good tobacco for love nor money."

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH AND BUCCLEUCH to the CONSTABLE of the TOWER.

1679, July 27. Windsor.—Warrant to permit Captain Thomas Barbor, now raising a company of a hundred men for Tangier, to lodge the said men in the Tower until they go on board ship.  
*Signed.*

#### THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

[1680.]—"A Relation of the Birth, as well as of several remarkable Passages during the Minority of the Victorious JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH, Eldest Son to his Majesty of Great Britain, France and Ireland, with the true account of his many signal and heroick Victories in Holland, Flanders and Scotland to his immortal Fame, with the manner of his Departure from Whitehall, and of his joyful Reception in Holland.

"*Hony soit qui Mal y pence.*" Printed, Broad sheet. 8 pp. folio.

#### THE KING'S EVIL.

1681.—"A true and wonderful account of a cure of the King's Evil by Mrs. Fanshaw, Sister to his Grace the Duke of Monmouth." Probably a skit.

"Printed for Ben Harris at the Stationers' Arms in Cornhill. 1681." Broad sheet. 2 pp. folio.

#### RICHARD MANLEY.

1684, July 1.—Receipt signed by the Bishop of Rochester, for 5*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, paid by Charles Manley, being a heriot upon the death of his father, Richard Manley.



## DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

1684, [July 31–] August 10. st. no. Brussels.—“The true copy of a Letter written by a gentleman in Brussels to his friend in London, giving him a brief account of the State of those Provinces, in relation to the War. As also some Remarkable Passages relating to his Grace, James, Duke of Monmouth, since his arrival in those parts.” *Signed* :—P. L.

*Printed for L. Curtis, 1684. London. Broad sheet. 2 pp. folio.*

## CHARLES II.

[1685, February.]—Two papers certified by King James II. to be true copies of documents found by him after the death of Charles II., written in the late King's own hand, and proving his conversion to the Church of Rome. *Copies.*

[*See Clarke's Life of James II. Vol. II., p. 8.*]

## JAMES II.

1685, June 15. Whitehall.—“A Proclamation against spreading of a Traiterous Declaration Published by James Duke of Monmouth.” *Broad sheet. 1 p. folio.*

*Also :*

1685, June 16. Whitehall.—Proclamation offering a reward of 5,000*l.* to whoever shall bring in the body of James, Duke of Monmouth, either dead or alive. *Broad sheet. 1 p. folio.*

DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S Declaration on taking the title of King.\*

1685, June 21. Camp at Taunton.—“By the King. A Proclamation. James R. Whereas upon our first landing at Lyme in our County of Dorset on Thursday the 11th day of this instant moneth of June, Wee did publish a Declaration in the name of ourselfe, by the name of James Duke of Monmouth and the noblemen, gentlemen and others now in armes for defence and vindication of the Protestant religion, and of the laws, rights and priviledges of England from the invasion made upon them, and for delivering the Kingdom from the Usurpation and tyranny of James Duke of Yorke: Wherein amongst other things therein contained wee did declare that out of the love wee bear to the English nation whose welfare and settlement we did infinitely preferre to whatever might concerne ourselves, we would not at present insist upon our title but leave the determinacion thereof to the authority of a Parliament legally chosen and acting with freedom: Sence which it hath pleased Almighty God to succeed and prosper us hitherto in a very eminent manner, and also disposed the hearts of our loving subjects that from all parts of the country they flock in unanimously for the defence of our person and of the righteous cause we are engaged in: By which we have ben inabled to march from Lyme

\* This is the Declaration of which Roberts states that no copy is to be found. See *Life of Monmouth I. 332.*

aforesaid unto our good towne of Taunton to the terror and amazement of all our enemyes round about us, and whereas as well during our said march as since our coming to Taunton aforesaid, all our loving subjects have with warm and repeated sollicitacions importuned us to exert and take upon us our sovereigne and royall authority of King as well as of the power of a Generall; that wee might thereby be enabled to make use of the laws and statutes of the Realme in conjunction with our armes for their safety and preservation; and have likewise earnestly employed us for their owne sakes not to deferre the execution of our Kingly office to soe late a period as is mencioned in the said Declaration, for that it will in all probability render the progress of our armes more slow and thereby give our enemyes a longer season to harras and impoverish our kingdom: We could not but with great reluctancy incline to consent to any thing that might seem to be a departure from our said Declaration and thereby raise any diffidence amongst the sober and virtuous, or give occasion to wicked and malicious men to arraigne the sincerity of our intentions: But as the said clause in the said Declaration was inserted under this prospect, to convince the world that we postponed all things to the safety and welfare of our people, and that we consulted not so much our owne interest as their prosperity; being soe convinced both from the circumstances of affaires and from united advice of all our loving people's petitions that it was absolutely necessary for their protection and defence that we should immediately insist upon our title to the Crownes of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and the Dominions and Territorys thereunto belonging as son and heir apparent to Charles the Second, King of England, our Royal Father lately deceased: We have therefore suffered our selves to be prevailed upon and have complied with the earnest importunitys and necessities of our people, giving way to our being proclaimed King on the 20th day of this instant June at our towne of Taunton aforesaid: Which we hereby solemnly declare we have consented unto out of tenderness and for the interest of all our loving subjects, and not upon any motives ariseing from ourselfe. And we do further declare and faithfully promise upon the word of a king that we will inviolably keep and performe all and every the articles, sentences and clauses specified and comprized in our said Declaration for the good of our Kingdom and benefit of all our loyall subjects: And that we will in our first Parliament pass into laws all methods therein contained for the reliefe, ease and safety of our people. Given at our Camp at Taunton the 21st day of June in the first year of our reigne. God save the King." *MS. copy, probably made in William III.'s reign, as the watermark has the monogram W. R.*

*Also:*

Same date and place.—Proclamation offering 500*l.* to whoever shall bring in the body of "James, Duke of York," dead or alive.

DUKE OF MONMOUTH to CHRISTOPHER, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

[1685, June, after the 20th.]—Summoning him to cease hostilities and repair to his camp. *Signed* James R.



*On the same sheet :—*

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE to "JAMES SCOT, late the DUKE OF MONMOUTH."

[1685, June.]—Reply to the above declaring his loyalty to King James II. Ordered to be printed on August 4. *Broad sheet, 2 pp.* "Printed by George Croom, at the Blue Ball in Thames Street, over against Barnard's Castle, 1685."\*

#### DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

1685.—"An account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c." "Printed by B. G. for Samuel Keble at the Turks-Head over against Fetter Lane in Fleet Street," 1685. *Broad sheet, 4 pp. folio. Printed in the Harley Miscellany, ix., 123.*

#### JAMES II.

1685, November 9.—"His Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Munday the 9th of November, 1685," on the need for an increase of the standing army. *Broad sheet, 2 pp.*

FLEETWOOD SHEPHERD to the EARL OF DORSET AND MIDDLESEX.

[1685 ?] August 23. Sevenoaks (Sennoch).—"I am left on drye ground at Sennoch, seven Tunbridge coaches having past by this morning all full; this afternoone I have given earnest for a place against to-morrow and hee is to take mee up on his returne.

"The Queen hath made you a very long complement, no rat or weasel ever crept into so many holes as shee did yesterday; but shee did not declare her acceptance of the house nor will not this four dayes, suddaine resolutions beeing contrary to the gravity of the crowne of Portugal. My Lord Feversham hath desired to bee master of this affaire. The history of her reception, and all material remarques your Lordship shall have when I see you, it beeing to long to put in a letter from the Bull. After the honor I have received from Queens it is a condescension to present my service to my Lady Dorset and Mrs. Allington,† but I cannot live up to the height of my character without kicking Mrs. Baxter and putting William Stiles his eyes out. God graunt mee one virtue which I feare I have lost for ever, and that is humility. I am Mrs. Allingtons most proud and scornful servant." *Seal of arms.*

The DUKE OF ORMOND to his grandson, the EARL OF OSSORY.

1685-6, February 16. Cornbury.—In commendation of Sir Robert Southwell. *Copy in Southwell's own hand.*

*Printed in Carte's Life of Ormonde, ii., Appendix, p. 119, but with several errors. For the date 1684-5, read 1685-6; line 26, for*

\* There are copies of these (and many other Monmouth papers) in Harley MS. 7006, at the British Museum, from which they were printed in Ellis's *Original Letters and Roberts' Life of Monmouth*. MS. copies are also not uncommon.

† Probably Juliana, daughter of Lord Alington, related through her mother to the Dorset family.

requires confirmation and increase *read* acquires confirmation and increases ; *line* 27, *for* " Sir Robert Southwell, father and grandfather *read* Sir Robert Southwell's father and grandfather ; *line* 35, *for* expectations *read* expectation ; *line* 50, *for* service *read* success ; *line* 52, *for* variety of climates *read* variety of the climates ; *line* 53, *for* and the favour *read* and in the favour ; *and line* 65, *for* such a body *read* such a lady.

#### JAMES II.

1685 [-6], March 10. Whitehall.—Proclamation of pardon to all persons concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, excepting certain individuals particularly mentioned. *Large broad sheet.*

SIR W[INSTON] CHURCHILL to JOHN GIBBON, Blue Mantle, at the Herald's Office or at St. Catherine's Cloister.

1686, June 22. Mintern.—" I doe not suspect in the least my tytle to the ancient armes (as you call it) should be forgotten or questioned, since the monuments of my ancestors will cleare that dispute, and what armes was born by the father I think no man will deny to belong to the son ; besydes the very grant itselfe by which I am licensed to beare the lyon without the bend, evinces that till the tyme of that grant, it was borne with the bend. And as to the canton, I take it not to be given me as any essentiall part of my coate (for so I refused to accept it) but (as 'tis expressed in the grant) as an augmentation of honour, and if my son think it not so, I know not but that he is at liberty to omit it, and beare the lyon without it. To this you object, that were to assume the coate of divers other familys ; as for instance Mathews, Verdon, Pendoker and Planck (to which you might have added Williams and Cromwell) which I take as so many presedents against your allegation, to prove that divers familys may give one and the same armes, and why not mine as well as others, deriving my authority from the same fountaine (the King) who may dispose of all armes as he pleases. But I must further tell you (as I have formerly) that I take not this as a grant of new armes, but a restoration to the old, for however you call the lyon under the bend the ancient bearing (which is indeed very ancient) yet it is not the ancientest, the originall coate being only sable a lyon rampant argent : which was the coate of Otho de Leon (as may be seen in all the French heralds) Castelan of Gisor (whome we call our common ancestor) and of whome we have this account.\* The said Otho had two sons, Richard Lord of Montalban, and Wandrill Lord of Courcelle : Richard had issue by his wife Yoland Countess of Grimburg, Claud, whose posterity continued the surname De Leon. Wandrill had issue by his wife Beatrice de Tria, Raoule and Roger, who tooke the surname of Courcelle : Roger the youngest brother came into England with William the Conqueror and had by guift from the sayd King, the forfeited estates of Bictrie [Brictrie] and Bond, two Englishmen of

\* For the discrepancies between this and other Churchill pedigrees, see Introduction to this Report.



great note in the west ; he maryed the Lady Mabel de Solarijs by whome he had issue Roger commonly called the blind Baron of Soleigny, who tooke the surname of FitzRoger, and gave his mothers armes quarterly argent and gules : he had issue by his wife Gertrud daughter of Sir Guy de Torbay, three sons, Roger, Hugh and John. From Roger the elder brother (who was the second Baron of Soleigny) descended the FitzRogers, ancestors to the familys of Clavering and Ewers in the north. Hugh the second brother was Lord of Corfeton in Dorsetsheire (so 'tis called in the Doomsday Booke, which for ought I know was Corton) ; who having the estate of the abovesaid Bond given to him in franch mariage with his only daughter, his posterity assumed the name and armes of the sayd Bond who was lord of Fisherton in Somersetshire, viz., in a feild sable a fesse or : John the third brother was Lord of Currichill or as 'tis in divers records Chirechile, since called Churchill in Somersetshire, who marying the Lady Joane de Kilrington, had issue by her Sir Bartholomew de Churchill, a man of greate note in the tyme of King Steven, for whome he defended the castle of Bristow against the Empress Maud, and was slaine afterward in that warr. He was father of Elyas de Churchill, who had three sons Otho, Christopher and John : Otho having bin active in the barons warr in the tyme of King Henry III., his son King Edward I. seised on his lordship of Churchill, which continued in the crown till Edward the third's tyme, who gave it to a domestick of his, one St. Low, who had deserved well of him in his French warr. His posterity continued the possession of it till nere about Henry VIII. his tyme, when it came to the family of Jennings, and was continued in that name till my daughter Churchill's father sold it to Sir John Churchill the late Master of the Rolls ; and had come to my son in right of his wife, had it not been so unfortunately alianated by her said father. Christopher lord of Lyneham in Devonshire, the second brother to Otho, left only one daughter maryed in to the family of Crocker, who are yet lords of Lyneham. John the third brother was Lord of Litleham in the sayd county, who had two sons, John lord of Litleham after him, and Giles lord of Rockebere. This last John had issue by his wife Joane, one of the daughters and heir of Roger Daune of Norton Dawney, by his wife Julian, the only daughter and heir of Widdibere of Widdibere, alias Woodbere in Devonshire, only two daughters, who carried away his estate to the two familys of Hillarsdon of Memland and Giffard of Theuborough. Giles the younger brother of John lord of Rockbere was ancestor to Charles Churchill of Rochebere, who marying the only daughter and heire of Wildyurde of Wildyurde in the aforesaid county of Devon, had issue Thomas, who maryed the daughter and heire of Tylle of Tyle house, by whom he had three sons ; William from whome disceded Churchill of Corton in Dorsetshire whose estate is since passed away by two daughters to the familys of Williams and Mohun ; John, who was ancestor of the present Churchills of Munston, and Roger, who by the daughter of Peverell of Bradford Peverell, relict of Nicholas Meggs, had issue Mathew, father of Jaspar my grandfather, who by Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Chaplet of Herringston, had issue John my father, who by Sarah

one of the daughters and co-heires of Sir Henry Winston of Standish in the county of Gloster, had issue John my elder brother, who dyed presently after his birth and myselfe who by my wife Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir John Drake of Ashe, have had a plentiful issue; to wit, eight sons and three daughters, my eldest daughter and the only daughter now living was Arabella, now wife of Colonel Charles Godfry: my eldest son is the present Lord Churchill who has marryd Sarah one of the daughters and co-heires of Richard Jennings of St. Albans, the unfortunate looser of the mannor of Churchill, which is now to be sold, but my son being disappointed of having it given to him as Sir John Churchill allways did promise him, refuses to buy it."

The EARL OF CLARENDON to the DUKE OF ———.

1688, April 17.—I here send your Grace Dr. Burnet's two papers upon the *Parliamentum Pacificum*, Mons. Fagell's letter to Mons. d'Albeville on the same subject and a pamphlet entitled "The way to Peace amongst Protestants." I doubt not but your Grace knows that Peter Walsh died last month. About two days before his death, that his excommunication might be taken off, he was prevailed with to sign (as the Popish priests call it) a Retraction, a copy whereof I enclose. The original is in Ginetti's hand, an Italian secular priest who lives with the Nuncio.

J[OHN] LOCKE to his "sister" ANN GRIGG, at Mr. Binks's, Limmington.

[16]88-9, March 16. London.—"Now I am come to England . . . I find I want still two things very dear to me, that is you and my health. The want of your company disturbs me constantly, my cough by intervals. . . . I hope it will not be long, (now the great ditch is no longer between us), before we shall meet. . . .

*Postscript.*—"I expect to hear from you some pleasing news of your son. I lodge at Dr. Goodall's at the College of Physicians in Warwick Lane. [*A copy of this letter was sent to Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, when he was writing his Life of Locke, and is printed by him in extenso* (vol. ii., p. 149), *but without the address, and with one slight error, viz., "to lodge" instead of "I lodge" in the postscript.*]

PRINCESS ANNE to her brother[in-law], KING WILLIAM III.

[1694], December 29. Berkeley House.—"Sir, I beg your Majesty's favourable acceptance of my sincere and harty sorrow for your great affliction in the loss of the Queen, and I do asure your Majesty I am as sensibly touched with this sad misfortune as if I had never bin so unhappy as to have fallen into her displeasure. It is my earnest desire your Majesty would give me leave to waite upon you as soon as it can be without inconvenience to you and without danger of encreasing your affliction, that I may have an oportunity myself not only of repeating this but of asureing your Majesty of my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving you



constant proofs of my sincere respect and concern for your person and interest, as becomes your Majesty's most affectionat sister and servant Anne." *Holograph.*

*Addressed.*—"To the King."

*Printed in* "An Account of the conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough," p. 108.

*Endorsed* :—"This letter was given me by my dear son the Duke of Portland, Dec. 1, 1739. He found it among his grandfather's papers."

SIR CLOWDESLEY SHOVELL to JOHN CONY, Mayor of Rochester.

[16]95, December 18. London.—"Father Cony, Inclosed com yesterday's votes. What I have further to add is that Capt. Jennings was just now with me and we heartily dranke your good health, and prosperity to your corporation. He informs me you are at worke a finishing the Town hall and that it will exceed what I thought it would cost finishing by thirty or forty pound; but I have so great an inclination to doe any thing that may add to the beauty or convenientey or good of the City of Rochester that I reedily consent to pay the above said additionall charge, assuring father Cony that your commands shall always be an instruction to, dear Sir, your most humble servant."

*Postscript.*—"I hear at London but hope tis not true that the vessel Sir Joseph Williamson was coming from Ireland in is cast away." *Franked by himself.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[16]96, September 14. London.—I have your kind letter of the 12th instant, and first I doe assure you the present scarcity of mony was one reason I did not pay for the whole finishing the new hall, for be assured I have more occation and greater scarsety of mony then ever since I knew mony.

"I am sattisfyed your hall is finely finished and did expect that Sir Joseph Williamson had been a benefactor, nothing apearing to the contrary that I saw.

"Sir, I am now upon a sudden vovage, and cannot possible be at any further expence at present, but be assured at my return, which I suppose will not be above seven mounths, I will doe any thing that father Cony shall thinke fitting or reasonable. In the meantime believe me, dear father, your faithfull servant."

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to DR. CONEY.

1696-7, January 5. Whitehall.—Asking for payment of money due to John Dann, one of Every the pirate's crew, but who had been pardoned.

DR. FRANCIS ATTERBURY to DR. HICKS at his house near the Lamp in King Street, Bloomsbury.

[1700 ?] Chelsea, Tuesday morning.—"These, Sir,\* are the

\*At the top of the page are references to notes upon Charters, evidently from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, published in 1691.

passages in Mr. Wharton's book relating to the charters of Ingulphus, which I yesterday spoke of.

"There is a little affair which I intended to have mentioned to you yesterday, had not Mr. Laughton's coming in prevented me. Mr. Wagstaff has some papers of Archbishop Laud in his hands in order to write a preface before them. They were in my hands, but I gave 'em up to the bookseller, in order to be put into his, for that purpose. When I parted with 'em, I retained some MSS. minutes of some Acts of Convocation, which the booksellers had resolved not to print (and which indeed are not worth printing) but which may be useful to me in what I am about. I have told Knaplock (one of the undertakers) of it, and have his leave to keep the papers, and would be glad therefore that Mr. Wagstaff's curiosity would not lead him to desire that these too may be put into his hands, and will beg your interposition with him on that account . . . I am to be visited today by Mr. K., whom I will sound to the bottom. If he helps the other side, he acts a double part." [*The postmark appears to be April 2. If so, the year must be either 1695 or 1700.*]

LORD COLERAINE to PETER LE NEVE, at his house in the Herald's Office.

1701-2, March 14.—Asking whether the Earl Marshal's order means that all Lords in town and country are to put their coaches and liveries in mourning, or only such "as are and were of his late Majesty's or now of the Queen's household and Council &c."

*Endorsed*:—"Answered affirmatively."

#### The MINT.

1702-4.—Total of the Gold and Silver coined from the 1st March 1701-2 to the 30th April 1704.

Gold 2,066 pounds, 2 ounces. Silver 4,839 pounds, 6 ounces.  
*Signed by Sir Isaac Newton.*

SIR JOHN SHADWELL to LORD —.

[1704,] September 19.—"I had pay'd my respects to your Lordship before but that I wanted an excuse for interrupting the happy houres your Lordship spends at Bath, nor have I indeed got one now, but that I chose rather to appear impertinent than not to give it under my hand how much I am your Lordship's. I long to heare what a campagne your Lordship has made in this victorious yeare. I hope my Lord you will not be idle, but in this your Lordship's success must differ from our late ones, whereas the buisiness of our generals has been to conquer, your Lordship's is to yield, and instead of giving others chains you my Lord must weare them yourself. This last week has made Mr. Bertie the happiest man in the world in the arms of Mrs. Norbonne.\* I had the honour to sup with them the second night at the father's and had much to

\* Charles, only son of Charles Bertie of Uffington (youngest son of Montagu, Earl of Lindsey), married Mary, daughter and heir of John Norburne.



do to escape the charms of the bride. Had your Lordship been there, as phlegmatick as you are, your buisness had been done (I dont meane as the Ladies was) for had one had the least tinder about one it had certainly taken fire. The old gentleman was very pleasant the first night in bidding his son not disgrace the battering rams of his family, which had always hitherto maintained their reputation. Whether the bridegroom obeyed him or no we must leave to the young Lady to decide.

"My Lord Marleborough takes care to supplie us still with good newes, but some people are very ill natured to Sir George Rooke, with what reason I know not, and there is hardly a coffee house where his battle is not fought over againe, and 'tis believed by all the accounts we recieve that we never had more occasion for a day of thanksgiving not for a victory but an escape.

"I beg my humble service to the good company of my acquaintance, the Ladies I meane, whom I suppose your Lordship favours some times."

SIR CLOWDESLEY SHOVELL to ROBERT HARLEY, Principal Secretary of State.

1705, May 10.—"The bearer is the gentleman that hath given me great satisfaction of the imitating of hands and seals, and will demonstrate there is a way to prevent it. There is other matters of greater consequence and stranger in their natures which will be discovered to you when her Majesty's pardon and reward shall be resolved on and given."

JOHN JACOB PAULI to QUEEN ANNE.

[1706, December 29—] 1707, January 9. Amsterdam.—Ventures at this Christmas season to offer her his most humble duty, with earnest prayers that God may grant her peace and happiness ("Friede und Freude") in this new year.

Prays her to forgive his boldness in writing to her, which proceeds only from a knowledge of her queenly love and affection, and from his own present needs, and begs her to help him with a sum of money ("mit einer gewissen Somma"), which request he is the more emboldened to make as God has imparted to him this wisdom of Solomon that those who apply to her shall not do so in vain. As her Majesty has negotiations with Messrs. Abraham Dacoita, Teixerra and Isaac and George Clifforthe, the remittance might most easily be made through them.

*Postscript.*—Letters from Leipzig say that King Augustus's affairs go on well. *German.*

*Addresses.*—"Pour Madame, Madame Anna, Reyne d'Angleterre, a propre l'ouverture, a Kennsinngton ou Winndasor. *Citissimè.*"  
*Seal of arms with coronet.*

THOMAS HEARNE to [JOHN] BAGFORD.

1709, May 28. Oxford.—"I cannot but highly commend your industry, in being so inquisitive into the life and writings of Jeffry

Chaucer, the Prince of our English poets. . . . Would others but imitate your diligence, wee should understand this excellent poet much better than wee do, and be able to give a far more correct edition of him than has hitherto appeared. Such an undertaking will derive great honour upon those that shall engage in it, and will be gratefully received by all true scholars and antiquaries. For Chaucer was not only an excellent poet, but was admirably well versed in most parts of learning ; and besides his profound learning, he was a compleat gentleman, and skilled in all the arts of addresse. These qualifications made him beloved and honoured, and his conversation and acquaintance were courted by the greatest personages, insomuch that he was sent ambassadour into foreign parts, where he came off with as much applause as he did in any of his performances in his own native country. This does not seem to be at all oweing to his birth, his father, notwithstanding wealthy, being in all probability only a merchant ; though I know that Leland, who is followed by Bale, tells us that he was *nobili loco natus*, which seems to be a mistake, there being no evidence now remaining of such an assertion, unlesse it be that from the Roll of Battle Abbey we learn that the Chaucers came with the Conqueror into England, and that Pitts tells us that his father was a Knight. Nor are wee uncertain only as to his ancestors and his quality, but there are a great many other particulars relating to him which at present wee know nothing of, which I am persuaded wee might be satisfied in by a diligent search into antient records." [Here follow seven pages concerning the various texts and editors of Chaucer's works.]

JOHN TALMAN to his father, WILLIAM TALMAN, to be left with Mr. Apprice in Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.

1711, [? May 27-] June 6. Rome.—“Last Monday I had an entertainment which is the talk of the town. In a scene in one of the rooms was a compliment to Cardinal Ottoboni and the Pope, who both know of it ; the Cardinal sent the next day one of his chamberlains to thank me ; I had the best musick in Rome composed on purpose, and a poem of above four hundred verses composed for this occasion in praise of arts and commending sevrall persons there present, who were all the top virtuosi in Rome both for learning and arts. There was the chief painter, architect, sculptor, medalist, &c. in Rome, with some of the most eminent persons for learning. The Prince of the Academy was my Lord Cornbury. There were in all four rooms adorned ; the first table which had sixteen persons was covered all over with sweet flowers forming a fine foldage with my Lord's arms in the midst with sevrall other compliments all in flowers ; the room was full of scenes illuminated and hung with festones of myrtle and flowers. Round the room were twelve heads painted representing Vitruvius, Fabius the painter, Glycon the sculptor ; opposite were Palladio, Rafael and Bonarota ; on another side Inigo Jones, Fuller and Pierce ; at the upper part were Horace the poet, Rossius the comedian and Ismenia a singer, with abundance of mottos in Latin and Italian &c. When the company had observed all they retired into another



room where they were entertained with fine musick. In the mean time the plan of flowers was taken away and a fine triumph set on the table with all sorts of sweetmeats, and the hot meats all round, evry dish having variety of ornaments about it; all things being ready the company sate down at two tables near twenty-six, besides many in my bed chamber, the whole number with attendants was forty-three. At the end of the hot supper I drank to my Lord a health to arts in the famous liquor of Hypocrass, which was in a flask finely adorned with festones and gilding; each helped himself, during which a famous English trumpet sounded a soft air; then one at the lower end of the table began the Queen's health to my Lord in richly perfumed Rosoli during which the trumpet sounded a martial air, then the poet desired his Lordship (who was then called the Prince of the Academy) to retire into the next room to hear his composition in praise of arts, which ended there was a symphony of musick and singing, then the trumpet sounded in my bed chamber, at which all went that way where they saw at the end of a walk of cyprus trees a fine picture representing all the arts &c. with proper mottos; it was illuminated with forty lamps; from hence they went into the former room where the table was covered anew with all sorts of fruit and sweetmeats both dry and wet with a triumph in evry dish, on each plate was also a triumph, and in the middle three large triumphs in praise of England adorned with painted figures; the side board was adorned with painted figures, dishes and vases; nor were there wanting silver dishes wrought with history with other curiosities; there were above eighty plates and dishes of silver. Abundance of particulars I leave out because I intend to have it all drawn in proper colours and I shall make an exact description; this entertainment cost me 15*l. sterling*. I do not ask to be paid extraordinary, but if you please to send me 20*l.* free of exchange Ile make an other when I leave Rome next April which shall be ten times finer. Evry body was mightily pleased, they stayed [with] me eight hours till broad day and drank above fifty [torn] flasks, there were eight sorts of wines."

*Postscript.*—"Three parcels of drawings are on the road. Just now the Cardinal sent his chamberlain to carry away the drawing of the scene for him to see it."

CAROLINE [PRINCESS OF WALES] to the DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, at Bath.

1716, August 20-30. Hampton Court (Hamthancour).—"J'ay receu ma chere duchesse avec 'beaucoup de jois votre obligeante lettre, et suis ravie de voire que les aux on desja fait un sy bon cemenement. Le Duc de St. Albans écrit à la Duchesse que vous allé souvan à la comedy. Vous voules Madame savoir l'estat de ma santé qui et Dieu mercy tres bonne mais tres grosse et je vous paraiterais une boulle à votre retour que j'espere sera en parfaite santé, ce qui fera beaucoup de plaisir à celle qui vous aime tant que Caroline."

*Addressed.*—"Pour Madame la Duchesse de Moresbury a Bath."

## WHITLOCKE BULSTRODE to PETER LE NEVE.

1720, October 19.—I know your curiosity would lead you, when in the Chamberlain's Office, to make notes of anything worthy of observation. "I want to know what grant was made by any of the Kings of England to the Priory or Friary of Hounslow in Middlesex. I am to show that they had the grant of felons' goods, waites (*sic*) and straiies. I finde the manor with the appurtenances and all herediments that the Priory had, or were belonging to the manor, with waites and straiies, were granted to the Lord Windsor in 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, but do not find the express words of felons' goods, but yet if the Priory had it, the general words will pass it." I think some evidence may be found in the Chamberlain's Office, but "the Records are ill kept, and tis looking for a needle in a bottle of haye without your help." I am in haste to know it, as there may be a trial about it next term. Mr. Bound, your agent (at whose chamber I now am seeking for you), will look for what I want, if you will direct him.

"The King I heare is come to Holland, in the way to England, and is expected here next Saturday, for the miscarriage of the South Sea has sunk all credit both at home and abroad, and theres a proclamation coming forth for the sitting of the Parliament sooner than was intended."

*Addressed* :—"To Peter Le Neve Esq., Norroy King at Arms at Great Witchingham, in Norfolk."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered Sunday night, 23 of October."

## CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to the DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

[1722, June].—"Je vien d'aprandre la plus triste chose du monde. Je ne vous parle pas ma chere Duchesse de la perte que nous faisons, je ne sens que la votre que me douche vivement. Il n'y a qu'un Dieu plain de misericorde qui nous puise soudenir dans de telle cruelle malheur ; et l'esperance de savoir heureuse ceux qui on[t] fait le bonheur de notre vie, ce que les merites de Milord Duc et sa veritable religion luy ont procure, il y aura un tems ou vous le rejoinderais et ou vous melleres vos louanges pour ce grand Dieu plain de misericorde avec le mari qui a fait la satisfaction de votre vie. Celle que vous aurais a passer dans c'estte triste et miserable vie sera j'espere avec moy, qui me ferai un devoir avec jois de vous soulager, de vous assister, et de vous tenir lieu de la meilleur amie qui sera prette au toute occasion a vous marquer combien je suis tres tendrement a vous, Caroline."

"Le Prince n'est pas moin afligé que moy et vous prie Madame d'estre tres persuadeé que vous trouverais toujours au luy un fidelle amie. Sy je ne vous incomode pas je vienderais avec satisfaction pour vous assister." *Holograph*.

## M. LE COURAYER to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1730, June 11. London.—Sending him a memorandum, and apologising for its being in Latin, as he cannot translate it into English. Believes that what he left with him is in his Grace's copy



of Parker's *Antiquities*. Regrets to hear of Miss Linch's accident, and sends respects and thanks to Dr. and Mrs. Linch, and also to "my lady" and Mrs. Seymer. *French*.

LORD PAGETT to KING GEORGE II.

1736, May 18.—Apologising for not waiting upon his Majesty in consequence of his bad health; thanking him for his kind indulgence in bearing with his non-attendance and doing him the justice to impute it to his misfortune rather than his fault; and begging to be allowed to resign his office, a step which he has only deferred so long in the hope that restored health might have made him as able as he is willing to serve his Majesty.

J[AMES] WEST to HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF OXFORD.

1753, March 19. London.—"I have the honour of your Ladyship's letter in relation to the Bill for enclosing Hexham Common, and will consult Mr. Harley to act in the properest manner for your Ladyship's interest, which is the only view I have ever had in acting in the Trust.

"This day came on in the House of Commons the providing for the curiosities left to the publick by Sir Hans Sloane, and among other things the providing for the Cottonian library, when Mr. Pelham and the Speaker both spoke in great commendation of the Harleian manuscripts and seemed to express a desire that the publick might have them, if they could be purchased for 10,000*l*. This I thought it my duty instantly to acquaint your Ladyship with, that if it should be your pleasure to part with them for that sum, no time might be lost in striking the bargain. If your Ladyship inclines not to part with them, you will please to let me know; if at a higher price, you will also let me know, or if to accept of that sum to be paid without deduction on the delivery of the manuscripts, you will let me know; for as the Parliament draws to a conclusion it is necessary to come to a determination. It is surmized that many manuscripts have come to hurt by damp and for want of fire to air them." *Seal of arms*.

R[OBERT DRUMMOND], BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH to his aunt HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF OXFORD, at Welbeck.

1753, March 20. Dartmouth Street.—"I cannot omitt letting your Ladyship know that, in debating about Sir Hans Sloane's collection being bought by the public yesterday in the House of Commons, mention was made of a desire to buy your Ladyship's collection of manuscripts. Mr. Pelham and the speaker both spoke with great regard and deference, not knowing whether you was inclined to sell them. The collection itself would, no doubt, be of great service being kept together and for public use, and the honour of it would remain with the name. At the same time your Ladyship must consult your own inclination, whether you are disposed to part with it, and for what sum. If you have any commands relating

to this, that I can obey, you will please to send them to me and they shall be obeyed.

By the manuscripts I do not comprehend those papers and letters of my grandfather's which are I believe all at Wellbeck ; but the manuscripts only that are in town."

HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF OXFORD to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1753, March 24. Welbeck.—"My most dear daughter, I send you two letters I received on Thursday last, and desire the Duke and you to consider what answer is best to return.

"If to sell them, I think twenty thousand pounds should be the lowest price to ask. I am not able to judge, therefore intirely depend on the Duke's and your determination, and I do not intend to answer either of the letters, and depend on you and the Duke to speake to them.

"If you think that money cannot be got, I leave it to you to make the best bargain you can for me. What you do, I shall acquiese in. And send me down an authority drawn by Mr. Harley's orders for me to signe, to impower the Duke and you to act and conclude. I am, my dearest, your very affectionate mother and faithfull freind, H. Cavendishe Holles Oxford.

The DUCHESS OF PORTLAND to ARTHUR ONSLOW, SPEAKER of the HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1753, April 3.—"As soon as I was acquainted with the proposal you had made in the House in relation to my father's collection of manuscripts I informed my mother of it, who has given the Duke of Portland and me full power to do therein as we shall think fit. Though I am told the expence of collecting them was immense and that if they were to be dispersed they would probably sell for a great deal of money, yet as a sum has been named and as I know it was my father's and is my mother's intention that they should be kept together, I will not bargain with the publick. I give you this trouble therefore to acquaint you that I am ready to accept of your proposal upon condition that this great and valuable collection shall be kept together in a proper repository as an addition to the Cotton library and be called by the name of the Harleian collection of manuscripts. I hope you do me the justice to believe that I do not consider this as a sale for an adequate price but \*your idea is so right and so agreeable to what I know was my father's intention that I have a particular satisfaction in contributing all I can to facilitate the success of it."\*

*Draft, much corrected. The passage \*——\* is inserted instead of the following :—*"My grandfather and father collected them for the use of the publick ; while my father lived, he freely permtised every man to have access to them, and therefore I have a particular satisfaction in facilitating any expedient which will preserve so rare and valuable a collection, peculiar to the history of Antiquities and Constitution of Great Britain, for ever for the publick use."

*Also—Fair copy of the same.*



LADY M[ARY] W[ORTLEY] MONTAGU to HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF OXFORD, in Dover Street, London, Angleterre.

1753, June 1. New Style.—“I received your Ladyship’s obliging letter of April 14th this morning. It brought me the most sensible joy I am capable of receiving, delivering me from the long uneasiness I have suffered in my fear of your health. I find the post has been very unjust to me, or perhaps my own servants, being twenty-five mile from any post town, I believe they sometimes save themselves the trouble of going when I send them, and throw away my letters, by which they also put the franking in their pockets. Be assured I should think mysele the most worthless of human creatures, could I ever be wanting in the testimonys of my inviolable attachment and sincere gratitude for your generous unmerited freindship; our correspondence is the comfort of my life, I am yours by every tye that can bind a reasonable mind, I beg you would never think it possible for me to be guilty of a neglect in regard to your Ladyship; if it was in my power I would never be from Welbeck, and should think my whole life happily employed could I in any degree contribute to the ease of yours. These are castles I must not indulge, least I murmur too much against that destiny which confines me at so great a distance from that only freind in whom I never saw any thing, but what was worthy the highest esteem, and who never gave me the least reason of complaint. Depend upon it is impossible for any one to have a juster sense of your value, or to be fonder of giving every proofe of it.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1753, July 23. New Style.—“Tho’ I wrote to your Ladiship not long since, to which I have yet had no answer, I do not fear being thought impertinent by troubling you with a second, I am so fully persuaded of your partial friendship to me, I believe my imagined silence gave you some pain, and am resolved never to leave you in any doubt of the tender and inviolable attachment I have for you; if one assurance of it amongst many, reaches you, I am paid for my writeing, and my time can never be so well spent as in endeavouring to give you proofes of it. My daughter never told me of your Ladiship’s kind enquiry, it would have saved me much concern, but she has so much employment both at home and abroad, I do not wonder at her forgettfullness.

“My constant prayers are for your health, which is certainly precious to all that knew you.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1754, March 1.—“I owe your Ladiship many thanks for the honor of your obliging letter of September 22, I have waited long for it, being come to my hands but yesterday, but I received so much pleasure from your account of your health and happiness, that it has paid me the pain of expectation, you cannot have more prosperity than you deserve, yet it must be confessed an unusual blessing, to see two generations answer the wishes of a parent. I am much obliged to the Duke and Dutchess of Portland, for remembering

me ; their just behaviour to you, gives me the highest esteem for them, no mother can have a better right to a return of filial affection, than yoursele ; but this world is so often unjust, it is no common merit, when people perform their duty. I should be greatly defective in mine, if I could be ungratefull to so many proofes of freindship, as I have received from your Ladships goodness, or omit any occasion of professing myself" your most faithfully devoted servant.

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU to HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF OXFORD.

1754, July 10. New Style. Louvere.—“ I should have sooner return'd my thanks for your Ladyship's obliging letter, if I had not been so ill, I was unable to do anything. I am now at this place by the doctors orders, and the waters and air have so far recovered my health, I have reason to hope the perfect re-establishment of it. I am much in pain about yours, I wish your Ladyship here on many accounts, but realy cheiffly to be some time under the care of this physician. I have seen so many wonderfull cures by his skill (besides my own) I should expect he might be usefull to you, and cannot help desiring you would send your case.

“ I know not how to mend the direction I gave your Ladship, though I am sensible there is a great difference between the care of Sir J. Gray and him I am now forced to employ. Sir James is long since returned to England to my great sorrow, though I never saw him, he was in the civilest manner attentive to every thing that concerned me. I rejoice in the prosperity of your Ladship's family, what ever contributes to your happiness is dear to me. My daughter tells me Lady Pomfret is a widow, but not in what circumstances, and the Duke of K[ingston] is again engaged in a persuit that cannot do him much honor.

“ I believe I lose the sight of many disagreeable things by my retirement, but I want your conversation which will ever be sensibly regretted.”

J[AME\$] WEST to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1763, February 20. Covent Garden.—“ The catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts is now printed and near publication in two large folio volumes, and the Trustees of the British Museum think it would be a very great embellishment to that work if the prints of the two Earls of Oxford, the great collectors of that invaluable treasure, were prefixed to the book, as these were engraved by Mr. Vertue at Lady Oxford's expense for the book she ordered to be compiled of your Grace's family. If your Grace would permit some impressions to be taken off, the plates would be returned to your Grace with the thanks of the Trustees and of the public. I flatter myself your Grace will forgive an old friend of your Father's for this importunity.”

PRINCESS AMELIA to the DUCHESS DOWAGER OF PORTLAND.

1772, September 15. Gunnersbury.—“ Your attention, my dear Duchess, in inquiring after me requires me to return you my thanks



myself and thanking you for the very agreeable day I pass'd yesterday with you. My only fear is your having suffer'd from all your attentions for me ; being your very sincere friend, Amelia."

*Holograph. Seal with the Royal arms.*

DAVID GARRICK to the DUCHESS DOWAGER OF PORTLAND.

No date. Bulstrode, Saturday, 3 o'clock.—" Mr. Garrick presents his respects to the Duchess of Portland, and could not leave her Grace's Paradise without obeying her commands.

" All at breakfast with heavy hearts, and as melancholy as the weather."

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## INTRODUCTION.

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Hitherto the world has known little of Matthew Prior save as a man of letters ; for as to the serious business of his life it was vain to seek for enlightenment in the misty account of his negotiations compiled by his executor Adrian Drift (2nd ed. 1740). This lack the present volume in some measure supplies ; for, though it contains no state paper relating to the Treaty of Utrecht, it illustrates every phase of the earlier period in which, as successively Secretary to the Embassy and Minister *ad interim* at The Hague, 1693-7, Secretary to the Embassy at the Congress of Ryswick, 1697, and, finally, Secretary to the Embassy and Minister *ad interim* at Paris, 1698-99, Prior served his apprenticeship in the mystery of diplomacy. It contains, moreover, a "Journal of the Proceedings at Ryswick, 1697," drawn up under his personal supervision, which, with the subjoined Memoirs and the relevant correspondence, furnishes material for a clear and consecutive narrative of the entire negotiation from the first overtures of the French to the ratification of the treaty.

How far, then, it may be asked, do these papers elucidate the inner history of the treaty, and in particular how far do they serve to explain the immense concessions made by the French ? In 1695 France had lost in Marshal Luxembourg her ablest general, and had good reason to be dismayed by the fall of Namur, but her position was still by no means desperate. It would have required more sieges, no little time, and much hard fighting to compel her to evacuate the Netherlands. Her financial straits were extreme, but those of the Allies were probably not less so, and the separate peace with Savoy (1696) enabled her to effect a considerable economy, and concentrate her forces where they could operate with most effect, on the Rhine and the Spanish seaboard. Her overtures for peace on the basis of the treaties of Westphalia and Nymegen therefore took the world by surprise, the more so as notwithstanding Callières' "*beau mot*, that we must make a peace on all sides, for we cannot make a war," lack of funds did not prevent the raising of recruits (p. 90, *infra*). Prior, however, was at first sanguine as to the result of the negotiation. "The success of the whole affair," he wrote, Nov. 2, N.S., 1696, "will depend upon the resolutions of our Parliament. France will certainly give more or less in the treaty as the people of England will proportionally give towards carrying on the war in case those offers miscarry ; and however great our poverty is, we must hide it,



if possible, from the enemy" (p. 93, *infra*).\* Nevertheless he was soon discouraged by the slow progress made towards the adjustment of preliminaries, which indeed was not effected until Jan. 1697. Their substance was the retrocession of Strassburg, Luxemburg and Dinant in the state in which they were taken, of Mons and Charleroi as they were at the date of the preliminaries, and of Lorraine as it was at the date of the Treaty of Nymegen, and the annulment of all reunions (*i.e.* annexations effected by chicane) made since that treaty (p. 101, *infra*).

Notwithstanding the settlement of the preliminaries, there was still a great deal of discussion (the Imperialists being disposed to haggle over everything, and the French to await the reduction of Barcelona) before the Congress could assemble at Ryswick (May), or the real work of negotiation begin; and by that time King William entertained such grave doubts of the good faith of the French that in default of express assurances on that head he was prepared to withdraw from the Congress. "His Majesty," wrote Prior, July 21-31, "with the greatest wisdom and calmness has let the French plainly understand that he will have peace or war, and does not think it expedient to protract a negotiation here which can be no way advantageous to his affairs or those of the Allies in general; and I believe this declaration will do more towards the procuring a speedy peace than all the *factums* and musty papers which can be given in to and transmitted by the Mediator here" (p. 142, *infra*).

This prognostic proved to be accurate: the subsequent course of the negotiations was comparatively smooth, and

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\* Some interesting matter relating to the financial crisis of 1696 will be found on pp. 79-82, *infra*. Prior, whose pay at that time was only 1*l.* per day with an allowance for "reasonable extraordinaries" felt the pinch sorely, and wrote piteously to Charles Montagu:—"My tallies I cannot sell under thirty per cent. loss; my aunt will not send me one farthing; the chain and medal the States gave me is at pawn; I have but two pistoles in the house or (to say plainly) in the world, and I have every morning a *levée* (God be thanked for the respite of Sunday) of postmen, stationers, tailors, cooks and wine-merchants who have not been paid since last December" (p. 86, *infra*).

Later on he wrote to Richard Powys, of the Treasury:—"Tallies at 45 per cent. may make a man mad, especially if he has but 20*s.* per day, but the wood, I hope, will sell better, and the allowance be augmented in some time."  
 . . . . . "Some miracle may possibly mollify the hearts of the Treasury that we may get a little ready money for these bills and the ordinary appointments. Who knows? We should do well, I think, to try it, though I am ashamed to ask Mr. Montague anything when I fear to put him upon the hardship of refusing me" (p. 95, *infra*).

To which Powys drily replied:—"It must be a miracle indeed, as you say, if our Treasury give you ready money, for I can assure you our condition is such at present that there is not sixpence of disposable money, all that is in the Exchequer being either appropriated for the war or repayment of loans" (p. 97, *infra*).

Prior's means were eventually augmented, in a manner characteristic of the age, from the Irish establishment by his appointment to the office of Chief Secretary to the Lords Justices, which he held as a sinecure, the duties being discharged by a subordinate (pp. 117, 120, 126-129). This unsatisfactory arrangement, which naturally led to a dispute as to the division of the emoluments, the Lords Justices would have terminated by dismissing Prior, but his influence at Court proved strong enough to secure his retention of the place (pp. 144-5, 186, 211, 266-8, 280, 283, 300, 310, 367, 375-8).

on Sept. 20, N.S., 1697, the treaty was signed with no other concession to France than the renunciation (not without compensation) of the claim to Strassburg.

There is nothing in the papers to explain so almost total a surrender of the fruits of so many years of fighting and chicane, unless we may accept Prior's statement that Madame de Maintenon was the real peacemaker. "Madam Maintenon," he writes from Paris, April 10, N.S., 1698, "is our friend and will keep the Peace, if possible, *as she made it*, not out of any kindness she has to us, but from a notion that the King's engaging in business impairs his health. 'Tis incredible the power that woman has; everything goes through her hands, and Diana made much a less figure at Ephesus. Her niece had t'other day in money and jewels with the Duke de Noailles' son a better fortune than a daughter of France had formerly; and the aunt received the visits of the Court upon it in bed, it being concerted that the Duchess of Burgundy should have a chair set her and refuse to sit, excusing herself upon the shortness of her visit, and that, the Duchess not sitting, the other ladies and princesses could not pretend to it" (pp. 204-5, *infra*). Again, April 24, N.S., 1698, he writes:—

"The King particularly has no mind to enter into a new war, and Madame Maintenon (our good friend) increases that pacific humour in him by telling him that all business is destructive to his health. He is so attentive to this doctrine that he has said, if the King of Spain dies, he leaves the succession to be determined by the Council, whose determination he will not oppose by way of arms, except they give it to the Emperor's second son. In the meantime Madam Maintenon governs him as absolutely as Roxalana did Solymán. He lives at Marly like an Eastern Monarch making water-works and planting melons, and leaves his bashas to ruin the land, provided they are constant in bringing in their tribute" (p. 208, *infra*).

These letters from Paris are in a literary sense the cream of the collection, for with little else to do than to record his impressions and report the gossip and scandal of the hour, Prior could hardly fail to be entertaining; and he is never more entertaining than when he writes in French. How excellent is his characterisation of Louis XIV. in his letter to Albemarle of March 1, N.S., 1698:—

"Le Roy a beaucoup de santé pour un homme de soixante ans et plus de vanité qu'une fille de seize. On n'a qu'à voir sa maison pour en mépriser souverainement le maître; bas-relief, fresco, tableaux, tous représente Louis le Grand, et cela d'une manière si grossière que le Czar y trouveroit à redire. Il ne sçauroit cracher dans aucun coin de ses appartements sans voir sa propre figure ou celle de son lieutenant le Soleil, et sans se trouver Héros et Demidieu en peinture" (p. 195, *infra*).



Nor does Prior fail to record in sufficiently caustic terms his opinion of the King's ministers, puppets like their master in the hand of the Maintenon :—" Pontchartrain est universellement décrié comme qui l'entend les finances le moins et qui ruinera le plustôt. Torsi n'a point de génie : tout son mérite est d'être né Colbert, et d'avoir épousé la fille de Pomponne. Ce dernier a la réputation d'honnête homme, et il est reconnu pour le premier ministre après la Maintenon (cela s'entend toujours). C'est prodigieux que le pouvoir de cette vieille gouvernante sur l'esprit de son pupil royal de soixante. Il n'ose rien faire sans elle ni luy refuser tout ce qu'elle veut. Il y a quelques jours qu'un petit employ fut donné par l'intercession de Mons. de Torsi à un de ses amis : l'ordre étoit dépêché, et l'affaire comme faite : un autre s'adressa plus heureusement à la Maintenon : elle envoie sur le champ un valet seulement au secrétaire, et dans un quart d'heure tout estoit changé : la première commission estoit anéantie et une autre présentée au Roy pour être signée en faveur du dernier suppliant " (p. 201, *infra*).

Nor can we omit the following admirable piece of persiflage :—

" Nous revinmes hier de Versailles, et fûmes l'autre jour dans les jardins avec le Roy, qui promena my Lord par tout. Si c'étoit un compliment fait à my Lord par Sa Majesté ou une ostentation de sa propre grandeur, qu'importe il ? Elle fit sçavoir à son Excellence qu'elle avoit inventé et ordonné tout, qu'elle en avoit dressé les plans, mis en diverses rencontres les architectes à la raison, et à force de dire cecy souvent sans avoir été contredit, à la fin je pense qu'elle commence à le croire. Monsieur étoit obligé de confirmer tout ce que son grand frère disoit, et une demi-douzaine de cordons-bleu y faisoit le chorus, et faisoit remarquer à nous autres combien *gracieux* étoit leur Roy chaque fois qu'il fit à quelqu'un de nous autres la moindre inclination de tête. *Gracieux*, par parenthèse, est le mot à la mode : un homme est *gracieux*, c'est à dire honnête ; une femme est *gracieuse*, belle ; on chante, on mange et on joue *gracieusement* " (p. 212, *infra*).

During his residence at Paris, the exiles at St. Germain's of course engrossed a great deal of Prior's attention. The favour shewn them at the French Court, their evident hopes of a speedy restoration, half amused, half alarmed him ; and he was at infinite pains to fathom their supposed designs, and sent regular reports to Secretary Vernon of such information as he received from various correspondents who professed to be in the secrets of the Jacobites. It is evident from the correspondence that neither Prior nor Vernon attached undue importance to these communications. Prior, writing to Lord Jersey, June 24, N.S., 1699, describes the principal correspondent as follows :—" Brocard, as we call him, is Tr . . . an

Irishman encouraged by Mr. Vernon ; his pretended business is merchandise of English things, as stockings, hats, etc., under which notion he gives our friends at St. Germain an account of things in England ; he is well with them, and particularly with my Lord Middleton's party. It was this man that amused us all last winter with a story of a fellow sent into England by Frank Stafford ; however, though he has not been very useful, he may be so : he costs us between two and three hundred pounds per year " (p. 360, *infra*. Cf. pp. 274-5, *infra*). The rogue was soon afterwards " found out, and was ordered to leave St. Germain " (p. 378, *infra*).

The style in which Prior writes of the late King and Queen is regrettably harsh, not to say, brutal. He has no pity for fallen greatness, and notes with evident exultation the old and worn appearance and stooping gait of King James, adding, " the Queen looks ill and melancholy ; their equipage is mighty ragged, and their horses are all as lean as Sancho's " (p. 257, *infra*). And in another letter he writes :—

" I faced old James and all his Court the other day at St. Cloud. *Vive Guillaume !* you never saw such a strange figure as the old bully is, lean, worn and riv'led, not unlike Neal the projector ; the Queen looks very melancholy, but otherwise well enough ; their equipages are all very ragged and contemptible " (p. 259, *infra*).

Nevertheless he strongly deprecated the meanness of withholding from the Queen her stipulated pension. " Do we intend, my dear Master," he wrote to Montagu (p. 260, *infra*), " to give her the fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, or no ? If we do not, I (or rather my Lord Jersey now) should be furnished with chicaning answers when we are pressed upon that point, for it was fairly promised, that is certain ; if we do, the giving it openly and generously would establish the King a reputation in the minds of the French, which, if we give twice that money to purchase, would not, I think, be bought too dear : but this is my own sentiment and to my own Master : for the rest, *quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*."

The following extract shows the friendly and indeed familiar footing on which King James stood with King Louis :—

" Our friends of St. Germain shine extremely at Fontainebleau : all the court is made to Queen Mary ; everybody is at her toilette in the morning, from whence the King of France leads her to chapel : the two Kings and the Queen in the midst sit at the head of the table at dinner with equal marks of distinction and sovereignty, and '*à boire pour le Roi d'Angleterre !*' ou '*pour la Reine*' is spoke as loud and with the same ceremony as '*pour le Roi*' when they mean their own King. It is really not a right figure which we make, being here at Paris whilst all the other ministers are at Court ; and on the other side, I know not what we should do there,



or how behave ourselves in a place where the two Courts are inseparable " (p. 277, *infra*).

Very early in his career Prior was complimented by Sir William Trumbull on having "found the secret of joining two things generally thought incompatible, poetry and business, and both in perfection" (p. 79, *infra*); nor, when due allowance is made for the taste of the age and the style of the courtier, will the eulogy be found to be devoid of truth. On his appointment as Secretary to the Embassy at Ryswick, Prior wrote to his friend Charles Montagu with pardonable pride, that he had "got it with the advantage of having the King say that he was satisfied with my service, and thought my requests reasonable" (p. 87, *infra*); and there appears to be no doubt that, as long as he lived, William's satisfaction remained unabated. During great part of his time at Paris Prior was virtually ambassador, for Portland's mission terminated in May, 1698, Jersey did not arrive until the following September, and was absent during November and December, and Manchester, who was appointed to succeed him upon his recall in April, 1699, delayed his coming until the following August.

In consideration of the increased responsibility thus laid upon him the King was pleased to double Prior's allowance from the time of his departure for France.

It was, however, but natural that Prior should be dissatisfied with an employment in which he bore the burden but had neither the acknowledged position nor the full pay, while he was bound to maintain as much as he could of the state of an ambassador. He also felt aggrieved that he was not sent as envoy to Nancy upon occasion of the marriage of Mlle de Chartres to the Duke of Lorraine, a commission to which he deemed himself entitled by his long service, and his acquaintance with the Duchess, and in which his "fine clothes and new *livrées* made for my Lord Jersey's entry" would have "come mightily in play" (pp. 279, 299, 308, *infra*). Hence on Jersey's appointment to the office of Secretary of State he was eager to return home and serve under him; which he humorously describes as "descending from the high rope to tumble more safely upon the ground." "For God's sake," he continues in the same letter (to Charles Montagu), "will you think of a little money for me? for I have fluttered away the Devil and all in this monkey country, where the air is infected with vanity, and extravagance is as epidemical as the itch in Scotland. My bounty money from the King is now due, five hundred pounds; if one could get a warrant signed for it till you thought a little of my arrears; for to be pawned in France and lose my hopes in England at one time is too much for any man to bear who was not born under the star of Colonel Powers" (pp. 326-7, *infra*). Finding that both Montagu and Vernon were of opinion that the

public service required that he should await Lord Manchester's arrival, he wrote imploringly to Portland :—" I hope it is determined that I come back as soon as my Lord Manchester arrives here : Mr. Mountague may compliment me as handsomely as he pleases, but I will not begin the trade a fourth time, except, I say, His Majesty commands me ; and in that case, if it were to live in the Highlands of Scotland (which, with respect to Lord Selkirk's better judgment, is not the happiest place upon earth), I should be very far from disputing it, or murmuring " (p. 336, *infra*).

Prior was in correspondence with Portland while the first Partition Treaty was on the *tapis*, and his letters reflect the nervousness which then prevailed at the French Court. A strong squadron, " thirty or thirty-two ships in all, besides twenty-eight galleys," was equipped for service in the Mediterranean. Villeroy was " mighty inquisitive " as to the strength of the English militia (pp. 234-5, *infra*). A report that Count Harrach had " proposed the perpetual government of the Milanois for the Archduke " made " a good deal of noise," and there was much speculation among the politicians as to what " we should do in this conjuncture. I told them freely that my opinion did not signify much, but it was that we should be in a condition not to be hurt in the scuffle, but to preserve our own and make the figure we ought of holding the balance of Europe right. From thence we come to talk of the King our Master ; it is impossible to tell Your Lordship the excessive praises they gave him : Count Guiscard went further on this head than Your Lordship can imagine, and though I bore it with a seeming modesty and *retenue*, it made me as proud as if I had taken Namur myself " (p. 248, *infra*).

It would seem that Prior at first thought the first Partition Treaty a masterpiece of statecraft. At any rate he wrote to Vernon, Nov. 19, N.S., 1698 :—" I believe measures are pretty well settled towards the maintaining the Peace in case the crazy King of Spain should die. I have more than barely my opinion in this point, but as it is a secret into which I am let, I beg of you to let it rest in your own bosom till you hear of it otherwise " (p. 293, *infra*) ; and in a subsequent letter (to Dorset) announcing the King of Spain's nomination of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria as his heir, he observes :—

" This succession of Spain is mostly our King's contrivance and effecting. Some faults he has, or else he would not be a man ; as to his character of a Prince, he has carried his reputation to a prodigious height, and this affair must be allowed to be a proof of it beyond denial " (p. 305, *infra*). Yet in 1701 Prior voted for the impeachment of Portland, Somers, Orford and Halifax for the parts they had taken in advising and negotiating this and the subsequent Partition Treaty ; and at a later period he declared that he had never " much approved " the policy.



Prior's long residence abroad and his large and varied experience of affairs of state had taught him to view the English system of government by party with unmitigated disgust, which was vastly increased by the recklessness with which the Commons reduced the forces of the Crown at a time when France was prepared for war, all Europe was expecting in breathless suspense the imminent demise of the King of Spain, and the arrangement effected by the first Partition Treaty had been upset by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria (pp. 313-14, *infra*). In this connection a peculiar interest attaches to the exposition of his own theory of kingcraft contained in the letter to Portland of March 11, N.S., 1698-9 and its sequel of March 18 (pp. 318-21 and 324, *infra*), a theory substantially the same with that afterwards developed by Bolingbroke in the *Idea of a Patriot King*, and reduced to practice with no very happy results by George III. during the earlier part of his reign. From Portland's reply, March 16-26, it would seem that these letters were laid before the King. "Vos lettres ne sont veues que d'un seul, là où ils vous font du bien. Soyez seur que je vous ayme trop pour en faire un autre usage" (p. 326, *infra*), whereon Prior comments:—"By that *un seul de mes amis* that saw my letters Your Lordship either means yourself alone or one other who had the greatest right and reason in the world to see them" (p. 329, *infra*). And from Portland's indirect reply, "Je vous ay témoigné dans ma précédente la satisfaction que l'on a eu des sentiments que vous aves marquez sur les affaires de ce pais, qui n'ont estez veus que de celui seul qui a le droit de les voir" (p. 332, *infra*), it is manifest that Prior had guessed rightly. We may, therefore, fairly suppose that these letters were not without their influence on the royal counsels as evinced in the subsequent reconstruction of the administration upon a broader bottom.

The letters of the Earl of Manchester (pp. 379-429, *infra*) serve to supplement those printed long ago by Christian Cole in *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, 1697-1708, London, 1735.

The later correspondence throws little light on the course of public affairs. Such interest as it possesses is mainly biographical and literary; and it must be owned that in Prior's letters to Lord Harley there is a deplorable degree of sameness. Prior was now a disappointed and needy man. His part in the negotiation of the Treaty of Utrecht had all but ruined him. Though in effect ambassador at Paris after Shrewsbury's departure (August, 1713), he had been both inadequately and irregularly paid. Upon the change of Government he had had much ado to induce the Treasury, though his old friend Montagu, by that time Earl of Halifax, was at its head, to furnish him with the funds to pay his debts (pp. 445-7 *infra*, and vol. i. of this Calendar, pp. 235, 237); and he had returned to England to find his public life closed by

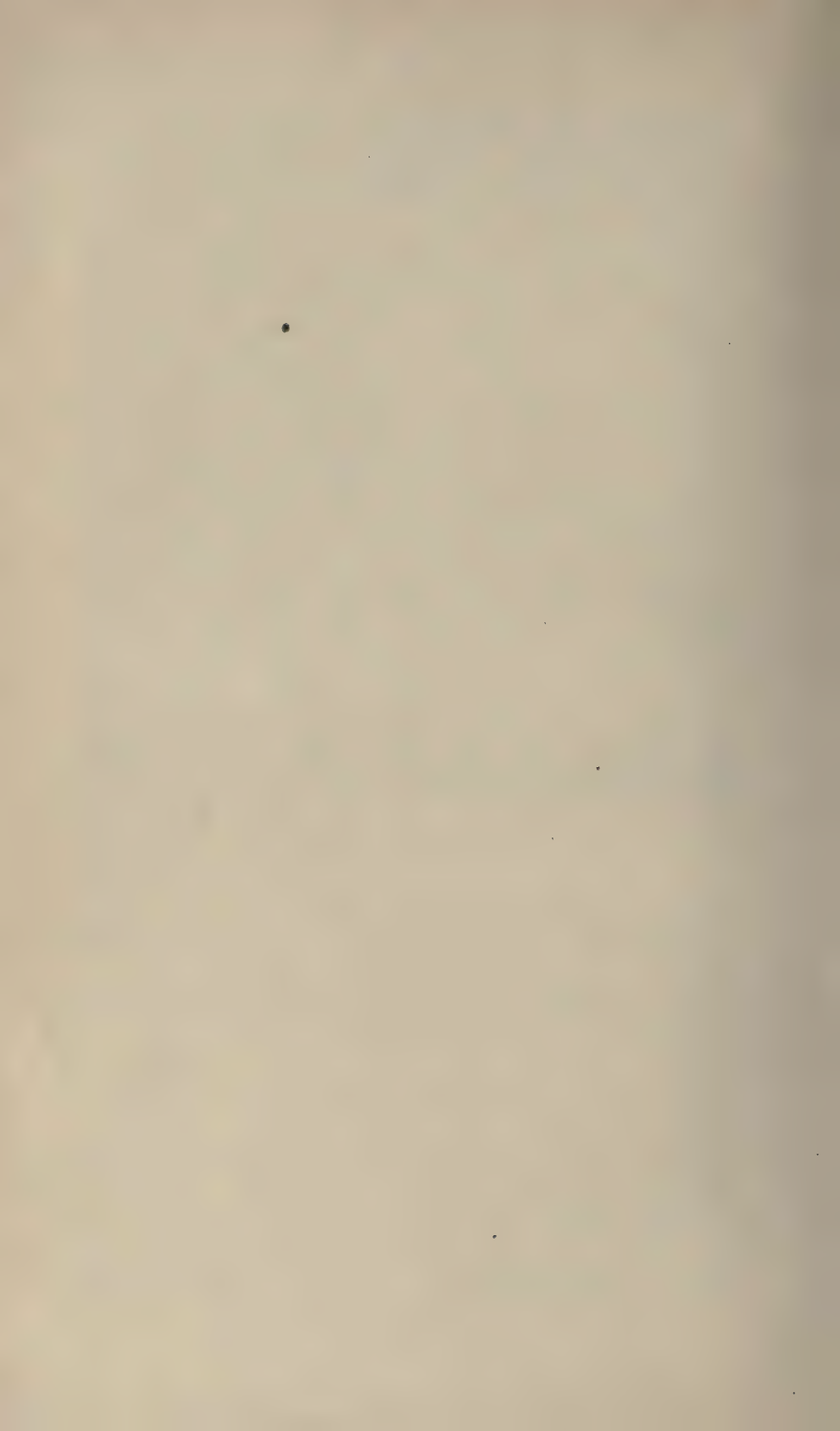
impeachment and imprisonment. Prematurely aged and infirm, he was thus, as at the outset of his career, almost entirely dependent on his pen and his patron. No wonder, therefore, that his gaiety is somewhat forced and his flattery at times fulsome. The sale of his works and Lord Harley's bounty in course of time secured him a modest competence and a villa at Down, Essex, for the adornment of which he called to his aid all his *virtuosi* friends; but he did not live long to enjoy his hard-earned *otium cum dignitate*.

Nor do Prior's correspondents make us much amends for the disappointment which his own letters cause us. There are indeed two characteristic letters from Atterbury (pp. 451-2, 456-7, *infra*), and three letters from Swift (pp. 464, 478, 481, *infra*), but the latter are of no great interest. For the rest, the Abbé Gaultier with evident sincerity deplores Prior's ill treatment by his country, and assures him of his own and Torey's unalterable regard (pp. 461-2, *infra*).; the Duke of Buckingham returns *Solomon on the Vanity of the World* with a preposterous compliment, and Lord Bathurst protests that he is in love with *Alma* (p. 458, *infra*); the Countess of Sandwich sweetly acknowledges the gift of their author's likeness (p. 479, *infra*); Lord Chesterfield cites Alcidiana, "that great and extraordinary lady," in praise of the *Nut-Brown Maid*, (p. 466, *infra*); Mrs. Manley, announcing the revival of *Lucius* for her benefit, craves for "gracious Mrs. Oldfield," who is to speak Prior's "admirable epilogue," the advantage of his instruction (pp. 479-80, *infra*); and letters from Richardson Pack, John Dennis, Giles Jacob, and Charles Gildon further illustrate Prior's relations with Grub Street.

J. M. RIGG.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS  
OF THE MOST HONOURABLE  
THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

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VOL. III.

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THE PRIOR PAPERS.

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MATTHEW PRIOR to his UNCLE.

1685, July 18 [-28].—"If my necessity, Sir, encourages my boldness, I know your goodness sufficient to excuse one and relieve t'other. I am very sensible what expences my education puts you to, and must confess my repeated petitions might have wearied any charity but yours ; but since I have no advocate, no patron, no father but yourself, pardon that importunity which makes me seek the kindness of all these in you, which throws me at your feet to beg at once your blessing and assistance, and that, since your indulgence has set me safe from shore, you would not let me perish in the ocean." *Copy.* (X. d.)

THE SAME to MRS. KATHARINE PRIOR.

1685, August 11 [-21].—"My neglect, Madam, is but a new occasion for you to exercise your goodness on. You, like heaven, can as often return a pardon as I give up my repentance ; the truth of which, Madam, be pleased to accept as well in honest prose as in bad verse : though, Madam, this afflicts my zeal, that the oracle never answers. My religion depends much upon faith, and I can tell no more news from my heaven than the astrologers from theirs, unless like them I fairly guess at it. I should really be afraid to write did I imagine your silence proceeded from your anger. I am extremely willing to attribute it to your hatred which you said you had to writing. That was in your last letter dated a considerable time ago. I'll swear to show both how Your Ladyship abhors pen and paper, and what reason I have to complain. If your own goodness will allow me one letter a year, after the great satisfaction of hearing how you do, let me know if *Jenny does fill out grains in ivory pails* ; if Mrs. Wilson be not still out of humour because her house is not burnt ; if Mrs. Watson thinks her windpipe secured



by this time, and that cribbage of a Sunday night is not Popish doctrine. Now to be serious, Madam, with ten thousand thanks for all your favours and as many prayers that you would renew them by a letter, wishing you as much health as a country parson in the dedication of his sermon to his patron, I am, etc." *Copy.* (X. e.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to DR. HUMPHREY GOWER, Master of  
St. John's College, Cambridge.

1685.—"The great Richelieu is confessed not only to have pardoned but encouraged Boileau's muse, whilst she [as] boldly showed as happily prevented the barbarity of their language: and a Prelate of our Church, in worth and excellence scarce inferior to the then famous Cardinal, is known to have endeavoured the like kindness to ours. These eminent examples have given me this present presumption; made me without blushing bring poetry to the most religious man and satire to the best natured. However unlike this attempt may prove to those excellent pieces, 'tis written with as honest a design and has as great a patron, I hope, to protect it: it may discover the disease it cannot cure; let our translators know that Rome and Athens are our territories; that our Laureate might in good manners have left the version of Latin authors to those who had the happiness to understand them; that we accuse not others, but defend ourselves, and would only shew that these corruptions of our tongue proceed from him and his tribe, which he unjustly casts upon the clergy. Thus, Sir, I humbly throw this trifle at your feet, hoping the product of my vacant hours may prove the diversion of yours, and too well assured of the greatness of your kindness to fear the severity of your judgment." *Copy.* (X. f.)

*Enclosing a copy of verses on the modern translators.*

JOHN III. OF POLAND to JAMES II.

1690, August 28. [N.S.] Warsaw.—Recredential letter for M. du Teil, envoy from James II.; wishing that Prince better success in the future. *Latin. Copy.*

"N.B.—This envoy, Du Teil, is a minister of France employed by King James." *French.* (XX. 1.)

QUEEN MARY to the STATES GENERAL.

1691, August 7 [-17]. Whitehall.—Letter of thanks for their congratulations of the 4th instant on the recent victories in Ireland. *French. Copy. Signed. Countersigned by the Earl of Nottingham.* (XX. 3.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,] LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1692-3, [January. The Hague.]—" 'Tis always my duty to send Your Lordship the news from this side, though at

present it is very bad. Furnes and Dixmuyde are lost ; the enemy set down before Furnes, the 5th, afternoon, opened their trenches in the night, and the next morning summoned the Governor Count Hoorne to render the town, which he did upon capitulation, himself and the garrison marching with two pieces of cannon to Nieuport. This he did, they say, upon letters from the Elector of Bavaria, that in case of extremity he should save the garrison and quit the place ; and upon his knowing that the Elector could not relieve him, the French having raised their batteries and possessed themselves of the Downs on one side, and the sluices being all broken, and the ways unpassable on the other side between Furnes and Nieuport.

“Dixmuyde falls in course : the garrison of that place is likewise retired to Nieuport, whence the Elector is gone to Ostend to give orders concerning the state of that place, in case the French should attack it.” *Copy.* (X. 1.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

1692-3, January 13-23. Hague.—“On Wednesday Major Guidet returned with the Duke of Gourdon his prisoner. The Major expected that I should have received orders for him from Mr. Blathwayt, without which he did not know how he should dispose of the Duke. Not having received such orders, I waited on the Pensioner who has given a warrant by which the Duke is confined in the Castlenye, which is the best prison here, and commanded me to write to Mr. Blathwayt, which accordingly I do.

“We have no news except that the generals of the Allies continue their council of war at Cologne, and are apprehensive that the French design again upon Rhinsfeld.” *Copy.* (X. 2.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1693, February 10. N.S.—“When you have done me the favour to write to me, in justice one would think I ought not to answer you when I have little to return besides the impertinence of my thanks ; be pleased to excuse me, and be partial to the duty the son owes you where otherwise you would blame the babbling of the Secretary.

“The French lay in such stores and ammunition at Namur and Maubeuge that we fear they design to besiege Charleroi. We have sent a supply to that place under the conduct of Gravenmore with about 3,000 horse, which is safely come thither : if you do not soon finish your parliament matters, and send us our King over, we shall make but sorry work in Flanders. We begin to hope well on the Rhine, since Prince Lewis of Baden is to come there, besides what forces the Emperor sends. He asks four regiments of His Majesty : can you spare them ? I know not if you have



heard that the Elector of Saxe and the Duke of Zell have entered into the alliance made between the King and the States.

"Further North or N.E. (to talk like a geographer) matters might yet be accommodated. Sweden desires only some ease in what relates to the traffic. Baron Jauls [Juels], who is there from Denmark, has found (at least in appearance) no great reception, and it is talked that a marriage is on foot between the Princess of Sweden and the King of the Romans. You are best able to judge of Denmark by the treatment which you will see allowed to their ships in England; for from that I believe the States will take their measures.

"So far politics: now for philosophy, and pray, dear father, are not you a little too serious, when you talk of leaving the world at a time where it could not subsist, *sine fortibus bonisque tuique simillimis*? And why would you leave it without being able to give a good account of it, since you never used to leave anything at that rate? Patience has been a very good recipe ever since Job's time, and you of all mankind, (if your modesty does not suffer too much in the advice,) should apply the remedy, since you have merit enough to have that patience rewarded in spite of all that fortune can resolve against it." *Copy.* (X. 4.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [RICHARD] WARRE.

1692-3, February 3-13. Hague.—"There is a person named Clerck now at Rotterdam, represented to me as one highly disaffected, and who in all probability is lately come from France, though he pretends to have been in Italy. He designs very shortly for England, he not yet asked a passport, and I believe will endeavour to get over without one. I have advised Mr. Vander Poele, Master of the Post at The Briel, to have an eye upon him, and the Postmaster at Harwich likewise. I think it likewise my duty to advise you of the information I have received that he may be examined at Westminster, whither I hear he intends in case he escape us here." *Copy.* (X. 7.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,] LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1692-3, March 3-13. Hague.—"After having for some years together admitted the French, and even the Catholics of them, into all manner of conversation here, we are grown wise enough to imagine that some of them are spies: the States have sent out warrants, upon which many here, at Amsterdam and other towns of Holland, are taken, and their papers secured: and Mr. Dyckvelt, who is now at Brussels, is charged to desire the Elector of Bavaria, that the same search may be made in the Catholic Provinces.

"In Flanders we are much obliged to the bad weather, which alone has, I believe, saved Charleroi hitherto. The

great number of boats with bombs and carcasses which the French have along the Maas, and the orders their troops in garrison on that side have to be ready to march at the first warning, seem still to threaten that place, which I do not know if we can hinder them from, if the snow and wind stand neuter.

"The affairs of the Allies are better than we could reasonably expect. The Elector of Brandenburg has informed the States that the 6,000 men, which are upon their appointment, are ready to march, and wait only their orders. The Elector of Saxony is come entirely into the Confederate interest, having signed and exchanged the Treaty upon the same foot with that made between His Majesty and the States General in '89. He expresses a great desire to do something this campaign, and will march in person with 12,000 men, as soon as the season will permit, and has already sent Count Sternberg, his Lieutenant General, before, to view and provide his magazines. The Emperor has cunningly enough made this Elector an obliging compliment in sending to Madame Neusch, his mistress, the title of Countess.

"Sweden has approved the ninth Electorate, and Mr. Horne, envoy from that Crown at Vienna, has assured the Emperor that his master will not engage with the discontented Party, or do anything to the prejudice of the Allies; so that Denmark is not likely to give much disturbance. Mr. Bonrepos has had a private audience there; however, it is thought he will scarce be able to do more than renew the Treaty of Neutrality expired in December last, and Mr. Hop, who is at Copenhagen from the States, has only obtained a promise that French Capers shall not harbour in Norway.

"There is nothing sure from Turkey but that we cannot this summer have a peace. The French Minister at the Porte has bribed high; which (as our circumstances are) we cannot do. There is a report written from thence to the Imperial Minister and to several here, that Sultan Mahomet is dead, and that the Grand Vizier and the Aga of the Janazaries are strangled by the people, who will have a peace. I beg Your Lordship's pardon that I write this to you, since I doubt the truth of it." *Copy.* (X. 10.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1693, April 3. N.S. Hague.—"Tis uncertain what methods are to be taken in Flanders till His Majesty's arrival here. We are pleased that we have Charleroi still ours, for which we are obliged to the wet weather. The design of the French to attack it seems to be now over; they having disposed of the stores and ammunition which they had upon the Maas into Namur, Dinant and Charlemont. The Marquis de Boufflers is now at Philippeville, where he has made a review of fourteen squadrons. The sea affairs of Holland are in



good posture. The Admiralties of Amsterdam and the Maas have let the States know that most of their ships are now ready for Zeeland. Your Lordship knows their privateers are usually more ready than their ships of war. Mons. d'Odyck is gone thither to hasten their preparations. We hope to do something on the Rhine; the Elector of Saxe, who gives 12,000 men effective, will do yet a better thing, which is to leave the command of them to Chauvel, an experienced General of the Duke of Zell, and pass the campaign at Frankfurt with his mistress, who is with child and designs to lie in there.

"The Emperor has obliged him by making her Countess of Ratelitz.

"The opposition made to the ninth Electorate grows daily less; Sweden's having declared for it, and the Emperor's resentments concerning it have frightened the less Princes, so that they are content to retract their *Declarationes Nullitatis*, or let them die at Ratisbon by sending no memorial to confirm them.

"One may easily perceive that this has turned the bias of Denmark: the Prince of Denmark seems mightily diverted with Holland, and stays to wait upon His Majesty's arrival here; some about him give out that he has not been used with respect enough in France. The French certainly understand good breeding. I am glad the Prince says the contrary: his resentments against France and his liking to Holland came, I believe, a fortnight since from Copenhagen. We hope Prince Louis of Baden will command on the Upper Rhine, though the great talk at Vienna is that he shall dispose affairs there, and command in Hungary, where the Turks will be very strong, and push on predestination as far as it will bear." *Copy.* (X. 19.)

GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1693, April 5 [-15]. Salisbury.—"I have received two very obliging letters from you, and with the last the box of medals was brought to me. I must humbly thank you for your great care, and beg the favour of you to give my most humble thanks to my Lord Glenorchy for the trouble he gave himself in bringing them to The Hague and his care in delivering them to yourself. I wish I knew how to answer the goodness you are pleased to have for me in a more effectual manner, but whensoever you are pleased to let me know how I can better express the value and esteem I have for you, I promise you I shall not be wanting in my utmost zeal." (II. 1.)

#### SWEDISH MERCHANTMEN.

[1693, after May 21. N.S.]—Reply to the memorials of Count Oxenstiern of May 14 and 21, to William III., complaining of the detention of Swedish vessels and merchandise

in September, 1692, contrary to the terms of the treaty of 1661. *French.*

*Draft in Prior's handwriting. (XX. 11.)*

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ADAM] CARDONNEL.

1693, August 19-29. Hague.—Explaining a “little scheme” for the remedy of abuses in the granting of passports from Holland to England, which had been approved of by Secretary Trenchard. *Copy. (X. 21.)*

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,] LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1693, September 1. [N.S.]. Hague.—“ ’Tis confirmed on all hands that St. Brigides is taken, but it is uncertain if the Duke of Savoy will go on to besiege Pignerol, most of the general officers in a council of war having given their opinion that it is more advisable to endeavour to engage Mons. Catinat, before the detachments from Catalonia and Germany join him.

“ Our campaign in Flanders is well-nigh ended. The French have suffered so much in the late battle, and by a sickness that reigns in their camp, that they can hardly attempt Charleroi: they have sent off their great cannon, and pioneers. Your Lordship will be informed of the state of our army, by the letters that come immediately thence.

“ His Majesty has made the Duke of Holstein-Pleun [Plön] first Field Marshal (which charge has been void since Prince Waldeck's death): the Duke is expected here within twelve days. The Duke of Wirtembourg has the Regiment of the Guards, and is made General of the Dutch Foot. The States are very well pleased with the promotion of these two strangers, but the Prince of Frise has left the Army upon it; the Prince of Birkenfeld and Count Nassau of Sarbruck ’tis generally said, ask their *congé*.

“ The business of Ratzebourg is at a stand. The King of Denmark cannot be prevailed with to make peace, and yet has no very great mind to make war. He has invested the town, yet ordered that not one bomb shall be thrown into it till he comes in person, and possibly yet defers his coming that he may be the more entreated to keep away. Some of his Ministers press him on very earnestly, which we take for a sign that France has bribed high.” *Copy. (X. 23.)*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1693, September 4. [N.S.]—“ The Duke of Savoy loses the occasion of besieging Pignerol, and is gone to look after Mons. Catinat in the mountains, to reinforce whom the French have made a great detachment of 15,000 from the Rhine. The campaign seems over in Flanders. The Duke of Holstein-Pleune arrived yesterday at the Army, and the King is expected the 3-15 instant at Loo.



"The Danes began on Tuesday last to bombard Ratzebourg, and will not be contented with less than the demolishing the fortifications of that place, and the Lunebourgers retiring from it, till the whole matter is renewed and adjudged by the laws of the Empire." *Copy.* (X. 25.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1693, October 10-20.—"His Majesty waits only the change of the wind to embark for England; the convoy we expected thence is not yet arrived. The inclosed gives Your Lordship the particular of our affairs in Piedmont with which I presumed to trouble Your Lordship last post. We have no other public news. My Lord Dursley has asked and obtained his *congé* to quit Holland entirely. I know not how Fortune may dispose of me, or if she takes any care at all of such little people as I am. I am sure of Your Lordship's favour if anything should be proposed for me, and beg the continuance of your goodness." *Copy.* (X. 28.)

[GEORGE] STEPNEY to [? SIR JOHN TRENCHARD] at Whitehall.

1693, October 20. [N.S. Vienna].—"The ill news we have received this day of Count Stratman's death makes me take the liberty of giving you this short account, with [*sic*] the character of the Imperial Court and the chief Ministers, with some guesses what change this accident may produce there.

"The Count, though in rank he was but low in the Ministry, yet by being Chancellor of the Court, that is, having the care of the business relating to the Emperor as Archduke of Austria and those other hereditary countries annexed to that title, he had the most frequent access to his person, and was honoured with the greatest part of his confidence of any of the Ministers; and indeed had the greatest talents of capacity and zeal for executing what was necessary for His Imperial Majesty's Service, and for the public interest.

"His beginning was ordinary, having been little better than a clerk in the Duchy of Clèves, and consequently subject to the Elector of Brandenburg, from whence he removed to the Court of Newburgh, and was entertained by the late Elector Palatine; where, after having distinguished himself in several weighty commissions, he at last attended the present Empress at her marriage to Vienna, and through her favour and his own merit, worked himself to the greatest credit, honours and riches that a man of fortune is capable of. It is objected against him that he did this at the expense of his religion, and that finding himself well settled towards the latter end of his days, he fell into a careless luxurious way of living, as if he affected to let the world see he would enjoy the fruits of his labours.

"He was employed in France at the same time when Mr. Meinders was there, and was formerly entangled in that interest,

but since his removal to the Imperial Court and the part he had in the Peace of Nimegen, he utterly abandoned that party, and has given signal proofs of his fidelity to the House of Austria and to the Allies during this war.

"To speak of the prior of these, I mean the House of Austria, would draw me into too long a digression; it is enough to say that the crowning the King of Hungary and choosing the King of the Romans were at his advice: but, what nearer concerns me, it was by his persuasions that the Emperor first heard the Baron Görtz, President to the Landgrave of Hesse, whom His Majesty (then Prince of Orange) made use of to sound the dispositions of the Imperial Court upon his glorious enterprise of redeeming our kingdoms and Europe from slavery; and he only of all the Ministers had the confidence and management of this intrigue, the success of which created him many *enémies* (especially the Count of Kinsky): but it has been our greatest advantage to have found him a powerful and steady friend.

"It is below your knowledge to hear anything of my personal obligations to him, and I should be too arrogant in saying I was honoured with something that came near familiarity and friendship. The graces he showed me I ever attributed to the zeal he had to His Majesty's interest, and consequently the meanest of his servants never failed of a favourable reception.

"How the vacancy his death has made will be supplied may deserve His Majesty's reflection. The Emperor is a Prince faithful to his promises, and besides is too far engaged by point of interest, ever to start from the Alliance; but it would have been a hard matter to defeat the bigotry which priests constantly instil into the mind of a Prince so devout, if this famous Minister had not mingled some policy with religion, and supported his arguments with the credit of the Spanish Ambassador, who (true to the principle of the King he serves) has never been irreconcilable in his hatred to France and in his opposition to an universal Monarchy; which last consideration I look upon to have been the true one, why the Emperor so readily entered into a league with those they call heretics, and has continued firm in it, notwithstanding the offers France has made and the frequent solicitations of the Pope to that purpose.

"But as His Imperial Majesty is observed to be of an irresolute wavering temper, on which the last impressions ever make the deepest marks, this occasions that he is frequently torn several ways by the different inclinations of his Ministers, who in a manner governed him by turns as if each had commanded *de jour*, (to which may be attributed those delays which have ever been too visible in all the designs and enterprises of the Imperial Court); yet Count Stratman's turn came oftener than any other's did, having



the greatest ascendent over his spirit, which has proved of advantage to our affairs. But who now will succeed him in that degree of favour, or if ever His Imperial Majesty will be so liberal of his mind to any other Minister is what we are to expect with great impatience.

“The great offices of the Court are divided into several departments, whereof the chief is the Chancery of the Empire, which is committed to Count Königsegg, as Vice-Chancellor under the Elector of Mentz, who therefore presides in all conferences, and has the direction of correspondencies with foreign courts. The second Chancery is that of Bohemia, to which kingdom the provinces of Silesia and Moravia are in a manner annexed, and fall under the guidance of Count Chinsky, who is Chancellor. The third is the Chancery of the Court for the Emperor’s private concerns as a Duke of Austria, to which are joined the hereditary countries thereabouts as Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, and which made the province of Count Stratman. The fourth is the Chancery of Hungary under the Archbishop of Grann; but as the affairs of this kingdom and of Transylvania are yet in disorder, Count Chinsky seems to have the greatest share in the direction of them. Fifthly, the Chamber of Finances is committed to the care of Cardinal Collonitz, who has under him General Heusler; but this last has not that employment in such latitude as it was enjoyed by Caraffa. Sixthly, the Council Aulique, wherein all causes and matters of justice are determined, is guided by Count Ottingen, who is President thereof. Seventhly, the Council of War is the department of Count Stahremberg.

“Not to speak of the office of Court Marshal and the Council of Regency, these seven Chambers are the canals in which all affairs are dispatched according to the nature they are of. But before anything of consequence is resolved, it is debated in the Council of Conference (as they call it) where the Emperor generally presides in person, and names the points on which he will deliberate. This agrees with our Cabinet Council, to which the Emperor warns such Ministers as he thinks fit to communicate to the affairs in question. Those who generally assisted were Count Königsegg, Count Chinsky, Count Stratman, Count Stahremberg, and sometimes the Prince of Salm, Governor of the King of the Romans; Count Wallenstein, the Governor Chamberlain; Count Harrach, the Master of the Horse; and Count Ottingen, when there happened a point of law.

“I shall take the liberty of giving a short character of each of these as far as I could observe in nine months that I had the honour to reside at the Imperial Court.

“Count Königsegg has a good head and heart, and is master of great eloquence whenever he has any lucid intervals of health; but the gout, with which he is contracted in hands and feet, has rendered him almost incapable of further service,

and of having the confidence of the Emperor, which is best to be acquired by frequent attendance ; so that he may be looked upon a superannuated Minister, whose credit and creatures fall off daily. He has a quickness of fancy very youthful, but is said not to have judgment enough to serve as ballast to so high a sail ; and the freedom with which he sometimes launches into common conversation discovers too much of the secret, and frequently brings him into inconveniences. He is lavish in his expenses, which have reduced him to a low fortune, and his pressing wants may expose him to be scarce proof against a bribe well offered. He seems zealous enough for the public, but with a certain bias for Denmark, where his eldest son is now Envoy ; his second son is Canon of Cologne, and in time may prove the great favourite to the Elector. The second wife he now has is sister to the Marquis de Parella, which makes him very zealous for the interest of Savoy. He has married a daughter to a Count of Furstemberg, and I believe at bottom is no enemy to the Cardinal. He will neither gain nor lose by Count Stratman's death, having lived in terms of indifference with him without entering into faction for or against him, except what related to the difference betwixt the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover, to the first of which Count Königsegg seemed too particular and Count Stratman to the latter ; which will make his death much regretted at the Courts of Lunenburgh, where they will be at a loss whom now to apply to, since the greatest pillar is fallen, who supported their cause.

"The next Minister is Count Chinsky, who is well known by his negotiation at Nimeguen for a man of great application, experience and exactness, but is thought too rigid and never to be brought off from the opinion into which he first enters. He has the management of the politic part of the affairs in Hungary, and whenever the negotiation of peace with the Turks comes in play, it is likely to fall to his gui[dance], though he is loaded with having been the cause of the Emperor's letting slip some favourable opportunities of coming to an agreement, and is accused to have favoured and justified those cruel practices and persecutions which were used by Caraffa towards Eperies and other places in Upper Hungary ; and [a] certain [air] of formality and circumspection which [he] affects gives him at least the appearance of a wise and cautious Minister, and his strict friendship with Caraffa buoyed him up almost to make the balance of the Emperor's favour hang even betwixt his party and that of Count Stratman's : but since the death of that General, who spoke freely for him in some cases, where he could not with decency appear himself, Count Chinsky's interest has visibly declined and he seemed to have no further part in affairs than what naturally related to his own Chancery. What ground he may now gain as spoils



which fall from Count Stratman I know not ; but I cannot wish this accident may prove of great advantage to him, since I have not much reason to think him our friend, and to the impartial I cannot accuse him of having appeared our enemy. However, it is to be apprehended, if ever he gets the mean disposal of things, the priests only will thrive the better for it, whose authority he is inclined to heighten, though the Emperor is already but too weak in that respect. In all conferences whereat he assists he is observed to be a perfect sceptic, and though the affair in dispute be of no great importance, he cannot forbear ranging his arguments *pro et con.*, and raising doubts on both sides without determining anything, so that in the conclusion nobody can find the drift of his advice, nor is much wiser for the length of his discourse ; but to do him justice, if he would explain himself and were as well intentioned as he is diligent and able, I know no Minister at Vienna that might be so useful in high employment. He is a man of a plentiful fortune without children, and consequently is not liable to corruption. His ambition of being the chief made him a rival to Count Stratman, which made it remarkable that these two seldom agreed in their opinions. But not to be too prolix : if Count Chinsky upon this vacancy comes to be Master, it will be an ill omen to Schöning and his party ; for I believe firmly the first advice for the violent seizure of this General proceeded from this Minister out of a private pique which he is not of a disposition to forget. This I perceived the Elector of Saxony was immediately sensible of, and could not forbear saying in haste, upon the first report of Count Stratman's death, that his affairs might suffer by it. For in truth he was a man more pliable, and (to my knowledge) it was with him that Mr. Holecbrinck (whom I have mentioned in my ordinary relations) chiefly negotiated for the enlargement of Schöning.

"I have already spoke sufficiently of Count Stratman, and therefore need only recapitulate that the Emperor has lost [his] ablest Minister and confidant ; His Majesty and the Allies the greatest supporter of their cause ; the Elector of Brandenburg a subject much devoted to his interest ; the Elector Palatine a creature ever grateful to his patron ; the Elector of Hanover, the stiffest promoter of his new dignity ; and the Elector of Saxony the person on whom he most relied for the liberty of his General. The Count has left many children to divide his estate. The eldest son was Envoy in England, and is now married to a rich heiress near Cologne. The second is a Canon at Breslau, and two more sons, who are now travelling in Italy, are likely to be provided for by spiritual preferments ; his three daughters are well bestowed, one to the Ban or Viceroy of Craacy, Count Boudiani ; a second to Count Stutenberg, Governor of the Province of Styria ; and the third to Count Colasto.

“Count Stahremberg, famous for his defence of Vienna, seems yet to live upon the credit of that effecton, and has entrance into the Council of Conference, but, I believe, does not much forward the business; for he is one who does not usually stick to the matter in hand, and has the talent of raising whipped cream upon what the others have said without advancing anything to his own, and abounds in words which have no meaning. The officers who have dependence upon the Council of War are diligent in making their court to him, but in politics the mark is out of his mouth, and no applications are made to him, nor has he credit enough to do good or harm to our affairs. He affects being a *beau* by his dress and gallant behaviour, though, as you may imagine, he acquits himself but awkwardly at the age of seventy-four and after his hearing has almost left him. This is all I can say of him, except that he has a son, Envoy in Sweden, and the daughter lately left a widow by a son of the late General Dunnewald.

“The Prince of Salmes is a person of another figure, having acquired great confidence with the Emperor and the Empress by the care he has taken, and still continues of the education of the King of the Romans, who, having no conversation but what he furnishes him with, is likely to have his genius formed wholly according to the model which the Prince shall prescribe, and when the Emperor fails, whose life is far spun, the Government will be as good as absolute in his hands, which makes me frequently wonder no applications are made to him by His Majesty, since we have so near a prospect of his becoming the Atlas; and as he is, he may be very useful to our affairs, for he is a man of great abilities, and sincere where he is once gained. The Prince of Dietrichstein, the General Master d’hostel, and he had formed a faction against Count Stratman, perhaps out of envy, that a person of no birth and a stranger should have a nearer access than they to the Emperor, but he was ever too hard for them, and of late had a good argument against the Prince of Salmes for his peremptorily crossing the Emperor’s designs of creating a ninth Electorate in favour of the Duke of Hanover, which he opposed almost to insolence considering the dependence he has on the Emperor’s family; but now [the] Count is out of the way, he and his party are likely to rule without control.

“Count Wallenstein, the General Chamberlain, was formerly employed as an Ambassador or Envoy in England, and is very kind in the remembrance of friends he contracted there, and is well intentioned to His Majesty’s interest. ’Tis pity he gives himself no more application to business, having several good talents that recommend him, and a courteous obliging behaviour, which wins the affections of all people who have to do with him; but being old and enough at his case, he contents himself with his ordinary attendance on



the Emperor's person without engaging himself in the Ministry. He has a son who was lately Envoy in Piedmont.

"Almost the same character may be given of Count Harrach, the Emperor's Master of the Horse, who frequently assists at the conferences, but seldom exceeds what he is obliged to by his profession.

"Count Ottingen is a perfect original; so singular he is in all his ways and actions. No man understands justice better or practices it so uncorruptly, but he is so unhewn in his manner and behaviour, and rigid in his principles, that Cato and Timon of Athens were good-natured in comparison with him. His righteousness gives him great liberty in commending himself and making severe reflections upon others, and [he] has a wife of impertinent virtue. He is ever oppreating [*sic*] the Emperor with his honesty and the knavery of his neighbours. I have near a hundred histories of his adventures, which might be good entertainment in discourse, but they are too tedious to be committed to writing. He keeps close to his charge, which he executes with great diligence, and is capable of being anything but a dissembler and a courtier." *Copy.* (X. 28.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1693, November 3-13. [The Hague.]—"I have heard without knowing how to help it that many Papists, who have waited the opportunity, embarked in merchant ships that sailed at the same time with His Majesty without any passes.

"I shall give a pass to Mr. Francis Roche, an Irishman—his father is of Cork—and to Patrick Roche, who pretends to be his man. They offer any security here, or would oblige themselves to appear before you, and have this one merit, that they lodged at Harris's the tailor. I write to Mr. Mackay, that they may be at least searched at Harwich, though they have rather the mien of puppies than politicians." *Copy.* (X. 42.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [WILLIAM] BLAITHWAYT.

1693, November 10-20. [The Hague.]—Asking for instructions how to deal with above 500 sick and wounded English soldiers, who are waiting at the Brill and Helvoet, and can only be transported at the rate of fifty or sixty in each packet boat. Has meanwhile given them 200 *gulden*, and induced the Pensioner to allow them lodging and turf. *Copy.* (X. 42.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1693, November 14-24. [The Hague.]—"We have at present no minister at either of the Northern Crowns, Vienna, Berlin,

or Ratisbon. My friend Mr. Stepney, who is at present negotiating for some Saxon troops at Dresden, may probably be fixed at the same place or sent to Sweden, or almost choose his post, having had the fortune to be placed in such a light that His Majesty has known and approved of him. The other Courts will in all appearance be very soon supplied. My having had the honour to be bred by Your Lordship, and trailed a pen here onward of four years, makes some people flatter me that I may not be forgot in this great harvest with few labourers, since Aglionby, Cresset, and Stepney, who are already working, are journeymen as I am, have about the same estates at home, and are sent to preach politics as the Apostles were on a better errand, without purse or scrip. I take it for granted that Your Lordship will mention me to Mr. Secretary Trenchard, if you think anything of this kind proper for me. I wish I may part with these chimeras for the solid blessing of being near my patron and protector in England. . . . I should like that climate or employment preferably to any other, in which I might tend my thoughts and studies so to my dear Lord Buckhurst's future improvement, as by it ever to testify to all the world the mighty obligation I owe his father." *Copy.* (X. 43.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1693, December 4. [N.S.]—"Old Mr. Kick having given my Lord Dursley's pass (on no very good recommendation) to one Rigmaden, wrote the same post to Mr. Mackay at Harwich, that the said Rigmaden might be apprehended and examined there. Captain Robinson, Commander of the *Guirlande*, and some officers saw the said Rigmaden at Helvoet. He was disguised in a sorry sea-habit, and seemed to avoid them as much as possibly he could, upon which suspecting him they got him seized. He has owned that he is a Papist, and comes from studying in a college in Flanders: in his portmanteau were found several letters, in one of which he was commanded to go by the name of Pagett; it contained farther that old James and his wife were very ill, and unless better measures were taken for them than had been already, they would surely die of the distemper. There was another letter found about him directed to my Lord Arundel of Wardour, with advice that he should deliver it into my Lord's own hand: it appears as yet to be but white paper without any writing in it. Captain Robinson has put him on board the *Guirlande*, and will deliver him to your power at his arrival in England, having sealed his papers in order to have them examined by you. Young Kick, who is employed in distributing some sustenance to the poor soldiers, who yet lie at Helvoet, was present and assisting in Rigmaden's being seized, and gives me this account. I have let Mr. Kick senior know that Mr. Secretary is pleased to promise he will take care to have the money repaid, which



may be laid out upon the poor soldiers, and I expect Mr. Blaythwayt's order therein."

"P.S.—I hear from Stockholm that the Baron Heckeren has accommodated the difference between the States and Sweden concerning Swedish ships taken by the Hollanders, having promised reparation to be made by the States. I wish matters were as well between that Crown and us. If you have heard that they have received His Majesty's answer to the memorials Count Oxenstiern had given in, which answer my Lord Dursley gave Mr. Lilieroot and he sent to Stockholm, you know too that they are not very well satisfied with it." *Copy.* (X. 45.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [SIR JOHN] TRENCHARD.

1693, December 15–25. Hague.—"In obedience to your commands of the 5th I have waited on the Pensioner, and by his order on Mynheer Sasse, Secretary to the Admiralty of the Maas, in whose hands I have left a copy of the extract of what our ships lost on the coasts of Holland. He promises to intercede with the Admiralty to give order that our cables and anchors be sought and taken up with equal care as their own and brought over into England, where the charges shall be given in to the Commissioners of our Navy by the masters of the vessels thus employed, the Commissioners of the Admiralty having first looked over the accounts and consented to them as reasonable." *Copy.* (X. 48.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to VISCOUNT DURSLEY.

1693–4, January 2–12. Hague.—"Having looked over the Papers which concern money paid to the Vaudois, I find five resolutions of the States with each a receipt at the bottom of it from Mr. Weyer or Clignett or both, as followeth:—

- ' 1690.—Resolution of States, May 15, upon which Weyer and Clignett own to have received 20,000 and 15,000 guilders.
- ' Resolution of May 19, in which Weyer owns to have received 50,000 guilders.
- ' Resolution of August 20, in which Clignett owns to have received 60,300 guilders.
- ' Resolution of September 14, in which Weyer owns to have received 39,600 guilders.
- ' Resolution of November 20, in which Weyer owns to have received 49,750 guilders.
- The second sum 5,000*l.* sterling.
- The third sum 6,000*l.* „
- The fourth sum 4,000*l.* „
- The fifth sum 5,000*l.* „

"So that the four last sums make 20,000*l.* sterling. The first appears to have been likewise for the Vaudois, as I remarked before; it is signed by Clignett and Weyer. We find an

acquittance signed by Mr. Clignett for 200 guilders, 'which,' says he, 'was what rested of 20,000*l.* sterling, which,' says he, 'was what His Majesty had given the Vaudois,' and for which William Weyer, merchant of Amsterdam, 'had given his acquittances.'

"We have my Lord Shrewsbury's letter of the 4th March, '89, by which he informs Your Lordship that His Majesty accords the sum of 200,000 *livres* to the Vaudois." (X. 49.)

#### THE SAME to the SAME.

1693-4, January 5-15. Hague.—"Since my last I have been with Mr. Clignett at Leyden, and having conferred with him concerning the papers I mentioned in my last, find that the five sums together make the 20,000*l.* for the Vaudois; for that as one has 35,000 guilders, the other [receipt] is for such a sum as makes that 50,000. I did not know that before, not having the honour to serve Your Lordship when the thing itself was transacted, nor to have been in the least informed of it since." *Copy.* (X. 50.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1693-4, January 19-29. Hague.—You will see by the enclosed memorial "that France really desires a peace with us, though it chicanes a little in the way of asking it. All our letters from the frontier agree that the French garrisons are destitute of bread and money; upon which we may doubtless soon see more memorials of the same nature with this.

"Things here go on as usually, sure and slow. The States are recruiting their troops with great diligence, and have granted besides other taxes the hundredth penny twice this year, as they did the last." *Copy.* (X. 53.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1694, March 9. N.S. Hague.—"The persons whom you find described at the end of this letter are represented to the Pensioner of Holland, and from him to me, as sent into England with a design against His Majesty. I have yet seen no such, but have taken order if ever they come either to Rotterdam or The Briele, to have them seized. I have grounds to suspect two others, of which I have advised Mr. Mackay. I send you a copy of my letter to him because possibly you may hear further of the persons from him." *Copy.* (X. 54.)

#### *Enclosure.*

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. MACKAY.

1694, March 9. N.S. Hague.—"I yesterday gave two passes to persons whom I have reason to suspect not well affected. One is named Robert Manly; he lives at Rotterdam, was formerly a servant to Mr. Chudleigh, envoy here, and passes



to England (as he says) on his own private concerns. I have nothing more against him than that he has been lately in Flanders, and may probably be employed in some correspondence our enemies may hold in England; he being a known Jacobite. You will do very well therefore to search very diligently, if he has no papers about him, not mentioning whence this advice comes.

"The other is named Francis Clay; pretends to have deserted the French service from Catalogne, but brings a very improbable account of so long a journey. He has a red head of hair very like a peruke; if it proves to be such, you will think him to be a person to be suspected, since one does not generally choose one's peruke of that colour; I have reason to suspect him in case he should have any peruke in his pocket. I have given no pass to the two persons described on the other side."

[The description is as follows:—] "John Peg, born in Lorraine, a short man, has by nature black hair, and wears a light peruke, a red coat, and a blue waistcoat under it; is old about forty-four à forty-five years. He is in company with an Irish or an Englishman, which is a little taller, dressed in black with a blue waistcoat, having short curled hair not longer than to the ears, is old between thirty and forty years."

"If by any chance you find such, though they have my Lord's pass (for Mr. Vander Poele may possibly have given it to them before a letter sent to him this night may reach him) arrest them, for they are dangerous persons." *Copy.* (X. 54.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

[1694, March or April.]—"What we are most talking of is the choice of a Bishop of Liége. The French, who have found ways to get that election deferred till the 20-30 April, have certainly more interest there than we are willing to believe, and may get the Cardinal of Bouillon elected, though the Allies deny him passports to go thither. Mr. Dyckvelt is gone thither to manage the States' interest: the common voice is that they are for the Elector of Cologne (who seems to stand very fair in this conjuncture), though at bottom Your Lordship will judge, both the States and the Elector of Brandenburg would rather have a private person than either the Elector of Cologne, the Master of the Teutonic Order, or the Bishop of Breslau, whose families as well as their relation to that of Austria might, as affairs may turn hereafter, make them too potent princes to prove peaceable neighbours. De Meyer, their present Dean, may probably be the man, if the Allies' party prevail; since their common interest may centre well enough in him, who is an honest man of no great family, and an enemy to France,

"All is in flame and fire at Dresden, and the Elector of Saxe will have his General Schöning again or will recall his troops. All the world sees the Emperor did a foolish thing in letting that affair hang so long in suspense, and the Elector to have it determined will do a thing twice foolisher. The accommodation the Imperial Court offers now is to give Schöning his liberty and let him serve the Venetians; and this we hope may content our hero, if he will be ruled by his interest or his mistress.

"The French threaten Piedmont: they say they will pass the mountains this month and besiege Coni and bombard Turin at one time. The Duke of Savoy has been at Milan where a great council of war has been held, and we may hope well enough from that side if we can but get our Germans out of their winter quarters in any tolerable time, and hinder them from plundering so very merrily when they are out.

"The French will have fifty sail of ships-of-war in the Mediterranean, whereof ten will be first and second rates; I hope they know this at Whitehall.

"I sent Your Lordship this trifle of a book because the satire at the end is said to be Brittain's\*, and add to it a song made by a much worse poet. I have made some reflections on my last letter to Your Lordship, in which I am afraid I was too presumptuous in representing the state of my own poor affairs. I beg Your Lordship to pardon it as written to him who has been my patron and protector from my childhood." *Copy.* (X. 56.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. WOLSELEY, at Brussels.

1694, April 13-23. Hague.—"I have formerly advertised the office of one Clerk, who went over into England, as being a person much suspected to hold a dangerous correspondence. The same Clerk was the last week, (I know not upon what suggestion) stopped at Harwich, and upon some letters he produced from persons of credit was released again, and came over in the last packet. At Harwich he got time from the negligence of the officer to burn several papers, and at his coming to Rotterdam was surprised to find that several papers he had given to an officer, a Spaniard who came from England the packet before, were not delivered as he had expected. This officer, being a Spaniard born, now in the service has a brother who is actually of the Elector of Bavaria's family. He is just now come from Spain, by way of England, is a middle-sized man, black: if by his description you can find out this person and seize Clerk's letters before he reaches Brussels, (I think Clerk lives at Bruges), we may probably discover the correspondence. These I had from Dr. du Can, physician to the hospitals, and it is my duty to give them to you as entire as I got them: it being undoubted that Clerk is a violent Jacobite and

\* Nicholas Breton is doubtless the satirist referred to.



employed in frequent voyages to England for no good.”  
*Copy.* (X. 58.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
 LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1694, April 30. [N.S.]—“By an express from Dresden we have an account that the Elector of Saxony died there the 27 April—7 May of the same distemper, and almost in the same manner, as his Countess. This may give some change to our affairs on that side, since his brother and successor is in good English a resty brute, of too much stubbornness to be convinced by any man, and too much ferocity to be softened by any woman: a true Dane, and governed by one of that nation who is a little too partial to the French interest.

“The French begin to move in Flanders, and letters from France are all filled with the misery and desolation of that kingdom, which is really very pressing.

“This letter may end like my last, with my prayers for Your Lordship’s health and happiness.

“*Spare Dorset’s sacred life, discerning Fate,*

“*And Death shall march through courts and camps in state,*

“*Emptying his quiver on the vulgar great :*

“*Round Dorset’s board let Peace and Plenty dance,*

“*Far off let Famine her sad reign advance,*

“*And War walk deep in blood through conquests France.*

“*Apollo thus began the mystic strain,*

“*The Muses’ sons all bowed, and said Amen.*”

*Copy.* (X. 59.)

The EARL OF PEMBROKE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, May 16 [–26]. London.—Complimentary letter, desiring a continuation of their correspondence. (II. 3)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
 LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1694, June 1. N.S. Hague.—“It is as natural for us to mistake as to reason or to see; so I do not blush to recant an opinion I have some time embraced that I had already all that obligation to Your Lordship which a poor man could possibly owe his patron. Your Lordship’s letter to me convinces me I was in the wrong, and now I only know that it is as hard for me to comprehend how great Your Lordship’s future favours will be as to number how many your past have been. I would fain write on this subject, but I really cannot with any success. I find no expressions of it in any language I understand: (and one would think Your Lordship has taken sufficient care to have me instructed in the best).

What Cowley imagines only of Theron's liberality is, in matter of fact, true as to Your Lordship :

'Thy bounties to conceal or tell

Is equally impossible.'

" 'Tis all an immeasurable abyss ; and my gratitude like St. Austin's piety is lost in wonder and veneration."

*Postscript.*—" I shall endeavour to get Your Lordship originals of the hands you mention, from Antwerp or Brussels. I have seen one of Teniers' here but it is excessively dear. My Lord Dursley's memoir by which he takes leave of the States came over to-day. I have only a verbal order to stay here till my Lord Faulkland comes over, so they have made me a minister without one syllable of a commission to act by ; and ordered me to receive all their letters without one penny of money to pay their postage." *Copy.* (X. 60.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, May 29 [-June 8]. Whitehall.—Have shown your letter of the 1st inst. to the Duke of Shrewsbury, "who thinks that there must be somebody entrusted with the care of passes, and that nobody is so fit for it as yourself, who have all along done it. The only thing is to make your signing of as good authority as your late Lord's, that it may not be questioned at The Brill, or Helvoetsluys, and that His Grace thinks must be ordered on that side, and by his commands I have intimated so much by this post to Mr. Blathwayt, so that I take it for granted it will be done, and when it is ordered there, if it be necessary, my Lord will take care that your vouchers be unquestionable at Harwich. You must concert with Mr. Blathwayt how you are to style yourself in the frontispiece, if that be a necessary ingredient in a passport.

"This is the first day I have seen Mr. Schweinfurt since his arrival, but he has brought no books with him. He remembers you bid him call at Rotterdam for something ; but he did not find Mr. Kick at home." (II. 4.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to [WILLIAM] BLATHWAYT.

1694, June 1-11. Hague.—" I am promised the Convention between Holland and Sweden, and shall send it to you in a day or two. I have also a box from Mrs. Vander Brent, which I shall likewise forward by the first sure occasion.

" I know not what change may happen to my affairs upon my Lord Faulkland's death, but take it for granted that they will prosper in your hands. If I am to reside here any time, I presume either some order to me or letter to the president of the week or to the Pensioner will be necessary : for having taken my leave as my Lord Dursley's secretary, I know not whose I must say I am, if I give in any memorial or ask any favour. I wish I might call myself Secretary, or



Agent, or what you think proper, on better grounds than Kick calls himself Consul: but being at present like Sosia in the comedy—*sumne ego, necne?*—is a very pertinent question for me to ask myself. 'Tis by your kindness, Sir, that I am to be something, and probably to have some foundation laid to my small fortune. I have represented this to my Lord Chamberlain, who commands me to assure you that the kindness you are pleased to show me shall be looked on as done to himself, and if anything that concerns me is to be advanced on the other side, His Lordship adds it shall have all his aid and assistance.

"I am persecuted by the *réfugiés* about passports as much as they are by their *Grand Louis* on a better account: and like Orpheus I shall be torn in pieces by the women, except you are pleased to instruct me what I am to do, and in whose name I am either to let them go or hinder them. You will, Sir, I hope, pardon your man of one business, and if just in this conjuncture of my life I am troublesome, I will remain all the rest of it with all possible gratitude and respect, etc." *Copy.* (X. 62.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1694, June 5–15. Hague.—"I hope my Lord Duke has his books, which have been so long coming that if, according to Becker, there be but one Devil, he may be dead in this while." *Copy.* (X. 63.)

— to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, June 8–18. London.—Informing him that he has seen a letter from Holland to a person at Court stating that "*quelques libertins, ennemis cachés du Roi,*" are resorting to The Hague, and that Prior is not likely to know enough of these "*esprits français,*" to be on his guard against their designs. If Lord Falkland had lived he would have warned him and forbidden their resort thither. *French.* (II. 6.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. KNIPE, second master of Westminster School.

1694, June 8–18. Hague.—"In obedience to the commands of my lord and patron I recommend his eldest son Mr. Berkeley to your care and protection, and am very glad of the occasion, as well to express my veneration for the school and my respect to my masters there, as to show the great duty and obligation I owe this young nobleman's family by endeavouring to have him placed where he may have an education worthy of it. My Lord's public affairs have kept his family till now in Holland, which is an excuse why you had not your scholar much sooner, and a reason why he must redeem his time. He is already as far advanced in Latin as the best masters he could find here and his strict application to the French

would permit; so that if he be not so thoroughly versed in the classic authors as some of your little Doctors in the Fifth Form, he understands pretty well History and Geography, and is master of a language which in spite of all that Cicero or Seneca can do will be universal, and by consequence must be studied. It is at Westminster he must take that tincture of the ancients, and make those improvements in his own language which no other place can give him. I know he will see younger boys much before him in that way; you will find, however, that he has too much fire and emulation in his temper to let him stay long behind his neighbours, and such extraordinary natural parts as will soon enable him to overtake them. I could enlarge very much in his praises, but instead of making his panegyric I am to have him taught to make one. I assure you only that he has wit enough to answer to the great genius of the school I recommend him to, and to make him as famous before a House of Commons at five and twenty as I hope he will be at fifteen before an election at Westminster.

"Mr. Berkeley writes a good hand and, I am sure, must not lose it under you. He has the principles of Arithmetic, for the practice of which it is absolutely necessary that some of his hours be set aside with the master who comes (I think) thrice a week to the school.

"For Greek, as you please; he may have some taste of it, if it will discourage him to be kept from it; otherwise his improvement in Latin is the main thing to aim at, for he has not a great deal of time before him, and will be a man before we are aware of it.

"His whole education is left to you by his good parents, who love him too well to humour him, and will absolutely have him instructed and not flattered; and we doubt not in the least but that in two years under your hands he will have solid learning enough to come abroad again, and give strangers an idea of the greatest school in his own country, and possibly of any other through which he shall travel.

"If you still take boarders, I presume my Lord designs Mr. Berkeley shall be of the number. I have warranted the success of this whole matter to my Lord; so you will be pleased sometimes at your leisure to honour me with a line concerning it, that I may constantly answer your letters, and take what care I can of Mr. Berkeley at this distance, and which I beseech you to take double since I cannot be nearer him. I am to represent from his father and mother (the best that any son was ever blest with) how nearly this child's education touches them and how heartily they ask you to enter into his interest; and (if it be not too bold to mix my own requests to theirs), if I may in the least have merited in the society or am remembered by my masters, I humbly beg that this young gentleman may profit by it."



*Postscript.*—"I do not trouble the Doctor, having only my most obedient service to send him, and my wishes for the continuance of his health, which I ought to do for the public good if I had no particular obligations to him." *Copy.* (X. 64.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, June 12 [-22]. London.—"I am very desirous not to lose a part in your friendship which you were so kindly pleased to afford me. . . . I hope you will sometimes let me hear from you. . . . I will yet venture further, to desire you to send me word if there be any true French wine of any kind to be had at The Hague. If so, I will send you word (when I know the sort and price) what quantity I desire, and hope the captain of some yacht will not deny me the bringing it safe hither. I can only add that if you can gratify me therein, I will not deal with you as a noble person did lately with my Lady Dursley." (II. 7.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, June 12 [-22]. Whitehall.—"I have yours of the 5th and 8th, and have likewise heard from Mr. Blathwayt that you have commenced your first degree in the ministry; may you go on and prosper! The next thing we have to do for your service is to get you a warrant for your privy seal, as well for your being allowed reasonable extraordinaries as for your 20s. *per diem*; and that shall be as soon as we know from what time it is to commence, for which I have writ to Mr. Blathwayt by this post.

"My Lord Duke [of Shrewsbury] has received your books and gives you thanks for them. You seem to have a mind to write to His Grace. You not only may do it, but in your station you ought to do it, and that as constantly as any of the other foreign ministers; and when you have made your compliments, you must let him know in your own hand all that passes. Mr. Stepney does it with great exactness, and I don't doubt but you will make yourself as remarkable; and so, my grave lesson being finished, I take my leave." (II. 8.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1694, June 12-22. Hague.—"The packet with the mail of Friday sennight being taken, and the letters at the bottom of the sea, has saved Your Lordship the reading a long letter from your young minister at The Hague.

"The States received this morning an express. The armies are within three leagues of each other, ours being removed a little further towards Tirlemont, and the French advanced.

Our forragers have taken some few prisoners, who agree that the enemy's horse are in a bad condition.

"The French have passed the Rhine at Philipsburg with about 40,000 men, with design to ruin the Bergstraes. The Saxon troops are at length agreed for, and we are promised they shall march presently, so that if they (who are 12,000) come up in time to strengthen Prince Louis, who has now about 26,000, we may be in a condition to oppose them.

"I told my Lord and patron in the last I wrote to him (and which I presume miscarried), that upon my Lord Falkland's death the King had appointed me to do his business here, and had given me the title of his Secretary, which without advancing me something is only giving me leave to lay out sometimes eight, sometimes twelve pounds a week for letters, for the payment of which I am to solicit the Treasury a year hence, and get it perhaps in tallies, if it were in my Lord Nottingham's time, who would neither propose for me nor oppose against me. Patience! but as it is I hope Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, knight, will ask my Lord Duke of Shrewsbury (for whose kindness to me on Your Lordship's account I am infinitely obliged) if His Grace ever heard of a professed panegyric poet that was able to advance two guineas to the public." *Copy.* (X. 68.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1694, June 12-22. Hague.—"You are sure to be again plagued with me, because you obliged me yesterday, as with a common beggar, because you relieved him last time you met him in the street. Mr. Blathwayt has (you know) recommended me by letter to the Pensioner; I have recourse to the States as His Majesty's Secretary, and as such pay sometimes above a hundred gilders a week for letters. So far all is well, but you remember what Isaac said: *Here is the fire and the wood, but where is the ram for the offering?* Pray don't give me Abraham's repartee; but be pleased to advise me, if I may not justly desire some money may be advanced, since in all these affairs Mr. Blathwayt turns me over to you.

"You will guess how far my stock will reach in these matters, it being (as you, my father, ought to know) about two hundred pounds, a sum which being lent the public will do His Majesty a world of service.

"I must desire you to advise and assist me in procuring a privy seal for my appointments from the 1st November, N.S., that I may dun the Treasury and bring in my extraordinaries already disbursed in form and manner as my forefathers." *Copy.* (X. 69.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, June 15[-25]. Whitehall.—Acquainting him with the orders made with regard to passports, and asking for



suggestions as to their improvement. Mr. Frankland reports a complaint made by the commanders of packet-boats, "that the two ducatoons so rigorously demanded at The Brill for being put into a pass is the reason or pretence that many make use of not to pay their passage, which they stand up for as being *pro Rege*, and urge that where there is but 12s. to be had, it is more due for bringing them over than for a bare leave to do it; but if I were to decide this controversy between you, I fear I should please neither side, for my determination would be, where there is so little left as is next to nothing, both the King and his Secretary should lose their right. But if you won't allow me to be a judge, admit me still to be," etc. (II. 9.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1694, June 19-29. Hague.—"There is something more mysterious in your honouring me with a letter than in all the prophecies of our good friend Sir Fleetwood. A person who has long been Ambassador with the greatest success has seldom condescended to write to a young secretary; and I believe till now a Commissioner of the Treasury never began first with a minister *per interim* abroad; but so it has pleased your goodness to act, and hereafter I shall not wonder that it is unbounded, but rather receive the blessing and be satisfied than presume saucily to inquire into the causes of it: and now, since you are pleased to honour me with your friendship, I will tell you one thing as a secret; that it is very probable you will spoil me by encouraging me, and I may soon have too good an opinion of myself if I am looked upon so favourably by a man whose judgement all the world allows to be unquestionable. I have delivered your letter to Mr. Lelienrothe, and by it gained the honour of his acquaintance. I neither see from him or Mons. Lenthe any new proposals tending towards a peace; I think there will be nothing more of that kind offered, till this deciding campaign be over, and *Pax quaeritur bello* was never so true as now. When Count Kaunitz comes from Vienna, we shall know what terms the Emperor requires; that Minister may yet defer his journey something longer, if want of money be the reason of his having deferred it thus long.

"The armies are encamped still, (as your last Flanders letters informed you they were), ours at Roosbeeck by Tirlemont, the French at St. Tron, and two little rivers betwixt them. His Majesty has ordered bridges and boats to be ready, so that if the Enemies retire towards Liége, which probably they design, we shall salute them at parting at Rotterdam.

"I am told there is true French wine. Within three days I shall be able to give you an account of that matter." *Copy.* (X. 71.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, July 5. [N.S.]—"I do not ask Your Grace's pardon for not having written to you, on your being Secretary of State, Duke or Knight of the Garter: on the contrary I pretend to make a merit of my silence. I really thought it too presumptuous for me to add a letter to the multitude Your Grace has received on these subjects from men of the greatest worth and quality, and was afraid to be impertinent since I could only say that I was glad of all this in my own particular, when all the nation is so in general. It is glad indeed; my Lord, it ought to be so when in that great station where you are it sees a man too good to be tempted by any thing but steady virtue and too great to enter into any interest but that of his country. That Your Lordship receives new titles at this time is yet another national good; it is, in the midst of a war with France, to tell our enemies that the English family their nation most dreaded formerly is yet in its pristine glory, and it is to add honour to the Order of the Garter to have it given to such a subject of our own as may make our Sovereign's allies ambitious of it. For my own interest indeed, and to act like a barefaced courtier I ought to congratulate Your Lordship's return to the Secretaryship. We young politicians begin to hope well of our future labours when men of your merit and honours condescend to be our masters; and the glory of managing a pen under the Duke of Shrewsbury now will be as great as that of having drawn a sword heretofore under his ancestors. Your Grace will excuse my growing a little florid, and lay the blame upon the grandeur of the subject: it should indeed have been treated in verse, but I despaired of coming up to the height of it; and would rather have Your Grace esteem me an indifferent secretary than know me to be a bad poet." *Copy.* (X. 77.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, July 9. [N.S.] Hague.—"I send Your Grace the copy of an order of which the Pensioner sends the original by one way and by another an authentic copy of it, taken by me, here, to Vice-Admiral Hopson, so that he may be sure to receive either the one or the other. The Pensioner and the Secretaries of the Admiralties here are of opinion that it is necessary to our sea affairs that a more frequent and regular communication be established as to what regards our convoys and cruisers, and that I should be instructed in these points from England, so as from time to time to be able to inform them here as to the number of ships we have out, and where they are, for that from this side very often they could send advices necessary for our Commanders' knowledge, if they knew where in probability such advices might find them. On this side they say I shall have an account of their ships, as well of the time and occasion of their going out, as of



the stations they are to keep. Mr. de Wilde, Secretary to the Admiralty of Amsterdam, gives me this enclosed list, and the route the ships therein mentioned are to take, which (Your Grace observes) does no way contradict the King's order, for that as many of these twelve ships shall join Vice-Admiral Hopson as shall be judged sufficient to make a squadron strong enough to meet Bart,\* which will be proportioned to the number Vice-Admiral Hopson shall have, to make about twelve in all, at least more than ten, the number mentioned in the order; the rest of the Dutch to cruise as may be judged convenient, of which I shall send Your Grace an account as I may have it from the Admiralties here." *Copy.* (X. 72.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1694, July 7-17. Hague.—“Nine of the Dutch squadron are already gone out to join ours; the other three, being of that squadron which were lately ill-treated by De Bart, are not yet in a condition to follow, but will be in few days. Of this I have written to my Lord Duke of Shrewsbury, as likewise of Mr. de Wild's opinion that some of the Dutch ships may be spared to act separately. I do not perceive but that the Dutch in general bear their late losses with the constancy of the old Romans. They have prattled a little at Amsterdam, and the peacemakers there look on that business as near done.

“The Prince and Stadtholder of Fries[land] has lately been there. He is come hither, and is going with his Princess and her sister to a barony he has between Gorcum and Schonhoven.” *Copy.* (X. 76.)

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, July 10 [-20]. Whitehall.—“I . . . have acquainted the Commissioners of the Admiralty with what the Pensioner proposes about a mutual communication in relation to convoys and cruisers, which I don't doubt but they will approve of.

“Paul Brissac, a French gentleman, having lived some time in the English plantations in America, and done considerable service against the French in those parts, and coming now to complain of the injury done him some time since by a Dutch privateer, who seized his effects contrary to all justice on board an English ship, it is Her Majesty's pleasure that you give him what assistance you can towards his obtaining a reparation according to the equity of his cause, which I leave to him more fully to instruct you in.” *Signed.* (II. 11.)

THE SAME to the SAME.

1694, July 17 [-27]. Whitehall.—“A complaint being brought to the Council (whereof the enclosed is a copy) against a

\* *I.e.*, the celebrated naval commander, Jean Bart, originally a corsair, of Dunkirk.

Dutch man-of-war called the *Dolphin* for abusing some Custom House officers in the river, and the ship having sailed before I could speak with the captain of her (as was directed), the Council have since thought fit that the information should be sent into Holland, and a fitting representation be made of it there, that such an insolence may not go unpunished, but that the offenders be called to a strict account for the affront put upon their Majesties' authority in the violence used towards their officers while employed in discharge of their duty." *Signed.* (II. 13.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, July 17[-27]. Whitehall.—“Yesterday I received yours of the 6th inst. I think I know Charles Macartie, and if it be the same, I suppose his coming over will be of no great consequence.”

“As to the letter of advice sent you by an unknown hand, I have been ruminating upon it. I once thought of taking notice of it to Blancard (which I have opportunities enough to do), but since he has never mentioned anything like it to me, I know not whether I should do you any service in it. Solomon with all his wisdom does not resolve that difficulty whether one should answer a fool according to his folly, but gives his reasons *pro* and *con*. A man that pleases himself with ill-natured admonitions that he can't keep in, while he passes for one unknown, perhaps may think no more of it; but if he finds himself hunted out and discovered, he may think himself under a necessity of justifying it, and whether he does that well or ill, one may have one's quiet discomposed by it. He that accuses me to myself will have enough to do to have the better of me, but if I'll challenge him before a judge, I may be very innocent and yet have but a chance for being declared so. You may therefore guess at my opinion of the matter. But it being your concern, perhaps you may have better considered it in another [*sic*], and if you think it fit, I'll speak to Blancard in the way you would have me, and if it be worth while, I don't doubt but to make you rightly understand one another.

“In the meanwhile I hope you are above being disturbed at such a greeting, nor do I think it worth much enquiry who it is that is so officious, at least that it should take wind you are in any concern about it. Some that don't love Blancard would be glad to see you at variance with him, but I don't see of what use it will be to you to enter into their sentiments. Many of them have not much more to lose, and therefore their quarrels are of no great consequence; but any other that shall thrust himself in among them may (as George Porter phrased it) meet now and then with a random kick. In short, if the advice be good, one would take the hint and say no more of it; if it [be] misdirected, let the man have his letter again when he calls for it.



"As to your style you would be informed in—*May it please Your Grace* was used by our forefathers; but I think *My Lord* passes well enough in this generation, and a syllable or two is well saved.

"Your privy seal is ordered to commence from November 1st, but we are not yet resolved upon what paper to write the warrant; for we have a Stamp Act that makes everybody ridiculously cautious: but we shall have the Judges' opinions within two or three days." (II. 12.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, August 3. [N.S.] Hague.—Has acquainted the Pensioner with the complaint against the *Dolphin*, which will be heard by the Admiralties. "Most of the officers and seamen of this unhappy ship are lost; it being the vessel which perished some time since in company with the *Rotterdam* on the coasts of Zeeland: and the captain himself still under examination for his ill conduct on that occasion." *Copy*. (X. 80.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, July 31 [–August 10]. Whitehall.—"As for Debordes, if he be a dangerous man, I despair of seeing him here, since it is unknown in what ship he comes over, or where he is like to land. If it prove to be one rogue more got into the herd, we know not how to help it."

"I must thank you for your news, and should think myself as much obliged for it if you did not give yourself the trouble to write it with your own hand." (II. 16.)

#### The DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, July 31 [–August 10]. Whitehall.—"I send you enclosed a copy of Vice-Admiral Hopson's letter which I received this day from the Admiralty. The use to be made of it is to insinuate as you have occasion, that it would contribute much to the common good of the service if the ships employed against De Bart were clean and better sailors, and acquaint the Pensioner with it, who may think it of consequence to get some of these ships changed for others that will be more useful." *Signed*. (II. 15.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, August 7–17. Hague.—I informed Mr. Vernon last post that I had given copies of the list of our cruisers to the northward into the Pensioner's hands, which he had forwarded to the Admiralties of Amsterdam and the Maas. "I have since laid before him the substance of Your Grace's letters of the 31st July, with a copy of that from Vice-Admiral Hopson of the 29th, upon which the Pensioner writes to Mr.

de Wilde now at Amsterdam; and if that Admiralty be in a condition to send any light frigates to Vice-Admiral Hopson, or change any of those already with him for others that are cleaner, he commands me to assure Your Grace it shall be done."

"I told the Pensioner of the two ships sent to the Straits of which I ought to have been able to give an account in England: he could only answer that the Admiralties thought that communication should only regard the ships sent northward. I urged as plainly as I could that there was no reason to have understood or made any restriction, and for the future the communication will be general. Of this I have likewise spoken to Mr. Sasse at Rotterdam, and will do so to Mr. de Wilde, who will be at The Hague about the end of the week.

"I am glad Your Grace approves of the States' resolution upon the complaint I made. I have spoken to the Admiralties, I hope, so effectually as that their particular orders may be given to the officers under their distinct jurisdictions so effectually as to hinder such insolences for the future.

"The Pensioner and Secretary of the Admiralty of Rotterdam complained of some abuses on this side from some of our officers. I desired them, if there was any ground for such a complaint, that it might be fairly drawn up, and that I would lay it before Your Lordship, and promised to have all abuses of that kind redressed on our side.

"That Heaven and Earth might witness bear

That Justice stood by Marie's throne,

Nor could they doubt if right from her

On others' subjects should be shown,

When they reflected with what care

She asked it for her own."

*Copy.* (X. 81.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, August 10 [-20]. Whitehall.—"If you think I can answer all the questions that a versed man can ask about passes, I must tell you you are mistaken. All I know is that John Mackye stops whom he will at Harwich, and whom he pleases he lets go; and you may do so at The Brill if you can. It has been an old complaint on this side and that against yachts, merchant-men and convoys that they smuggle passengers. The Admiralty have been told of it, and promise a remedy, but the current of iniquity is too strong and bears all down before it; one must, however, struggle, and when one catches an offender one must make him pay his forfeit.

"Your Debordes has been here, and unless we had his charge as well as the man, we don't know what to say to him. The Emperor's resident has appeared with him: he did it in respect to a broad seal at his commission, for I am confident he knows no more of him; and we have let him go in deference to His Excellency's character." (II. 18.)



## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, August 14 [-24]. Whitehall.—“You are very merry with the commissions sent you by Bob the envoy. If you don't like to be put upon those searches, you may delegate them to Abraham Kick, who may do it *sans conséquence*. I find him very desirous to thrust himself into business, and if he can't get something that no body else will meddle withal, I don't know what will become of him.” (II. 20.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, August 28 [-September 7]. Whitehall.—“Mr. Smith has not yet brought your bill of extraordinaries, and when he does you may be sure it will meet with no delay here, and I believe Mr. Montague will be as friendly to you at the Treasury as he is to Mr. Stepney, who does not labour under the arrears that some others of our foreign ministers are to be pitied for. I suppose you will put your former allowance of 500*l.* into your own extraordinaries, for that, my Lord Dursley thinks, will be the best way. The ministry, I hope, won't prove so poor a profession as you imagine it at present, and you may be assured of all the helps we can give to reconcile you well together.” (II. 21.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1694, September 10. N.S. Hague.—“We begin now to think there will be no great thing done this campaign in Flanders, the French are retired on the other side of Courtray, have a great many fortified towns on that side under the cannon of which they can avoid battle. The season is far gone, our pioneers sent to their towns, and (in all appearance), except His Majesty can fall on the French rear at parting, he will save his army and content himself with the honour of having saved Maastricht and Liége, as of having shut up and fatigued his enemy the whole campaign.

“The rest is all my own affairs. My Lord Dorset has been pleased to favour them since I was ten year old, so at nine and twenty I need make no apology for my troubling him with them. I have represented to Your Lordship that the King has made me his secretary here till he thinks good to name another minister, which adds a good deal of authority to very little merit, and has given me much credit, but as yet not one penny of money. However, it sets me in very good light, and I doubt not but Your Lordship's continued favours to me will keep me in it.”

Desires Lord Dorset's recommendation of him to Lord Portland and the Duke of Shrewsbury that he may be thought of when His Majesty fills the post he supplies *per interim*. Copy. (X. 84.)

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, September 4 [-14]. Whitehall.—“If enquiry be made what orders are given about protecting their [the Dutch] ships employed in the herring fishing, you may answer that the orders are as usual in that particular: but in reality the places where our people fish on the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk are looked upon to be distinct, and not to lie in common to strangers; so that the stations of our convoy on this service will be like to be at a greater distance from the Dutch fishery than that any considerable assistance can be expected from them: which I only tell you for your own information, and don't think it proper you should make further use of it, but only to express in general terms that it is not to be doubted but either side will give one another the mutual succour they ought to do.” (II. 22.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1694, September 11-21. Hague.—“Here is a famous *père de l'oratoire*, his name Vasere, just come from France, whether with a design to change his religion, as he pretends, or to be a spy, as some imagine, is yet uncertain. He is a man of good learning, and keeps company with such here. I have had the curiosity to talk with him; he answers very frankly to any questions put to him in discourse; talks very particularly of the miseries of France, that more have died in Paris these six last months than have done upon an usual computation in two years; that the *premier Président de Paris* said in his hearing, *Hélas! tout le royaume est devenu un grand hôpital*; and that Monsieur has been forced to break off his table three times this year for want of money to buy daily provisions; that neither the Dauphin or Mons. de Luxembourg are very well in Court; and the Grand Monarch grown so gouty, peevish and superstitious, (three excellent qualities) that nobody knows what to do with him. I know not if anything of this is worth acquainting His Grace with, or if His Grace would have me ask him any thing which may be thought for their Majesties' service.

“I have satisfied the Pensioner in what regards the Dutch herring fishers being protected by our men-of-war in such a manner as His Grace commanded me, and to inform you of my having done so is (I take it) something modester than to trouble my Lord Duke with a letter only to say I had done so. You will please to lay the contents of this before His Grace.” *Copy.* (X. 86.)

W. SMYTHE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, September 28 [-October 8]. Inner Temple.—Recommending him to employ Mr. Powys in his financial transactions with the Treasury; he “is a man of great diligence, skill, integrity and ability, and will always be near to attend Mr.



Montague in your business, and one who I know is not mercenary, and will be very punctual in his correspondences. He does all Mr. Cresset's business, and, I believe, very much to his satisfaction." (VIII. 5.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, October 19–29. Hague.—“His Majesty was yesterday morning in the Council of State, where having read and approved the State of the War for the next year he went into the Assembly of the States General, to whom the Council of State presented the State of the War, which according to custom is sent to the several Provinces to be by them consented to and sent back to the States General for their confirmation. It consists in their keeping on foot the same troops, in their raising recruits to render their regiments complete, and adding to their artillery.

“His Majesty's convoy will be strengthened by seven or eight Dutch vessels. My Lord Carmarthen is gone down to give all necessary orders for his voyage.” *Copy*. (X. 88.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, November 9. N.S. Hague.—“Whilst the Duke of Shrewsbury is Secretary of State, the least have access to him, and the meanest are relieved. 'Tis on this account that I dare write immediately to Your Grace on so inconsiderable a business as that of my fortune. Whilst the Court was here I took the boldness to represent to my Lord Portland and Mr. Blathwayt that whenever His Majesty pleased to supply the ministry here, I had no other pretension than that of throwing myself in the packet-boat and making the best of my way for England; that, if I was to be left here, it was no way proper for me in this post to scramble at ordinaries with Switzers or French Protestants; that a little house this winter would be convenient in so cold a country as Holland; that it was not handsome for me to go to the Pensioner or Secretaries on foot, whilst they sent their clerks back again in coaches; and that myself and servants could not subsist with any tolerable credit upon twenty shillings a day, which tallies and the change of money hardly bring beyond eighteen: that the public Ministers, owning me with regard to the title I was commanded to take of the King of England's Secretary, came to visit me, and that I could not go to them or to Court when I was too dirty. My Lord Portland was pleased to think my pretensions were rather founded on reason than vanity, and assured as well my Lord Lexington as Mr. Blathwayt and myself that he would move it to His Majesty and get it fixed on this side, so that I hoped to have given Your Grace no trouble in so small a matter at a time when those of the greatest moment are to be formed and guided by your care and conduct; but the King going hence this morning in order to embark, I had no opportunity

of seeing my Lord Portland or he of speaking to the King ; so I humbly lay my circumstances before Your Grace and desire only to be added to the multitude whom you daily oblige. I ventured to tell my Lord Portland that my requests were no way irregular, that Mr. Poley, who was only called *Gentilhomme Anglais*, had an allowance of three pounds a day, as had likewise Mr. Stepney at Vienna with the same character of Secretary which I have here ; and that I did not question but that Your Grace would assist my request in England if His Lordship (as has happened) should be hurried hence without an opportunity of representing it." *Copy.* (X. 90.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, Nov. 9-19. Hague.—“His Majesty (Your Grace will have known) set sail yesterday afternoon. Prince Vaudemont set forward in the evening towards Brussels.

“Count Kaunitz assisted yesterday at the Congress, as his Lady does every evening at the assemblies. His equipage is preparing extreme rich [*sic*], and he designs to make a great figure, which has already thrown the seeds of discord between the Countess of Kaunitz and Madame Lilieroot, the Swedish Envoy's wife. *Vive la guerre !*

“I lately troubled Your Grace with such a letter of my own affairs that nothing can be bolder but my not asking your repeated pardon for it ; Fortune may starve my body if she pleases, but shall never lessen my ambition.” *Copy.* (X. 93.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, Nov. 13 [-23]. Whitehall.—“Your plenipotentiary has had audience of my Lord Duke and represented the state of your affairs as well as his own. His Grace intends to know the King's pleasure upon both ; which, I hope, will stay your stomach till everything can be done in their order. I have seen Mr. Blathwayt, who still thinks it more feasible to get you helped in the necessary charges you mention by adding them to your extraordinaries than by an augmentation of allowance, if it were but for the precedent's sake. So that if my Lord should consult him before he speaks to the King as it is fit, he should know originally how far it has proceeded. I can't answer it won't end there ; but I think you ought to be indifferent whether it doth or not, for 100*l.* by a bill of extraordinaries is very like 100*l.* by a privy seal. I hope you believe me, I shall be glad to hear you are mounted, though we have more dirt and I have further to go in it.” (II. 28.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1694, December 3. N.S. Hague.—Letter of thanks for the Earl's espousal of his cause. “Our ministers are infinitely satisfied with His Majesty's speech and the *ouverture* of



the *Parlement*. I know not if one of our Northern neuters speaks as he thinks." *Copy*. (X. 94.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1694, Dec. 4-14. Hague.—"Yesterday one Wall, brother to my Lady Oglethorp, came to me and gave me an account that he, being here on his private concerns, and his circumstances being low, being likewise amongst the Jacobites here, and looked upon as one of that party, has been solicited by one Edward Roberts at Amsterdam to help forward a correspondence between those of that party in France and their brethren in England; and has accordingly consented to accept the same employment. He promises, as such letters come to his hands, to send them to me. If there be anything worth noting in the letters he shall send me, I shall take copies of them, and send them to you, forwarding the originals. In a post or two I shall know more of this affair; the man's business in the meantime is a little money, which, I told him, he should not want if he gave me any information worth it.

"In order to deserve he has given me this book, which Roberts, who holds the Jacobite correspondence, gave to Wall, to be delivered by a friend of Wall's who was going some time since into England, according to its address, to Mr. Peter Welsh at Mr. Evance's near the *Wheat Sheaf* in the Old Bailey. It is only a Dutch Comedy, but that could hardly be the design of the present; the margin is, I believe, filled with writing, some of which upon applying it to the fire is come out, as you see, but so imperfectly that I can make nothing of it. I presume there is some other way of fetching the letters out, and choose rather to recommend it to you, plot-finders of the office, whose trade it is to know these matters, than to hazard the spoiling my plot by tampering with my own ignorance to bring it forth. This may be a trifle or a thing of consequence, God knows; as I have more light in the matter I shall inform you, and you will tell me what I am to do to hold my Proteus." *Copy*. (X. 95.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1694, Dec. 4-14. Hague.—"I am infinitely obliged to my Lord Duke's goodness and Mr. Vernon's intercession; and have read Seneca too often to be discouraged at the disappointment. I am too old to cry for a coach, and too young to have a real want of one; and ought to be satisfied with my pension, if the Government is satisfied with my service; if I consider that I have less than I desired and more than I deserved.

"*Quando id quod velis non possis, velis id quod possis*: so to show you I am not out of humour, I remember that 100*l.* in a bill of extraordinaries is very like 100*l.* by a privy seal.

I hope, therefore, a coach, to be hired when I have business, may be allowed ; else, take five gilders from ten gilders and there remain but five, and consequently I must fast those days in which I give in memorials or pay visits. The small equipage of three rascals may come in likewise, and the house-rent for reasons not unlike the former." *Copy.* (X. 96.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694, Dec. 7 [-17]. Whitehall.—“ Mr. Blathwayt calling here this evening, I carried him up to my Lord Duke, and their chief discourse was about your concerns. My Lord thought no difficulty would be made in passing upon your extraordinaries some reasonable demands, and they were both of opinion not to move the King in it beforehand, as thinking his consent more easily to be obtained when the expense was made ; therefore it will now become your prudence not to let it be excessive, or what may endanger a refusal.

“ I have also acquainted His Grace with what you wrote about my Lady Oglethorp’s relation : he likes the proposal, and thinks it ought to be encouraged. It is certain Roberts is an inveterate fellow ; and one that shall get into an intimacy with him may know something ; but whether this person be of a talent for it you will judge best. However, my Lord Duke thinks a trial ought to be made, and what considerations you give him will be allowed. I suppose you will do it sparingly at the beginning, till you see what he is capable of performing.

“ I have sent the book to our wise men in the art, that they may try what they can bring to light : the man it was directed to we know to be stuffed full of malice and disaffection. Therefore, any letters sent to him will be fit to be looked into.” (II. 29.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. WALL.

[1694,] Dec. 8–18. [Hague].—“ It seems strange enough to me that Mr. Roberts, who proposed the matter of which we have treated together, should not be kind enough to help you for some time, and it is unhappy enough that your circumstances will not give you time that I may be able to assist you. I will not venture my sentiments of this affair further in pen and ink, and can only assure you that upon what you propose to me you shall not want encouragement, if you can find means to give me anything upon which I may depend.” *Copy.* (X. 97.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [GEORGE] STEPNEY.

1694, Dec. 11–21. Hague.—“ I have yours of this day sennight, and am admiring that people who talk of 5*l.* a day, then 4*l.*, now 400*l.* equipage, and now nothing, in your case, should be so regularly resolved in mine as not to help



me because they want a precedent : they have all sorts of weapons I see, and keep us, as you advised me to keep my virago, at arm's length : and we must e'en arm ourselves in the Apostle's magazine with the helmet of patience and the sword of faith. There is certainly nothing more irregular than the last proposal of 200*l.* in a lump : but that is an objection that I ought not to start, but that we are talking only of examples and precedents ; and I think Mr. Blathwayt's advice may be our *pis aller*, though I see no harm in t'other, as Fascio said of his pupils going to church. Believe me Shephard knows no more of my Lord Dorset's mind than he does of your negotiation, and would offer the 100*l.* a year as liberally to Ben Conway, whom he never saw but once, as to me whom he has known this eighteen year. The gravity of his follies is unsufferable, and he wants a tutor more than my Lord Buckhurst. I thought you were not such a stranger in Israel as to fancy he expects to be believed : but I forget you have been in a country where all the *beaux* have such faces and *mines*, and the Privy Councillors are all drunk by three after dinner.

"I am well enough affected to a seat in the office, *i.e.*, in case our projects abroad fail, to have it promised, that I may have the offer, rather than, having no provision here if a minister should be sent, to be obliged to make the campaign with Mr. B—— ; but I had much rather have Ratisbon, and consequently be in state to join Lord Lexington *en cas de besoin*, which you know answers to the plan we propose to ourselves of making our forces joined so formidable in the Empire. However, I say, from a seat in the office one may leap abroad after having learnt the routine, and we have precedents of this matter from my Lord Arlington to father Vernon.

"Shwinfort is in the right of it to fancy himself fit for an employment of which he wants the emoluments. Hughes, you will find, has just the same sentiments ; 'tis all a game, Catt, and we that are partners are rather to hold up our cards than blame our adversaries for peeping into our hands, or endeavouring to trump the cards we hope to make our tricks by. I do not find, that we are drawing near a peace, so possibly they will not leave me a year only upon the questions *an ?* and *quomodo ?* at Ratisbon. You do well to stop interlopers, however, and I see you distinguish my interests no otherwise from your own than by embracing them with more zeal. Pray take your leave of our friends in Channel Row and of Lord Dorset. May be, he may send me something to begin house-keeping. See Lady Orrery too, and desire to know if I may be serviceable to her in anything here. Ollinda is miraculously recovered from folly, and (if one may believe her scrawl) resolves to be *resnabel*. I am perfectly friends with her : how easily we pardon those we love ! and count that for certain which we have a mind to hope ! and

if it were not for the dear deceit, who would desire life and *brigue* foreign employments, when at home one may find twenty ready ways of dying ? or who would be vexed about extraordinaries, whilst arsenic is but nine pence an ounce, and a rope costs but three halfpence ? ” *Copy.* (X. 98-9.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

[1694, Dec. 11-21.]—“ I have not writ a great while to my good friend and patron, Sir William Trumbull, but then too I have not dunned a Commissioner of the Treasury with whom I pretend to have some interest, so I hope my modesty on one side may atone my neglect on the other, and you will not be surprised if I touch only on : *I am extremely obliged to you for having given your acquaintance and protection to a young man in my circumstances ;* and immediately change my note to : *God in heaven bless Your Honour ; relieve a poor creature in a strange country.* Necessity, Sir, has as little manners as it has law ; and when one is really starving, 'tis in vain to be told one is impertinent. Hitherto I have borrowed and done pretty well : those who lent me money and are not yet paid have had the trouble on't, but for want of more such civil persons I begin to be a little troubled myself. There is a great correspondence between the stomach and the heart : one is out of humour commonly when one is hungry ; and it is time to think what friends I have at Whitehall when Famine sits triumphant on the cheeks of my two footmen and the ribs of my two horses. You will be pleased to take this into your consideration, when Mr. Powys presents Your Lordship my extraordinaries.” *Copy.* (X. 100.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1694, Dec. 14-24. Hague.—“ I have yours of this day sennight. I am infinitely obliged to my Lord Duke, but this will better be seen by my obedience to his commands than by any compliments I can make to a man of his quality and business.

“ Mr. Wall has been with me again, and brought me two letters enclosed under cover to him : they were directed to Mr. Stephen Montage at Garraway's Coffee-House, but are really for Edward Roberts at Amsterdam : they are written from one R. Downes, which, I presume, is a sham name for one that is with my Lord Middleton at St. Germain's. In one of the letters Downes sends him the *Paris Gazette*, and tells him he will take care to have his money returned as soon as he can, and advises him to write under cover to Mr. Lanyon : the other letter, of which I send you a copy, is writ, you see, in a cant. I had a seal made in two hours with which I sealed again these letters, and returned them to Wall ; so that I presume it impossible to be known they have been opened. I have instructed Wall to get the key to this cant,



and have taken such measures by the Pensioner's assistance as to be able to get from the Post Office at Amsterdam such letters as Roberts himself may put in for the future, the copies of which you shall have if they contain anything material. In the meantime I have given Wall some moderate encouragement, which I shall increase as he continues to be serviceable.

"Sir James Hayes is just now with me : he is very sick, and, because he does not know how soon he may be called to another world, is willing to discharge his conscience of a piece of roguery which he has lately found out in this. 'One Rice' (he says), 'an Irishman in Captain Napper's Company in the Duke of Leinster's Regiment, and one Sanders in Colonel Coy's Regiment have deserted, sold their horses at Louvain, and by the Jesuits at Ghent were recommended to those of Antwerp to get a pass by the means of Hackett of Rotterdam. In the boat' (where Sir James met them) 'these two persons found a quartermaster of my Lord of Essex's Regiment,' (whose name Sir James knows not) 'who has been kind enough to Rice and Sanders either to put one or both of their names into the passport he had for himself and a sergeant, or to faye [*sic*] an attestation for Rice under the name of Boswix, and make Sanders pass for his own sergeant.' They are on board one ship, a Scotchman bound for London. Do you think fit to have them searched and charged ? *Liberavi animam meam.*" Copy. (X. 101.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1694, Dec. 18-28. Hague.—"Since my last Sir J. Hayes has been several times with me : he is coming to you in a post or two, but is really very sick, so I send you the information with which he charges me for fear he should die by the way, as merchants do their second bills in case their first miscarry. He says that Father Hughes, commonly called Father James, the Fathers Hurly, Everard, the two Joyces and the Confessor of the English Dominicans at Brussels, as likewise one Shaw, a physician at the same town, who was companion and bedfellow to Tilly, suspected to have been hired to fire our magazines and run away upon that suspicion, and one Thompson do all encourage and entertain spies and deserters, and recommend them to one Hackett, a merchant at Rotterdam, whom the Pensioner and Government here know to be a very disaffected man. This Hackett gets passage for such deserters and spies in merchant vessels, and helps them underhand into England.

"That Thompson (of Brussels) procures passes there for such spies and deserters under the notion of their being burghers, which he did for one Butler, who went for France in or about November last, having a token from King James to the Government of Mons to receive him kindly at his arrival thither. Of his gang is likewise one Chambers, a tailor, who

lived formerly in Duke's Court in St. Martin's Lane, and ran from thence (as a Papist and a Jacobite ought to do) to live at Brussels. That the Confessor in Mons. Wolseley's absence has obtained a passport of the Elector [of Bavaria] for my Lord Stafford by the interest of Count Sanfré, to whom he had letters that recommended my Lord Stafford to the Count, from some great men in Germany. That my Lady Fingale and Madam Shelden of the English Nunnery at Brussels supply these deserters and villains with linen and money, and recommend them for passports to Count Sanfré, the Elector's Grand Chamberlain, and Don Andreas, who are kind enough to the fair sex and the fathers to procure these fellows passports, by the means of which they give the King's enemies intelligence and convey letters to France.

"That these Fathers Hurly, Hughes and the two Joyces frequent the house of one FitzSimmons belonging to the Post Office of Brussels, and carry spies and deserters to FitzSimmons' house to dinner, in order to recommend them to FitzSimmons' acquaintance: that FitzSimmons intercepts any letters for these fathers and their lay saints as they think may be written against them or their interest, which letters FitzSimmons returns to the fathers: that FitzSimmons has a son at Douay, and his wife under pretext of visiting this son goes into France and carries intelligence thither; that she went last summer from Douay into the French camp, and brought intelligence from thence to Brussels of several persons, who having been in France were suspected as not true to that Court's interest and consequently not to be trusted by that party at Brussels, particularly one Fitzgerald (she named) who had been Lieutenant in King James' guard, and had quitted that service. That one Captain Hawly of Sir Bevil Greenville's Regiment had been at Brussels with this FitzSimmons frequently, and is regarded by him and the party as a man true to their interests, and has been trusted by Mrs. Clough (who is the woman I searched by Mr. Wolseley's advice) to write letters to Tilly, since absconded, as being thought to have a design to set on fire the magazines, of which design all these fathers above mentioned were acquainted at Ghent. The persons who interest themselves for the deserters are, Clark, a Jesuit, who recommends them to one Swintorn, another Jesuit at Antwerp. At Ghent is likewise one Brockshaw: these supply deserters with money, a pistole to each, and send them to Sir James Gerardine at Dunkirk, to Major Mackarty at Lisle, and to Hackett at Rotterdam." *Copy.* (X. 102.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES VERNON.]

1694, Dec. 18-28. Hague.—"I send you enclosed what you will have *viva voce* from your baronet, Sir James Hayes, who looks more like a ghost than a witness: and if dying people speak truth (as my nurse has told me), one



may very well believe his narration. The use you will make of it, I presume, will be to lay it before the Honourable Mons. Wolseley, since most of the rogues lie in his province. For Hackett, who is in mine, we know him already: he is correspondent to Roberts at Amsterdam, of whom I have given you an account. I have employed your terrier to unkennel another rogue or two here, who do all they can in the vineyard of iniquity: which as soon as I have done, I will be sure to return you your spy, and if he miscarries in coming, it is not my fault." (X. 105.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES] MONTAGU.

1694, Dec. 21-31. Hague.—"I think I never write to you but to ask you to do me some favour, or to thank you for having done it; yet even in these terms you have prevented me one letter, and got me 600*l.* before I had the face to ask it. 'Tis a strange ambition this of yours, my dear Master, that does not content itself with less than the happiness of all those you have honoured with your friendship, and makes you descend from your own greatness to lift us a step or two nearer to you. I have two or three good thoughts and similes upon this occasion, but they are fitter for a dedication than a letter, so I will put them in my commonplace book, till, having completed some years hence my memoirs, I humbly offer them to my Lord Treasurer of England. In the meantime to be true to my custom, having received your last most particular favour, I am clearing the way towards another. My affairs here are well, and the man of business thinks better of me than I deserve. How long I may continue in this secretaryship you, my good patron, will soonest know. If the King names no man of quality before he comes to us, I may take it for granted I am to continue here some time, of which I should be very glad, as what may place me in a good light and make me known; but I hear from some of the great ones here, who are my friends, His Majesty will supply the post. So we must cast about in time. What offers is Ratisbon, where we have no minister, and where if I were I should not be out of the way for *Secrétaire de l'Ambassade* when a peace may come to be treated. The project of such a Secretary in some months, of which Mr. Blathwayt and Lord Lexington have spoken here, is fallen; for I may tell my dear Master, Mons. Harlay, whom you have heard to have been at Maastricht with two other French gentlemen on some overtures of peace, can make nothing of it: he could bring Dyckvelt to no sort of beginning, and the thoughts of treating are laid aside at Versailles. If, therefore, anybody is to be a year or two at Ratisbon to see what the Diet does, I may probably be your man.

"If D'Hervort be recalled from Switzerland, as we agree he either is or will be suddenly, I am of no quality and an Englishman, which are two qualifications the Cantons like

in a minister from us. I am not able indeed to cope with Amelott, but Stepney is otherwise provided, and for the rest of those already abroad, with all my heart *luscus inter caecos videt*.

"I know not if Denmark or Sweden may be supplied: Molesworth and Duncomb have done our affairs no good in those Courts, and we must send tolerable ministers (if we can find such) to repair our credit there or make them think we have a King; my last hope, if these projects fail, is a seat in the next Secretary's office; so, my Master and Patron, having our plan and our time before us, we may work with more ease and sureness."

*Postscript*.—"My obedient service ought always to be given to my Lady Manchester." *Copy*. (X. 108.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1695, Jan. 4. N.S. Hague.—"By the enclosed you will see what use I have made of your knight errant, and how ineffectual my giving passports for the packet is, whilst this gang convoy their brethren into England by merchant ships. Our Don is extremely cherished by the party, and gone with his female convoy to Rotterdam, in order to their finding him a passage over. He will write to me till his embarking, and tell you the rest of his story in England. I have provided for his escape in case he should be discovered or suspected by his new friends, and have given the Pensioner a copy of this information. The Pensioner has given me the honour of a long audience in order to our taking such methods as may most effectually break this gang and hinder rogues, who really come from France, to pass into England, and wenches to bring letters in their stays or (as Mr. Wolseley says) a little lower. You see we know the sinners: the question is if we ought to enter into judgement against them, or if our shooting a rascal deer or two will be sufficient to disperse the herd. I am to apply myself again to the Pensioner upon my Lord Duke commanding me, what His Grace thinks proper on this matter for His Majesty's service. Wall has been with me again, and agrees with what I was before informed, that the intercourse of messages and letters from France is maintained by Creagh and Henderson at Amsterdam and by Wereaux and Hackett at Rotterdam. I have given him some encouragement; I mean money. He has likewise had some from Mr. Secretary Trenchard. I have taken measures with him that his seeing me may be extremely private, and I believe he may do some service, for there is some villainy brewing by these good men on this side." (X. 110.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD LEXINGTON.

1695, Jan. 7. N.S. Hague.—"I accept my good Lord's challenge of the 18th December, though I think you have too evidently the advantage on your side; you and your



Abraham\* are too formidable for so poor warriors as I and mine to cope with. When the beautiful Thalestris took up arms, 'twas only the conqueror of the world that durst oppose her; and Venus in the battle was wounded by Diomedes alone, who descended in a right line from about half a dozen of gods. Abraham furnished me with these two fancies, and to show me there is a worse poet alive than his master gave me these verses for a New Year's gift. He is foolhardy enough to be fond of entering into this defiance, and as Hudibras was incited by Ralpho and Don Quixote by Sancho Pancho, so I am pushed by the faithful, who tells me I must fight, and brings me his opinion in metre, as Your Lordship will see it in his own hand if you please to turn over from my poor prose.

- "What glory is't for you to maul  
 "Poor Consul Kick, or old Sir Paul? †  
 "Such easy conquests but upbraid ye.  
 "Come, charge your guns, lead up your men!  
 "Dubb! Dubb! tantara! to Vienne,  
 "To bang this formidable lady.  
 "In true heroics 'twill be held  
 "Much less to gain a vulgar field  
 "Than to be beat in such a quarrel;  
 "And whilst our black and blue can show  
 "What hand it was to give the blow,  
 "We would not change our thumps for laurel.  
 "Perhaps they to their force may joyn  
 "Famars, that Swiss that fights for coyn,  
 "Or to their Abram add their Davers:  
 "However, we shall give 'em those  
 "Who shall return them *quids* for *quos*.  
 "A clear stage only and no favours,  
 "Our Pierre shall hold their Peanman tight,  
 "As soon as he can read and write.  
 "And if Cuz meddles in the matter,  
 "We have a lovely she ally  
 "(But *tace*: that's 'twixt you and I)  
 "Shall strip her stays off and have at her.

"I dare not sustain Abram's rhodomontade. I own I am a coward in nature, and so far from being able to take up the cudgels against your Abraham and her party, that I ask her pardon for the liberty of my half, and am with all respect Her Ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant." *Copy.* (X. 111.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1695, Jan. 7. [N.S.] Hague.—"What is here most considerable is the account which Count Kaunitz has given the States of Giula being surrendered to General Polland, which,

\* Lady Lexington.

† Sir Paul Rycaut.

if it does not facilitate a peace, will at least advantage the carrying on a war. The Germans say it is of great consequence, and their minister here rejoices for it.

"We had by the same post the news of the Venetians owning his Majesty's title, of which I have taken occasion to speak as I ought to the ministers here.

"Letters from Dresden say the Elector of Saxe has had a violent fever, and is relapsed into it, which is very natural upon his drinking punch and Italian wines as remedies for his distemper. Mr. Stepney may change his Prince once more. The family have such an antipathy to reason as not to be easy unless they have it drowned, and are so weary of life as to get rid of it by four and twenty.

"Luxembourg has used his lamp more carefully, though, God be thanked, 'tis now very near going out. Some letters say that he has been blooded four times for a pleurisy, and is now in the hands of the priests; so probably France may lose a General, and Heaven may gain a Saint.

"The Elector of Bavaria was married the 2nd instant to the Princess of Poland at Wesel, the new *Electrice* they say is not extremely beautiful, but one of her maids of honour is; an equivalent in politics is valid. Monsieur Van der Branden, destined to the Embassy of England, is married here to a rich widow, whence such young ministers as I may learn the means to get equipage-money advanced without importuning our masters and patrons.

"I hope Your Grace has long since recovered of your indisposition." *Copy.* (X. 113.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694-5, Jan. 1 [-11]. Whitehall.—"I hope His Majesty begins to give way to other thoughts, and that he may find some diversion in business. I hope we may now offer our letters of notification to be signed so that they may be sent by next post, but they would have been presented at Kensington very unseasonably till now.

"My Lord Duke can't yet get rid of his pains which pass so frequently from his knee to his head, and there they have lately occasioned a great disorder causing a weakness in his eye, which is very mortifying considering how he lost the other." (II. 30.)

#### THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694-5, Jan. 4 [-14]. Whitehall.—Sends several letters from the King notifying the Queen's death, to be forwarded by Prior to the President of the States' Assembly, and to the King of Poland, the Electors of Mainz, Trier, Köln, and the Palatinate, and Bishop of Münster, through their respective ministers at The Hague. Mourning will be allowed him on his next bill of extraordinaries.

*Signed.* (II. 31.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

169[4-]5, Jan. 4-14. Hague.—“I have the honour of Your Grace’s of the 28th December with the cruel news which touches Holland to that degree that she may contend with England whose sorrow is greatest. I waited on the Pensioner (as in particular from Your Grace) with the sad relation, till the notification of it comes. He humbly returns Your Grace his acknowledgements for it. Everybody here resents the calamity as they ought: we are all abundantly convinced that we have lost the best of Princesses, and are in the greatest apprehensions for his health who only could deserve her. The sole consolation we give ourselves is that we have such men as His Grace of Shrewsbury to comfort our afflicted King, and relieve four sorrowful nations. I prepare mourning according to Your Grace’s direction.” *Copy.* (X. 115.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

169[4-]5, Jan. 4-14. Hague.—“*O fallaces nostras spes et brevem fiduciam humanam!* What have we to say but our prayers for the preservation of the King’s life? I have answered His Grace on this sad subject. I hope you have or will give me a word of instruction how I must behave myself as to the ministers here, if I must give them notice of Her Majesty’s death (I vow to God I tremble whilst I write the word) as they have done on such occasions to my Lord Dursley by a deputy, or if I must do it myself; if I must wear a long trailing cloak as is the custom for ministers here, and as Mr. Norf did for the late Bishop of Liège, and Mr. Lelienroet for his Queen, or if not having credentials makes a difference in this matter, so that only myself, servants, horse and coach be in mourning; what else you judge fit for my instructions in this melancholy occasion, which has dazed me into the colic.” *Copy.* (X. 115.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

169[4-]5, Jan. 5-15. Hague.—“This morning the States General received notice that on Saturday last the Princess of Frize was brought to bed a daughter.

“We have nothing but the dismal sound of bells, and more dismal chime of many bad poems on too good a subject; but *sic dii voluistis*.

“I hope Your Grace has recovered your health, of which I most heartily wish the continuance.” *Copy.* (X. 117.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694[-5], Jan. 11[-21]. Whitehall.—Giving directions as to the transmission of “eight melancholy letters” to the neighbouring Courts.

“Mr. Wall, whom you have mentioned in some of your letters, I find has been making the same discoveries to Mr.

Secretary Trenchard, for aught I know before they were brought to you. Mr. Hopkins tells me you have advised him to make all his applications to my Lord Duke. He has, it seems, been consulting upon it, and they have given him leave to do so if he thinks fit. But my Lord is of opinion he should continue where he has begun, since the King will have the same benefit by his informations, if they prove material : therefore don't alter his former course as to the other office, but for what he will tell you besides, you may let my Lord know it, as you have done." (II. 32.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES] MONTAGU.

1694-5, Jan. 25-Feb. 4. Hague.—“*Pallida mors æquo*—has struck us all here more than an earthquake. I suppose it has had the same effect on your side, but my dear Master has read the philosophers from Epictetus to Lucian, so we are not so much to deplore our loss as to strive to make the best out.

“As to what regards my private self, therefore, in this public sorrow Her Majesty's death may hasten a man of quality hither as Plenipotentiary, which may be Lord Villiers, and from thence we are to take our measures as we can. His Majesty may possibly fill the other vacancies I have mentioned, of Denmark, Sweden, or Ratisbon ; a resident may be sent to Florence, another to Venice—*Omne solum forti patria est*. I hope I shall not be left destitute whilst the Duke of Shrewsbury is Secretary and Mr. Montagu Chancellor of the Exchequer. I am very well with the Pensioner and could get him to tell my Lord Portland so, if you judge it necessary. I have written to-night to my Lord Portland, *sans faire semblant de rien* ; these matters will be decided before the King's coming over, so we must have a vigilant eye. I call it ‘we,’ for you, Sir, have always regarded my interest as if it were your own ; and when I consider that you have taken your poor neighbour and made a friend of him, and solicited for that friend as if he had been your brother, I doubt not but you will have the reward you deserve (though a good while hence) in the Court of Heaven ; and I the credentials I do not deserve to some Court or Republic a little nearer.” *Copy*. (X. 119.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

169[4-]5, Feb. 5-15. Hague.—“I thank you in the first place for your compliment of ‘send a wise man an errand’ ; and following that wisdom of my own I was informed by some much wiser what I was to do as to the ceremonial part of my function ; *scilicet*, to take the deepest mourning I could with a band and long cloak, when I delivered the letter to the President of the States, and the other letters to



the ministers here ; and to keep my very strict mourning and my band till Her Majesty be buried, after which I am to appear as other mortal men. I give you this *ex post facto* to confirm your good opinion of my wisdom.

"In the next place I am glad and sorry according to your several relations of my Lord Duke's health, in which I know not by what impudent attachment I am as sensibly concerned as if I were his familiar friend. I believe Dr. Sherlock's system of a particular providence ; yet seeing my Lord Duke want his health, which is so necessary to support the Government, and our *ci-devant* Master, who would mischief us, well and lusty, seeing the Queen dead and Mrs. Sherlock alive, methinks the Doctor would be hard put to it to clear the objection.

"Our friend Mr. Stepney is not yet arrived here, nor have I any letter from him since one from the Buoy and Nore. I do not imagine the reason of his stay. I shall perform your commands to him as soon as I see him, and we shall both (I dare swear) remember you with the duty that becomes us.

"I have forwarded the letter to Mademoiselle Maleuse." *Copy.* (X. 120.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1694[-5], Feb. 22 [-March 4]. Whitehall.—"I find Mr Stepney has remembered some books he promised my son. James desires you will add to them Strauchius' *Chronology* and Puffendorf, *De Jure Gentium*, with his books *De Rebus Suecicis*, which are not to be had here, and what these come to I'll take care to repay it.

"My Lord Duke is still in the country, and does not so much as mention when he will be coming up. I find the air has not removed his pain, but that he has it after the old manner, sometime in his head, and lately again in his knee, which is the better place of the two ; and if it be goutish humour, I wish it would declare itself and settle where it ought to do. In the meantime it can't but make him very uneasy and some others too who have so many reasons to be concerned for him. The letters you sent me were from the Abbess of Herford to condole, and from the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt to notify the birth of his daughter. The third with red wax, not knowing what that may contain, I have sent unopened to the King.

"As to what you writ lately about the omission of *Serenissimus* in the titles of the Mecklenburg family, I have looked into the old books and find it has been formerly given them ; and therefore wish it had been so now, but in the hurry of so many letters that were to be despatched at one time . . . this has been overseen ; and the like slip in the letter to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, which shall be mended for the future." (II. 33.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

169[4-]5, March 8-18. Hague.—“We have had nothing new here for some months but volumes of bad poetry upon a blessed Queen. I have not put my mite into this treasury of nonsense, having been too truly afflicted by the subject to say anything upon it, besides that memoirs, letters, accounts Dutch and French, and, what is a worse plague than all this, very long and impertinent visits are great incumbrances on an English Muse who in her perfect liberty was but indifferent, though my Lord Dorset’s kindness brought her up, and his example taught her.

“I am striving with my prose affairs, which indeed concern me nearer. My dear Lord and patron will pardon me whilst I represent them to him, and, I am sure, will assist me in the bettering of them.

“’Tis more than probable that His Majesty may before his coming name an envoy for Holland. I know no way of being named to any of these employments but by the recommendation of men like Your Lordship, and shall not despair of something of this kind, if my Lord Dorset please to tell them that I have been under his protection sixteen years and five of them in His Majesty’s service. I am not vain enough to be left in hopes of staying here with that character, if nobody be named of quality or experience as Plenipotentiary. I am confident Your Lordship’s appearing for me might make me Resident, if one be named. The same kindness may, I believe, send me into the North, or fix me Resident at Ratisbon or Venice.” *Copy.* (X. 124.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

169[4-]5, March 24[-April 3]. Whitehall.—“I have received your letter of the 20th and shall be always ready to give you more than my advice, if it lies in my power to serve you. As to the matter in question, you know, I suppose, Mr. Wolseley has long solicited and is designed for some part of Italy. Where he is to fix, or when he is to go, I do not so much as know whether it is resolved on. It is expected that some nobleman will go make the first compliments in those Courts; but when he will make any room for Residents is yet uncertain, or whether any such thing will be in fashion on both sides: I am persuaded at least that it will be the consideration of another year.

“As to the Northern Courts, they are out of our province and therefore I have less to do to enquire how they are or will be supplied.

“When any of the recommendations of this kind lie in our hands I think my Lord Duke has kindness enough for Mr. Prior not to forget him. I must confess I am not in pain lest it should not come to your turn to fill one Court



or another, and I am satisfied an envoyship will fall sooner to your share than a gentleman usher's place.

"I have been scribbling trials again, but now I am fain to do it by hearsay, being more employed of late in bringing people to the Old Bailey than to have leisure to attend them there." (II. 37.)

#### R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, March 29 [-April 8]. Whitehall.—"Mr. Vernon is entirely of opinion that it will be better to let the mourning alone till you make up the next bill [of extraordinary disbursements]; for putting the chariot, horses, etc., with the mourning swells it so large that there will be no small difficulty to get the bill allowed. I have therefore struck all the mourning out of this bill. Mr. Vernon likewise finds fault with the particulars of the mourning, thinking 35*l.* too much for covering your chariot and harness, and 110*l.* 5*s.* for yourself and five servants. In the next bill you may please to insert the whole 196*l.* 5*s.* in one gross sum for a deep mourning for yourself, your family, your coach and equipage, and putting your house in mourning, etc.

"Your bill for this quarter which [*sic*] with the mourning would have been 614*l.* 1*s.*, but the mourning being deducted it amounts to only 417*l.* 16*s.*, I shall give it in to Mr. Vernon to-morrow morning in order to its being allowed, and it being usual to make him a present upon allowing of such bills, I desire you to let me know how much you would have me present him with; and what you pay in that manner you may please to insert under the head of fees paid at the Treasury and Exchequer upon the receipt of money.

"You may please to write to Mr. Montague to acquaint him that you have sent such a bill of extraordinaries to Mr. Vernon, and to desire his favour in ordering the payment thereof." (VIII. 45.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, April 19[-29]. Whitehall.—"I could only tell you by the last post that I had received your medals, and I can now satisfy you they are distributed; and must further acquaint you, if you think this will acquit you from the expectations people have of a poem from you, you will be mistaken, for they say you are not to come off with a posey and a shred of Horace; and they further desire, if you write anything in memory of the Queen, that you will take a little more notice of her than you do in her stamp, where she is neither represented by the effigies or the motto. I know not how you will like it, I should tell you what the critics say; but they say some poets and painters have placed themselves behind a curtain on purpose to lie *perdu* for censures." (II. 38.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1695, May 13. [N.S.] Hague.—“On Wednesday we tried one of our bomb-vessels on the Maas with good success. Nine of these vessels will be ready in four days. We are to have three more, but they belong to the quota of Frize, and will not be ready so soon. If they are so at all, it is well.

“All is quiet in Flanders till our *anima mundi* comes to move the great machine.” *Copy.* (X. 130.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, May 7[–17]. Whitehall.—“I endeavoured to have waited upon Sir William with those letters, but he not being at the Office, I left them with his secretaries Ellis and Tucker, and told them the chief of my errand was to recommend my son Prior, that, as he was drove out of one place, he might be provided for in another; and I let them know we had always reserved Ratisbon for you. They are both your friends, and I believe their patron is so too, so I hope that won’t fail to make surer of it. I spoke this morning to Mr. Blathwayt, who always concurred for placing you at Ratisbon as the last resort, and I fancy it will pass through his hands to send you thither.” (II. 39.)

## SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, May 10[–20]. Whitehall.—Announcing his appointment as one of the principal Secretaries of State, and adding the following postscript in his own hand:—

“I have taken the liberty to recommend you particularly to the King upon my Lord Villiers’ going over. I found His Majesty very well disposed, and though I have time to write no more now, yet, when you will let me know your mind, I will readily embrace any opportunity of serving you. I hope ere long to thank you for your poem, as I do now for the medal.” (II. 40.)

## R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, May 17[–27]. Whitehall.—“Lord Villiers is appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the States General of the United Provinces, and Plenipotentiary at the Congress in the same manner as my Lord Dursley was, with the like allowance of 5*l.* a day as Envoy, and 3*l.* a day as Plenipotentiary.

“Finding by this that your commission would determine, I have been with Mr. Ellis to know of him what provision or care would be taken of you when my Lord Villiers came over. He tells me he believes you are designed for Ratisbon; but that matter being to be settled by the King, now he is on your side of the water you will know it before him.

“I need not, I suppose, give you any caution to take care that if you are appointed to that station, that in the warrant



for your privy seal you get an allowance of equipage. If you are allowed 3*l.* a day, your equipage ought to be 300*l.*" (VIII. 53.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, May 17[-27]. Whitehall.—"I have not had time to read your poem, but, however, I am sure it deserves my thanks; I have presented the other to my Lord Duke.

"I am very glad you have already a prospect of being provided for at Ratisbon. If you don't find much to do there, I know not whether you will be very sorry for it. I have heard how two of your predecessors spent their time there, Mr. Pooley in making love to the *fräuleins* and Sir George Etherege in making lampoons upon them. I should be pleased to see you settled there." (II. 42.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD VILLIERS.

1695, May 21-31. Hague.—Congratulating him on his appointment as Envoy and Plenipotentiary. *Copy.* (X. 131.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1695, June 3. [N.S.] Hague.—"The Pensioner goes to-morrow morning to Breda to meet His Majesty there.

"The States Provincial adjourned this day till Wednesday sennight.

"I presume to send you the last scandal we have from France, and a good *lardon* which De Breuil\* has given us here. You will please to observe what a *philosophe* I am to be calmly reading these matters in this crisis of my fortune, and going on the old road without being tormented with the ambition of being a resident within this month, or dejected with the fear of being nothing. But my affairs are in faithful hands, and I believe my security proceeds from Sir William Trumbull's being Secretary of State." *Copy.* (X. 132.)

LORD VILLIERS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1695,] May 28[-June 7].—"I am extremely pleased to hear that the honour the King has done me in sending me to The Hague is any ways agreeable to the acquaintance I have there, and that their kindness to me has contributed to the favourable opinion that you can have of one so little known to you as myself. Upon our better acquaintance I'll endeavour to improve it. About this time fortnight I shall be ready to embark if the convoy is ready. I hope I shall find you at The Hague to receive some instructions from you." (II. 45.)

\* Cf. Prior's letter of July 20, 1695, and Vernon's letter of June 30—July 10, 1696, pp. 57, 81, *infra*.

## The EARL OF PEMBROKE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1695,] May 30[–June 9]. London.—“I am always very well pleased to receive your letters. I have according to your desire recommended you to my Lord Portland. I wish that my speaking may have as good success as you are pleased to think it may. None who have heard of the Queen but ought (for the sake of her memory) to give you thanks for your ingenious medal. I am particularly obliged so to do for your having sent one to me.” (II. 5.)

## R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, May 31[–June 10]. Whitehall.—“I have this day delivered Madam Prior the tallies for 508*l.* 16*s.* for the quarter ended in February last. It will be a year and a half before they become payable, but interest is allowed after the rate of 6 per cent. I have on the other side given you an account of the money I disbursed which Madam Prior will repay me. I am to return you my humble thanks for the kind present you were pleased to order me, which I protest I was ashamed to receive, having not done anything sufficient to deserve it.

“I expect every post to hear you are ordered for Ratisbon.  
*Endorsed.*

Laid out for Mr. Prior.

|                                                  | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| “Paid fees for his bill of extraordinaries ended |           |           |           |
| 1 Feb., 1694–5 .. .. .                           | 2         | 0         | 0         |
| To Mr. Vernon 3 guineas .. .. .                  | 3         | 15        | 0         |
| To the Clerk and Chamber-keepers .. .. .         | 0         | 15        | 0         |
| Fees of 2 warrants and orders at the Treasury    | 4         | 5         | 0         |
| At Sir Rob. Howard’s Office .. .. .              | 6         | 15        | 0         |
| At the Pells .. .. .                             | 3         | 8         | 6         |
| At the Tellers .. .. .                           | 6         | 18        | 0         |
| To Mr. Shaw 2 guineas .. .. .                    | 3         | 0         | 0         |
|                                                  | <hr/>     | <hr/>     | <hr/>     |
|                                                  | 30        | 16        | 6         |

“I believe you will a little wonder to see in one place 2 guineas, 3*l.*, and in another 3 guineas only 3*l.* 15*s.* When I gave the 3 guineas to Mr. Vernon guineas were then only 1*l.* 5*s.* each; but now they are 30*s.* I hope I shall have your approbation of giving the 2 guineas to Mr. Shaw, it being done by others.” (VIII. 57.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1695, May 31–June 10. Hague.—“When the Chief Secretary of England writes to the meanest only to tell him he is doing him good, what sort of look should the young one put on? Should he make a civil bow and retire, or trouble his master with abundance of thanks? I asked Mr. Dyckvelt the question when I gave him Your Honour’s letter this morning,



and he could not resolve me, for that in the course of his ministry he had heard of no such example, and fancied me, being a little poetically given, to have imagined so much goodness rather than really to have found it. Seriously, Sir, I don't know how to express myself in this occasion; and though my fortune depends upon Mr. Blathwayt's answer, I protest I am less anxious about the content of those letters than about owning my obligations to Sir William Trumbull. I should be glad to turn the discourse if we had anything here worth troubling Your Honour with.

"Mr. d'Opdam is gone to the Army, and Mr. Ireton is arrived here, which is all I know." *Copy.* (X. 132.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

1695, June 14. [N.S.] Hague.—"Before I knew if Your Grace had pardoned my troubling you with an indifferent medal, I ordered Tonson to address in my name to Your Grace with a more indifferent poem; and whilst I was conscious that I ought to write to Your Grace a very humble letter to implore your pardon for this double presumption, Your Grace without my writing has been pleased to send it to me, signed by your own hand, and accompanied with particular expressions of your favour. You will give me leave, my Lord, rather to be surprised at the kindness than to know how to acknowledge it, and let me make an unmanly bow and retire, rather than a tiresome long speech, or detain you from the government of the nation, whilst I repeat your humility and goodness to the meanest member of it. I dare only add that I am extremely sensible of the great obligations I owe to Your Grace, that I shall strive to deserve the favourable opinion you have been pleased to conceive of me, and bless this first act of mercy in your regence, by which I find Your Grace pardon two such crimes as the committing bad poetry and plaguing our Governors with it.

"On my Lord Villiers coming hither I know not if I am to return to England, or be employed elsewhere. They talk of sending me resident to Ratisbon: this only I know sure of my fortune, that Your Grace's commands may find me here some time." *Copy.* (X. 133.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1695, June 11–21. Hague.—"I received Your Lordship's letter with the most profound respect imaginable, and I own your kindness to me with the most sincere gratitude. It is not in the power of words to tell how much I owe to you, and if it were, my Lord would not hear it; so I had better turn the discourse, and let the Secretary write to one of his Sovereigns and Masters, than the orphan and the poor boy

to the patron, who brought him up, and the friend who protects him. We are here as licentious in making news as at London: our Dutch Tories and Jacobites spread the stories they would have true, and one knows from most accounts what faction he is of that gives them. The talk of the most sensible is that we may attack the fort of Knock, upon which, if the Duke of Villeroy marches to that side, the Elector of Bavaria may break in upon the lines between the Lis and the Scheld, he being at present encamped at Castre near Oudenaerde. My Lord Athlone decamped on Sunday night from Bethlem near Louvain, through which he passed to Tirlemont, to join the Brand[enburg] and Liége forces, which are marching thither.

"The French having passed the Rhine content themselves with the action, having only encamped themselves, which I think the Germans are very willing to compound with, provided they mean no more. Prince Louis [of Baden], to give him his due, disposes all things as well as he can. He has mettle enough to fight if he had men, and has prudence, not having them, to desist it. The King has sent the Count de Frize, a Saxon, who is disgraced at that Court for standing up against arbitrary power, and General Schöning, his envoys to Prince Louis.

"The siege of Casal [Casale] is again resolved, and the cannon brought up on Piedmont side. I believe our hopes of success are founded in the want of provision in the place.

"After our King's and Prince's affairs I may bring in my own, since Your Lordship has thought them worth your mentioning. I can only get for answer that the King is too busy to mind anything but what regards immediately the war, so cannot yet tell what is to become of me. I have presumed to send three small pieces." *Copy.* (X. 135.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1695, June 24. [N.S.]—"The Dutch squadron with the bomb-vessels sailed yesterday morning from the Maas and Texel, part of them were seen off from Scheveling about noon, and we doubt not but they are on the English coasts before now.

"The States General have ordered the 6th July, N.S. as a day of fasting and humiliation and prayer for the blessing of God on the arms of His Majesty and the Allies. The States Provincial met on Wednesday and continue their assembly.

"The Elector Palatine arrived yesterday at Rotterdam, and will be here in a day or two. *Homo homini quantum distat!* Whilst the King of England is battling in Flanders, and Prince Louis guarding as well as he can this man's own Rhine, he is cheapening china dishes at a toy shop in Holland, and King James is chomming [*sic*] a musty saint at St. Germain's. All that we can have from the army to-day is by



way of Brussels and that very imperfect; our letters from the army immediately Your Honour will receive with this I now write. From Bruges they advise that all the 21st and 22nd great shooting has been heard from the fort of Knock.

"The Baron de H[e]lyde was the 21st at Henau near the Mehayne [Méhaigne], and received, whilst he was writing his letters to the Brandenburg Minister here, order from His Majesty to march with the troops; our next will tell whither.

"I have received Mr. Blathwayt's answer as to my own affairs, that it is His Majesty's pleasure I stay here some time after my Lord Villiers's arrival; so probably I may be *in statu quo* till the end of the campaign. Mr. Blathwayt does not know, he says, but that Mr. Stepney may be ordered to Ratisbon. I do not despair, however, of that or an equivalent, if the same patronage that has already recommended supports me." (X. 137.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1695, July 5. N.S. Hague.—"The States have letters to-day that Namur is invested by my Lord d'Athlone and the troops that were on the Maheyne [Méhaigne]. There are 15 battalions in the town. The Count d'Harcourt, who would have thrown in more, has been forced to retire before the Baron de H[e]lyde; and M. de Boufflers is likewise cut off from reinforcing the garrison. His Majesty is at Masy, to which place God send him victory." *Copy*. (X. 138.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. BLATHWAYT.

1695, June 26–July 6. Hague.—"The Elector Palatine is still here: he runs to all the Mass-houses in the town all day, and sounds his trumpets on the Fiver [*sic*] all night; which is very discreet in a Protestant country, and whilst the Prince of it is at the head of his armies." *Copy*. (X. 139.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1695, July 5–15.—"You will hardly acknowledge this order to be yours, though we have looked upon it to be valid enough to put Mr. Somerville in prison till your commands are known as to what you would have done with him. He has already confessed the cheat, and pretends to be able to make some discovery which may be for His Majesty's service.

"Your Honour will hear that the trenches before Namur were opened the 11th and 12th, and that we have six batteries raised against it, and all goes as well as the beginning of a siege can expect.

"The Marquis de Villeroy decamped the 12th from Escanaffe [Seneffe]; and being reinforced with great part of the troops commanded by the Marquis de Boufflers, which make

a body of above 80 battalions, is marched not within the lines, as our Brussels letters say, but towards Ath: at least they have with them cannon, pioneers and instruments proper for a siege." *Copy.* (X. 142-3.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1695, July 20. [N.S.] Hague.—“Enclosed I send the last edition of *The Present State of France*, which I received last post from Paris by the means [of] De Breuil, our honest French gazettier.

“I have waited on M. de Plessen, and concerted matters with him concerning his voyage. Captain Robinson has likewise been with him to show him that our sea officers are better bred than those of his own country.

“I do not know if you have heard that Prince Christian, second son to the King of Denmark, is dead at Ulm, coming thence towards Italy from Vienna.

“The Elector Palatine continues at Amsterdam, and true Bartholomew Kocks buys all the shop. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt is with him, and will be here in a day or two.

“As to my own affairs, I pretend to merit from you in having kept a shoal of letters which my friends and patrons would have troubled you with but that I told them you are too busy to mind their solicitations at this time, and too mindful of my interests to need their solicitations at any time. *Tibi me commendo et res meas.* *Copy.* (X. 143-4.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD VILLIERS.

1695, July 20. [N.S.] Hague.—“Mr. Swinfurt giving Your Lordship the news we have here leaves little for me to add more than my wishes that this may find Your Lordship well at the Army. Your Lordship’s goodness to me makes me hint my own affairs. Mr. Stepney writes amongst other things to me from Frankfort the 7-17 July thus:—*Mr. Blathwayt tells me positively that my fate shall be determined next post, and Sir William Trumbull is so kind as to ask me where I have a mind to be. I have told him that I believe the die will be cast by Mr. Blathwayt before my letter reaches England, and that since I cannot choose my employment, because there are but two vacant, I must expect to be sent either to Vienna or Ratisbon. I have told him I would avoid as much as I can falling into your light, I mean Ratisbon.*

“Your Lordship sees by this part of Mr. Stepney’s letter that his affair and consequently mine (for I presume they will both be done together) may be determined sooner than I imagined. Mr. Stepney would not cross me in my hopes of Ratisbon, and I should be too tender of a great friendship, long maintained between us, to ask it, if I thought it his or likely to be so; but since in all probability he will be thought too useful to be confined to a dull Diet, or may probably be disposed of at Vienna (which is really his post, being His Majesty’s Minister to the Elector of Saxe), or



indeed wherever he may have occasion of an able Minister, I think I may without immodesty remind Your Lordship that the Secretaries of State have already referred themselves on this subject to Mr. Blathwayt in my favour, and that five years and some little money (at least all my poor fortune) spent in His Majesty's service makes me hope I may not be disappointed after a thousand hopes, fears and congratulations. I believe Your Lordship's engaging my Lord Portland on our side may clinch the nail. I am sensible my requesting it is too bold, but Your Lordship's very great goodness to me is the cause of it, and you must not be so sincerely kind if you would be less troubled." *Copy.* (X. 144.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, July 12[-22]. Whitehall.—“I have yours of the 2nd and 5th instant which came together with a copy of James Somerville's pretended orders from me, which are forged, for I never gave him any instructions, having no knowledge of him; but at the desire of Mr. Aaron Smith, who had used him in some matters relating to His Majesty's service here, did recommend him to Mr. Blathwayt as a man fit to serve in the Army. This fraud having been committed in Holland, I desire he may be proceeded against there according to the laws of the country, and that you will give my thanks to the Pensioner for his care in detecting the cheat.” *Signed.* (II. 51.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to BEN PORTLOCK.

1695, July 17-27. Hague.—“You were the first swain that ever I read of who lay on the brow of a hill when there was such hot work in the valley. You must break your pipe and take your trumpet, Ben:

*Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena,  
Arma virumque cano.*

I commend your posture: lying upon your belly is safer than standing upon your feet; and your legs are no more to be relied on than the Hanover Horse. You know they ran away the last battle. I am disappointed in all I hoped, which makes me melancholy enough to wish myself at Namur:

*In battles and bullets and fire*

*The danger is less than in hopeless desire:*

as the ballet very elegantly expresses it. *Adieu!* come home with all your limbs.”

*Postscript.*—“Where is Ben Conway, or how may one direct to him?” *Copy.* (X. 146-7.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD VILLIERS.

1695, July 17-27. Hague.—“In obedience to Sir William Trumbull's commands intimated to me in the enclosed, I

have spoken to the Pensioner and to Mr. Consul Kirby, who is now here, concerning Somerville. I believe his having been imprisoned is his punishment, and all we can do to him will be to let him go again, except we have a mind to keep him in prison. Your Lordship remembers the fellow in Terence :—

*Ducunt damnatum domum ;*

*Alere nolunt hominem edacem, et sapiunt mea sententia,*

*Pro maleficio beneficium si summum nolunt reddere.*

“As to what regards some order in the passports, I have written positively to Mr. Vander Poele not to let any person embark but with passport ; and repeated to him the King’s order thereupon. I have written the same thing to the masters of the packets. I do not know if Your Lordship will find them at leisure enough to get this matter settled at the camp (at least at your return, I hope we may) and to give Sir William Trumbull some fixed method of making the thing practicable and useful, or to represent its being rejected as being not so.

“I am confident of Your Lordship’s willingness to help me in this incertitude of my fortune, so Your Lordship need not excuse your not writing to me, and I hope I need make no apology for telling you that Mr. Blathwayt is of opinion that if Mr. Stepney goes not to Vienna (as most probably he may not), Ratisbon will not fail him, upon which consideration I become *le Ministre de la Fortune, et le très humble serviteur des événements*. Your Lordship will please to make use of this hint as you think good, as to conceal your having had it from me. If Mr. Stepney be denied to go to Vienna, ’tis a chimera to think they will let anybody else go. I could make all my interest over again for Berlin, if I thought His Majesty designed any thither, and I would buy me a Veneroni’s Grammar and perfect my Italian if I had any assurance or promise that I should be your man for Florence. Your Lordship will pardon me, I protest I should not dare to trouble you thus saucily, but that my affair, plainly speaking, may take the turn which my Lord Portland’s intercession pleases to give, and that in all probability I may be either disposed of at the same time with Mr. Stepney or be forgotten long after.” *Copy.* (X. 147–8.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. EMERSON.

1695, July 20–30. Hague.—“I wrote to you by way of the Army last Wednesday was sennight to assure you of my having writ as well to Mr. Hill as to Mr. Cardonnel concerning your affair, and I am confident they will both advance it *secundum omnem possibilitatem*. I thought long before this time to have heard you were curing at Liége, and should have suspected your letter from Ghent as a *contrefait*, but that no man living writes a hand like you. I have written



again to Mr. Cardonnel that he should remember Mr. Blathwayt of your case; and if I do not write to the Secretary immediately concerning it, I have my proper reasons for it, which are better to be told you when I see you than trusted to writing. My own affairs are infinitely more uncertain than yours can be; and with the interest and credit that the world thinks I have I struggle with difficulties that are almost insupportable: but this is only between you and I [*sic*], for I laugh at disappointments and would have you do so too. Your point of honour is a little too delicate: no man is to be blamed for not having his deserts; and the going on to do one's duty (let the success be as it will) is the established maxim of all wise men from King Solomon to King William. I give you this philosophy because I can give you nothing else at present, as the Irishman who, inviting his friend and having no meat, gave him snuff. In the meantime believe me I do whatever I can for you and I do not question but that it will turn to good. Give my service to Dr. Morell." *Copy.* (X. 150-1.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to BEN PORTLOCK.

1695, July 20-30. Hague.—“I write to you upon a matter of justice and charity, two points that may seem ridiculous to you that are a heathen; but they are such as my Lord Duke [of Würtemberg], with all his courage, dare not resist. Do you but say it is to do a favour to a man who really deserves it, and I dare answer for the rest. It is our friend Dr. Emerson, who having good learning, coming on his own expenses to the camp, and having all that should qualify him for physician, having too served three years as Extraordinary Physician to the hospitals, has the bad luck this year not to be entered in pay yet, though the campaign is half over; and that only for want of having it represented to Mr. Blathwayt or Sir Harry Bellasis that he is useful. If my Lord Duke would therefore only espouse this cause so far as to let you write a word or go with a message in His Grace's name in Mr. Emerson's behalf, he would questionless be put in pay, and freed from those anxieties which so great a disappointment casts him under. Prithee, dear Ben, have a fellow feeling. Apollo was a doctor as well as a poet, and could cure fevers as well as make odes. Give my most obedient service to my Lord Duke: I tremble for him in this damned cannonading. When he has taken the town, I hope to send him some money to spend in it.” *Copy.* (X. 151.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ARNOLD JOOST VAN] KEPPEL.

1695, August 3. N.S. Hague.—“The siege of Namur gives you toil enough at this time, and the clamours of petitioners allow you little quiet at any time. I should not have dared to appear amongst that number, though your kindness to

me at The Hague gave me all the encouragement imaginable, if my Lord Villiers at his return had not told me I might do it without any way offending you. I am extremely obliged to you, Sir, for the kind reception you have been pleased to give me, and I thought to have justified your good opinion of me by showing you I had modesty enough not to importune you ; but when all one's fortune lies at stake, one easily forgets good manners. No man would be accused for crying out in a storm, or called a clown for rudely taking hold of his superior to support him if he be just falling. After having hoped, feared, been promised, and (which is worst) congratulated for Ratisbon, the King thinks there is not enough for a minister to do there. 'Tis true His Majesty knows best, for he is as evidently the most experienced man of our age, as he is the best Prince ; and if he had been born a private man, he would have made a greater Ambassador than any State ever employed ; yet I have one objection that could puzzle him, which is, that though Ratisbon may not want a resident, his Secretary at The Hague will soon want a residence ; and though His Majesty have small use for a scribbling servant, I have great occasion for the bounty of a Royal Master. Wherever he pleases to send me, I am ready to go ; where, if there be not much business, I shall apply myself to those studies that may make me capable of doing his business when there is any ; and when there is nothing, to be written for his service in prose, I will write his conquests and glories in verse. A resident or envoy may in some small time be sent to Venice, another to Florence : be it at either of these two places, at Ratisbon, Berlin (where, may be, His Majesty may send rather a resident than an envoy,) at Stockholm, Copenhagen, or even Moscow, it is well, provided I may serve my King, my hero and my Master ; but it is a sad reflection for me to think of going home as if I were disgraced, after having served here five years with some credit, and spent my little all in order to my being fit for something hereafter ; and I take the boldness to protest to you I cannot think of returning to my College, and being useless to my country, to make declamations and theses to doting divines there, having drawn up memorials to the States General in the name of the greatest king in Europe. You will be pleased to pardon the freedom of this letter, and to help me in this conjuncture of my fortune." *Copy.* (X. 152.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, July 26[–August 5]. Whitehall.—“ There is always a good deal of impertinence in business, but never so much as when it hinders one from enjoying the company one likes. It is now my fate, in respect of your letters, which though I have not time to tell you with what pleasure I receive, yet I must keep some of them to myself, and answer that of the 19–29, without letting it go into other hands.



"As for Somerville I have no more concern at all; let him go and (I dare say he will) be hanged.

"But I have a great deal for so good a friend as Mr. Prior, and if I were not so well acquainted with the uncertainty of all things in this (English) world, I should have been more surprised than I am at Mr. B[lathwayt]'s proceeding in this affair. For after I had wrote in your behalf with more warmth than I use to do, and had an answer that my representation of you had been laid before the King and kindly taken, and after your stay at The Hague some time to inform my Lord Villiers, His Majesty (no doubt) would gratify this request, I could not have imagined to have heard of this disappointment. Pray let me know, if you can learn, the true reasons of this matter, or if you can guess that you have any way displeased Mr. B. And when I hear from you I will tell you more of my mind. But let all this (as what else I now write) remain private between you and I [*sic*]. Tell me also, if you intend for England, and when, and wherein you think I may be any ways useful to you; I will faithfully endeavour to do you all the service I can.

"If you think fit, send me word what my Lord Villiers' business was in going to the King at Namur. I sent three letters by him to the Pensioner, Mons. Schmettau and Lilierote; but I never heard one word whether he thought fit to deliver them or not. Give me some account of them, if you can. Burn this scribble." (II. 52.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, August 2[-12]. Whitehall.—Money matters.

"Madam Prior complains she has not heard from you a long time. She says her daughter Villiers, being furnishing a country house, writ to you some time since to buy her some pictures, but has no account whether you received the letter." (VIII. 73.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, August 2[-12]. Whitehall.—"Though the King doth not think fit to send a minister to Ratisbon, yet some place or other may be found for you; and it being easier to find a place than to make a minister so fitted as you are to the King's hand, and to his mind too, as you see by what he has been pleased to say of you to my Lord Villiers, you may in my opinion be sure he will not let you lie out of employment longer than needs must, and you ought to be contented with his most gracious declaration in your favour, and never to entertain the least doubt of my doing you all the service that possibly I can." *Signed*. (II. 53.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD LEXINGTON.

1695, Sept. 2. N.S. Hague.—"I hope you do not think me so unreasonable as to expect a letter from you for

every one I write: no, my Lord, that would not be fair trading; the advantage would be too evident on my side, and I should be more a Jew in my correspondence than either Judah or Levi in money matters on the 'Change of Amsterdam. You say in yours of the 20th that you write to obey me. You obey me! When this is right (as Mr. Dryden says)—

*Then let the sun no longer rule the day,  
And midnight tapers show the moon her way.*

“You see I am very angry; my Lord, for all your kindness I have nothing to return but bare obedience, and you are going to take that from me, and shortly you will thank me for having been obliged by you. I hope my Lady and Mrs. Davers will not give me reason to complain in this kind: they are of a sex that we seldom accuse of being too kind, and all that one expects of them is that they should not despise and rail at one if one does not love them, or not vex and plague one's heart out if one does.

“The King will have nobody at Ratisbon out of a principle of good husbandry; or if he would, I have reason to think (for indeed Mr. Stepney as well as Mr. Blathwayt tell me so), that the first must be the man. My Lord Villiers has asked the King very kindly for Ratisbon, as I have told Your Lordship the Secretaries of State have done likewise, but I am afraid *I have no occasion for a minister there* will be an argument as well against Stepney as myself. But here I am still, with my twenty shillings a day. Most places are *durante bene placito* except those of a judge or a bishop, and as long as I do not starve, I have no reason to complain.

“My Lord Villiers is here. He defers his audience till this business of Namur be over. I have made Your Lordship's compliments to him: I have told him too, he should very shortly have his right of correspondence with you, but that I would keep it off as long as I could, and I think it reasonable that he allows me my Lord Lexington and his secretaries since I give him freely up all the other members of the Ministry from Lord Pagett down to Consul Broughton.”

*Postscript.*—“Storer is gone by: I have drunk Your Lordship's health with him. I refer you to Mr. Famars for the news. I cannot think the French will attack us, though they must do something *pour sauver la gloire de Louis le Grand.*” *Copy.* (X. 156).

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1695, August 31–Sept. 10. Hague.—“I take the relation of my Lord Villiers' audience yesterday for a pretext of troubling Your Lordship. The harangue he made to the States was short and very well: the substance of it—that he was commanded by His Majesty to renew the assurance of His Majesty's friendship and kindness to the States. My Lord added that he was by so much the more glad, as to his



particular, to have been honoured with this commission, having lived here and known personally several of their Lordships.

"Mr. d'Odyck, who was President, answered extreme well—that the State owed its foundation and establishment to His Majesty's ancestors, and to His Majesty all the prosperity of their estate and the success of their arms; that all their good depended upon His Majesty's life, which therefore he and the whole State desired God Almighty to prolong; that therefore a minister that came with a character from His Majesty was sure of all kindness and respect; and that my Lord Villiers was more particularly so for his virtues and merits. The rest was all eating and drinking the King's health. All the public ministers dined with my Lord from Count Kaunitz, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary, to Hunniken, for Lunebourg; and we drank *au Roi de la Grande Bretagne* yesterday, as we must do *au vainqueur de Namur* next week.

"Your Lordship will give me leave to congratulate your safety after all the toils and hazards of a siege memorable to all posterity, and to tell you that we are all as much rejoiced at the great reputation you have gained there as we were solicitous for your life whilst you were exposing it as became so loyal a subject; though seriously, my Lord, we are a little concerned at your using the Marquis de Boufflers so *en cavalier*, and cannot blame Villeroy and Choiseul for getting out of your way, since you have so quick a method of making people understand reason, and bringing them to the rules of justice." *Copy.* (X. 157-8.)

#### SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, Sept. 17[-27]. Whitehall.—"Care will be taken here of the poetry,\* and that it do not suffer in the printing, as it is pity it should. I see no reason why the author should be ashamed of battering B[oileau]'s poem, and reducing it, any more than we the Castle, since it is our honour that everything that concerns Namur be on our side. However, I have enjoined T[onson ?] silence, as is desired, though it is not possible to keep it long a secret. I will add but one circumstance to that purpose, which is, that Fleet[wood] Shephard knows it." *Signed.* (II. 54.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, Oct. 1-11. Hague.—"I have laid before the King your letter of the 27th past wherein mention is made of their Excellencies having consented to Colonel Hobson's staying out fifteen days longer, and of the extracts of letters from Colonel Hobson and Sir G. Rook, which His Majesty has

\* *I.e., Prior's Ballad on the Taking of Namur.*

likewise seen, and is pleased nevertheless to command me to send a copy of my last letter to you relating to that squadron, which His Majesty would have hastened out as was first intended, wherewith you will please to acquaint their Excellencies.

*Postscript.*—"The States have proceeded almost to a settlement of the State of War for the next year, which will not be unlike the last both for the sea and land forces." (II. 55.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, Oct. 11[-21]. Whitehall.—"Mr. Tucker after many scruples hath at length passed your bill of extraordinaries. I have always wanted directions from you what to do on passing your bills, but believing you leave it to me in general to do as I think fit, I have made pretty bold with your purse and given Mr. Tucker three guineas, which is 4*l.* 10*s.*† to make it slip the better, and remove the obstacles he made. He complains you do not correspond with him as you ought. On Wednesday next (which is our money day) I will give Mr. Montague a memorial of what is due to you, and pray do you write to him to assist you now your bill is past.

"The King arrived at Margate yesterday, and will this night be at Kensington." (VIII. 93.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1695, Oct. 15-25. Hague.—"If I consider the part you have always taken in my affairs, I ought to have given you an account of them last post, but if I remember how much business you must needs have upon your hands just on His Majesty's coming over, it might (may be) have been manners in me to have deferred it a post or two longer: so far by way of prelude, and now to enter into matter: upon His Majesty's arrival here my Lord Villiers represented my services very much beyond what they deserve, and indeed to that degree that His Majesty was obliged to tell him that he had a good opinion of me, and to manifest it he has declared his pleasure that I continue here till he shall think fit to employ me elsewhere; which I take to be much better than to saunter in the Court of Request and interpret the votes to Blancard, or be squired by that mirror of knighthood, Sir Fleetwood, through every tavern from Fish Street Hill to the Cockpit. The next thing to be considered was the pay, which (because the extraordinaries which the King thought fit to allow me before the arrival of a minister will be retrenched after) my Lord Villiers proposed to be augmented in the ordinary allowance, and has so far advanced in it, as that His Majesty has not rejected it, or, to speak truer, promised it. Mr. Keppel will remind His Majesty of it on your side, and I no more question but that a word in season from my Lord Duke

† Cf. p. 53, *supra*.



will confirm it than I question your being willing to mention it to my Lord Duke : so that from Ratisbon and a residence, I am fixed to my secretaryship and The Hague, where I shall live very contented for the present, and endeavour to make myself useful for the future ; and in sure and certain hope that, as His Majesty knows already that twenty shillings is but eight gilders, I shall get it doubled if His Grace thinks it reasonable. I cannot tell you how infinitely I am obliged to my Lord Villiers.

*Postscript.*—"I have forgot if Jimmy ever sent me word that he received the book of treaties which I sent him from Mr. Stepney." *Copy.* (X. 159.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES MONTAGU,]  
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

1695, Oct. 18-28. Hague.—"I am still to trouble you without making any apology, and you are to oblige me without being tired. From the enclosed, which I writ to Mr. Vernon with design that he may show it to my Lord Duke of Shrewsbury, my Master will see the state of my affairs, which are likely to be very well, if we can get that confirmed on your side, which is already advanced as you see on ours ; but it cannot rest on the foot where it is, for my privy seal reaches no longer than six weeks after the arrival of a minister at The Hague ; so that we must have a new privy seal passed in order to my continuing here, which point His Majesty has already determined, and not denied the increase of my allowance upon the considerations I mention to Mr. Vernon, which point likewise (by our favourite's intercession, to whom *sub rosa* I am much obliged) I hope may be gained, and I become less troublesome to you Lords of the Treasury, and easy to myself and my studies till some further occasion. I believe my Master will settle this affair with Sir William Trumbull, to whom I have written of it at large ; and if we get our forty shillings per day, for which possibly we must have the name of agent, I would not change it for resident and Ratisbon ; which may the better be done because our privy seal must be altered, and we may draw an advantage for ourselves from what would otherwise have proved a misfortune. In this crisis of my fortune my Master will pardon me ; however she turns, I am always yours. I wish I were a little at Westminster to *brigue* you votes ; may you be as happy in all you undertake as I could wish you." *Copy.* (X. 161.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, Nov. 22[-Dec. 2]. Whitehall.—"Mr. Tucker tells me Sir William Trumbull hath laid your affair before the King, who is not inclinable to augment your allowance by privy seal ; nor do I find they are yet about sending you abroad, but Mr. Secretary says you shall be allowed the

other twenty shillings a day in your extraordinaries, which, he says, must not exceed that allowance ; for now my Lord Villiers acting at The Hague, you are to remain only as a private person till the King sends you abroad, without any further allowance of extraordinaries than to make your ordinary entertainment 40s. a day. So that I see no other method than to pass your privy seal in this manner as directed, which I shall take care to do.

“I lay before Mr. Montagu every week a state of what is due to you, but we are so poor at present that we are not able to pay you.

“The Parliament met this day and have chose Mr. Foley again their Speaker, and are to present him to-morrow to the King.

“Yesterday died Harry Purcell, our famous composer of music.” (VIII. 103.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695, Nov. 26[-Dec. 6]. Whitehall.—“I have with all the earnestness and importunity of a faithful friend solicited the augmentation of your allowance, and prevailed with Mr. Secretary to speak a second time to the King for it, but His Majesty will not be brought to consent to more than 20s. a day, and some consideration in bills of extraordinaries, and those are not to exceed so much more ; so you must be content with what can be done in the manner I have told you, until the King can find out something proper to employ you upon, and I hope it will not be long before something of that nature be done. His Majesty did not think fit to allow you the character of *Secrétaire du Roy*, and if he had, it would not have entitled you to the 40s. a day. Be satisfied, and I am sure you will have no reason to repent it. I do not hear of any removes from Brussels, etc.” (II. 58.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES MONTAGU,  
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

169[5]-[6], Jan. 6. N.S. Hague.—“This letter like one of our wassailer’s visits is to wish you a happy Christmas and beg of you : in short I have half a year’s ordinary appointments, a bill of extraordinaries, one of its younger brothers, now passing the Secretary’s office, and another almost fit to pass the seal, upon all which, unless you Lords of the Treasury commiserate my condition, I break. His Majesty has promised to send me farther when he has occasion, and will keep me in the meantime upon the old foot. One would not starve till one sees what may come of these fair expectations, especially whilst Mr. Montagu is Lord of the Treasury.

“You will be pleased to let my Lord Godolphin know we do what we can to drive Abell over into England. He is perched at Amsterdam at singing with great satisfaction



in a city where he owes nothing : his debts at London make him afraid to venture at the kindness his patrons there offer him ; and I have a fellow feeling for the poor minstrel, because at present I know how damned a thing it is to see faces to whom one owes money. I wish you, my good Master, all success in your Parliamentary and private affairs.

*Postscript.*—"The *Mary* yacht is still on this side, which is the reason that you have not yet your wine." *Copy.* (X. 162.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

169[5-]6, Jan. 10. N.S. Hague.—"This is chiefly to wish you a good new year, with all the happiness that can possibly attend it. I presume these from Mr. Stepney, which I send you enclosed, are full of his reception at Düsseldorf, and their desiring subsidies. I gave the Pensioner a packet from Mr. Stepney of the same date with yours, which was to that purpose, and returned the Pensioner's answer this morning in a letter he sent me for Mr. Stepney, though I had the substance of it *viva voce* last night, which was that no subsidies could possibly be hoped for or expected.

"The sum of our Flanders news is that the French have put garrison into their small castles between Sambre and Meuse, to cover the country from incursions of parties from Namur ; and that they are working at the fortifications of Dinant, Philippeville and Charlemont.

"You will hear from Vienna that Count Windischgrätz is dead, and from Mr. Cresset that Bully Rose appears at Hanover with the character of Envoy from the Elector of Saxe : the secret of his ministry is to thank that Court for having helped him out of the scurvy business at Hamburg, and to desire the Elector of Hanover to lend his Master the French comedians.

"I know no more of this Mr. March than that he is a poor man who pretends great interest in your acquaintance, and spoke it with an air as if he wrote to you by your own order and about your own concerns ; his letter else should never have come into my packet, nor should I dare to trouble you with any petitions but those that are immediately my own, and which hitherto you have been pleased to receive favourably as I ought always to own." *Copy.* (X. 163.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

169[5-]6, Jan. 7-17. Hague.—"We have been alarmed here these two days by an express from Zeeland which brought advice that the French were arming a squadron of 14 frigates at Dunkirk. The States have ordered a regiment of 600 men, that was here, to march to Helvoet, and sent for as many from Bois le Duc to supply their place. They think the enemy may design to bombard Helvoet or Flushing, but they cannot do much harm in either of these places. We since hear that 'tis only some privateers that the French

were fitting out from Dunkirk ; and begin to think we were more frightened than we are likely to be hurt.

"Your Honour receives immediately from Mr. Robinson the Act by which the King of Sweden obliges strangers to become burghers of that kingdom, or not stay in it longer than four months in the year. I will only tell you that the Dutch look upon it to be a breach of all articles of alliance, and a ruin to all commerce." *Copy.* (X. 166.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

169[5-]6, Jan. 14-24. Hague.—"My Lord Villiers yesterday rechanged the ratification for renewing the Grand Alliance with the other ministers in the Congress, and Mr. Norff was desired to use his interest that his master the Elector of Cologne and Bishop of Liége might come into the Alliance.

"Count Kaunitz confirms what I presume Mr. Stepney writes you, that the Emperor is treating with the Elector Palatine that those troops of his which served last year upon the Rhine may go for Hungary.

"His Imperial Majesty endeavours likewise to get into that country the Saxon troops that stayed at home last year. He makes overtures too for some from Hanover ; so it is little matter for the Rhine and the Empire, provided the Danube be kept and the Austrian countries and dominions enlarged.

"The Maréchal de Lorges has (I believe you have heard) desired he may not serve on the Rhine this year by reason of his ill-health.

"Our French letters confirm the news of their being resolved to pass the Straits, and that too sooner than was first thought. I heard they have intercepted a letter written from Admiral Rooke to Whitehall, by which he assures you that our rigging and tackle was all worn and bad, and that he had not thirty vessels in a condition of doing any service." *Copy.* (X. 167.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695-6, Jan. 17[-27]. Whitehall.—"I have just now got your bill of extraordinaries allowed, with the article of the Queen's Bounty to Your Worship. I hope you will now think me a good boy. I told Mr. Secretary that Mr. Powys had spoken to the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it, and that it was his opinion that you would lose that 100*l.* per annum, if it was not brought into your extraordinaries. So with a little persuasion it passed." (II. 61.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

169[5-]6, Jan. 17-27. Hague.—"Since His Majesty's going for England this side has afforded little worth writing, or Your Lordship would have been troubled with me much



oftener. By the last posts from France we think they mean in earnest that their fleet shall pass the Straits. Mons. de Chasteau Renaux is at Toulon making all possible preparations in order to it. Mons. de Nesmond is at Brest equipping another squadron from thence ; but both at Brest and Toulon they want seamen. The French have intercepted a letter which Admiral Rooke had written to Whitehall, in which he says he found the fleet in a bad condition as to cordage and rigging, and that he should not be able to have above thirty ships fit to serve. Your Lordship will guess the impatience of this country that the winds may change, and that the squadron designed for the Mediterranean may arrive there in time.

“ We were alarmed here some days since with the fear of a visit either at Flushing or Helvoet from our neighbours at Dunkirk, which we hear since they never intended us, it being only some privateers going out and not a squadron with bombs, as was reported.

“ The French, Your Lordship knows, intend thirty new regiments to be raised for the spring : the officers were much easier named than the soldiers will be found, which come so hardly that through Luxemburg they oblige every district or *balliage* to provide a number of men proportionable to the bigness of the place ; and will be no way satisfied as formerly with money instead of the men. In their other conquered countries they directly use force ; and in Switzerland they cannot have men for money, which makes Mons. Amelot very angry, especially with the Protestant Cantons, who, he thinks, are underhand more friends to the Allies than becomes their neutrality, and send them Memoirs, which it would be downright rudeness to give to any other people ; however, if the French employ their forces most upon the Rhine, the Allies may have a bad campaign of it, for (to Your Lordship I may say) instead of two armies which we projected to have there, I wish we had but one good. The Emperor is so much concerned for Hungary and the dominions of the Austrian family on that side, that he utterly neglects the Rhine and the safety of the Empire on this. The *Cercles* of Suabia and Franconia can at best but keep up their own twenty thousand : the Ecclesiastic Electors are ruined, and the Elector Palatine, with whom my friend Stepney is at present Envoy, declares positively that he cannot keep five regiments, which he had in the Palatinate, any longer on foot without some assistance towards it ; and in one word neither His Majesty nor Holland will allow him subsidies ; so he is striking up a bargain with the Emperor to have them sent to Hungary, and His Imperial Majesty can, it seems, find money to provide for them there, though he knows not how to let them subsist on the Rhine.

“ As to my own private affairs, I did myself the honour in the last I wrote Your Lordship to tell you that His

Majesty has been pleased to continue me here longer, in order, I hope, to employ me somewhere further as his service may require or a vacancy be found: but this will depend upon the Duke of Shrewsbury and my Lord Portland, and as they please to speak or act in my interests, they may advance or retard them: and His Majesty may be shown greater merit to supply what his kindness has already promised me, if I have not some more powerful intercessors with these Ministers than my own letters. Your Lordship sees by all this the favour I would beg of you, to name me to these gentlemen with all my merit, which is to have had the honour of knowing Your Lordship from my childhood, and of having been bred up by you: after such a recommendation I presume I should find but little difficulty in my way. I know I need only mention this thing, and leave the success of it to Your Lordship's usual goodness, begging Your Lordship to believe that I acknowledge myself already by ten thousand obligations, &c." *Copy.* (X. 168.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695-6, Jan. 31 [-Feb. 10]. Whitehall.—“I have some time since desired a very troublesome and laborious favour of you, and that was, to let me know the names and characters of the several foreign ministers either of the Congress or resident there, and if you could guess their several interests, but of this I have heard nothing; neither do I expect it so soon, it being a work of some time.

“I have a great deal of scrawl upon my hands to-night.” (II. 63.)

The EARL OF DORSET to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1695-6,] Feb. 10[-20].—“Your last letters were expected by me with great impatience, for I had heard you were not well, and I now conclude 'twas a false report, because you do not mention it. I am sure you would be very unjust if you did not think me concerned enough to know the particulars of whatever happens to you.

“I am sorry your services have not as yet been considered as they ought; my endeavours shall never be wanting to serve you in all I can. Whatever happens, you may assure yourself that you shall always find a real friend here.”

*Postscript.* “Your little translation takes mightily here, as everything that you write ought to do.” (II. 64.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

[1695-6, March 6. N.S.].—“The States had news to-day from Nieuport by intelligence out of Dunkirk, which says the squadron there has not yet its complement of men nor materials ready for bombarding, so that it cannot take the advantage of these spring tides to come out, and consequently must wait another month.



“ The Zeelanders have laid aside their fears for this time, which were unreasonable enough whilst they lasted, for they had asked the States to send them the four ships, which lie before the Goeree, which would not have been sufficient to resist John Bart in full sea, however it might hinder his coming to Helvoet ; or if it were, we think that Helvoet might be bombarded as well as Flushing, and that Holland should be looked to as well as Zeeland. *Proximus ego mihi* is an established rule in these provinces.

“ The Swiss companies, about 1,000 men in all, which come from Bergh-op-Zoom and the neighbouring garrisons, remain still at Flushing and Ter Veer. The Zeelanders had indeed some reason to be apprehensive, but I venture to tell Your Honour (what I have from a good hand), Mr. d’Odyck had more, for (*sub sigillo*) he is less beloved at Middelburg than Mr. Boereel at Amsterdam, and was most earnest for the march of the troops I mentioned to the coast, for fear the mob thereabout might take the alarm the French gave them for a pretext of assembling, and follow the steps which those of Amsterdam led them : but (this to yourself alone and not to the Secretary of State) people’s mouths are very open against him ; no sort of justice can be had from him, and his commissioners and agents. Mr. Lilieroot gave in a memorial some time since to the States General to have a neutral ship released, which was accordingly done by the Admiralty of Zeeland upon a letter to them from the States : no sooner was the ship at liberty but an officer of Middelburg re-seizes her upon a blind account of dues unpaid to the Admiralty. The States are again interested in the matter ; the Admiralty of Zeeland denies the thing, and it yet lies undecided, Odyck saving himself by a protest that he knows nothing of it either of the side of the Admiralty or the officer. *Ex pede Hercules* ; and I only give Your Honour one instance out of twenty.

“ My Lord Villiers has informed Your Honour of Harington’s imprisonment, and what I have extorted from him at Rotterdam, that he has been of King James’s guard in France ; has been a privateering under Vaughan ; was at the taking the *Diamond* frigate, and escaped (as he calls it) out of France with Vaughan, whom he parted with at Sluys, met again (by chance only) at Amsterdam, and whom he believes to be gone to Hamburg or Sweden to run away with a ship or do some villany of that kind. I have since been at Amsterdam, but by all the search I could make there I cannot trace Vaughan or the others Wall described, so I have left Wall at Amsterdam, and have ordered matters so that, if he can make any discovery, he may be assisted by the magistracy, and a friend whom I can trust there, in having the persons he names apprehended. In the meantime Sir Paul Rycaut and Mr. Gregg and Robinson are writ to, to inquire if Vaughan be in their parts. I know not if we shall

make much of our plot, for (to conclude this article) I look upon Wall to be one of the greatest villains I ever yet spoke with." *Copy.* (X. 170.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ARNOLD JOOST VAN] KEPPEL.

169[5-]6, March 9. [N.S.] Hague.—“ Je me suis toujours proposé de passer pour un homme un peu modeste, et pour cela je me suis contenté de faire mille vœux en particulier pour votre bien, plutôt que de vous incommoder par des lettres qui ne contiendroient autre chose que des marques de ma sensibilité pour toutes vos honnêtetés. Mais qu'on me prenne pour Irlandois, et qu'on me pendre comme Jacobite si je saurois me taire dans cette conjoncture ! Bon Dieu, quel attentat ! Mais il y a un ciel qui veille sur la personne du Roy, et il y aura un enfer pour abîmer ses ennemis. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de me pardonner cet emportement. Infâme ! traître ! assassin ! parricide ! voilà les seuls termes qui me puissent sortir de la bouche : cependant je consens d'oublier pour ce moment ma haine contre ceux qui ne font que du mal, pour dire combien j'estime et honore un homme qui ne prend plaisir qu' à faire du bien. Je puis vous protester, Monsieur, qu' outre que demande de moi en cette occasion, pour attachement pour la personne du Roi et mon amour pour la patrie, j'en ai une fort sensible pour ce qui regarde vos intérêts particuliers.” *Copy.* (X. 173.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[5-]6, March 3-13. Hague.—“ Your Lordship's goodness was pleased to pardon my writing sometimes to you the last year. I dare not take that liberty now, being sufficiently assured that my Lord Villiers corresponds constantly with Your Lordship, and that Your Lordship has not leisure enough to be troubled with letters filled only with my acknowledgments of your favours. I could not, however, forbear at this conjuncture to testify to Your Lordship the general joy here, (and my own in particular), for the great miracle God in His mercy has wrought amongst us in preserving His Majesty's person from a conspiracy that no history or age can equal. I make bold to tell Your Lordship that I take what care I ought to have this hellish design displayed in its proper colours here ; and I hope the King will send a manifesto to all Courts in Christendom, that no peace can be made with France till King Lewis be driven like Nebuchadnezzar from the society of all human creatures.”

*Postscript.* “ I must add that Admiral Russell is upon the French coasts, and has sent the *Centurion* into Ostende for pilots in order to go as far as possible towards Dunkirk. I hear that it will be impracticable for the enemy to save their great vessels, except they have time enough to take out their cannon.



“The wind is North, but blows too fresh for anything to be done to-day, as I hear those say who understand it. God send us good success.” *Copy.* (X. 175-6.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695-6, March 6 [-16]. Whitehall.—“Our Plot keeps us in such continual hurry that, until the heat of it be a little more over, you must excuse us from writing to you so punctually as we otherwise should do. I hope in few days we shall come to trial of some of the conspirators, three of them, viz., Charnock, Bertram, and Keyes, have orders to prepare for Tuesday next; and I believe their trials will soon be followed with several others, so that one way or other we may expect to have some of our trouble taken off our hands.”

Requesting him to buy him “two pieces of good cambric for handkerchiefs.” (II. 66.)

LORD DURSLEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695-6, March 10 [-20].—“I have had no leisure to set my hand to anything but commitments since the discovery of the Plot, which is the reason that I have not returned sooner my great thanks to Mr. Prior for all his kindness to my son Charles, and particularly that of going to Amsterdam with him, and giving of him the best advice and showing of him his best way of travelling, which he was wholly a stranger to.”

“Jemmy happened to be ashore with us in Bedford Row (the first time in ten months) when we heard of the embroil upon the coasts, which made Jemmy very impatient to be aboard again; so we sent him to my Lord Berkeley, and from thence I hear he is returned to his own ship the *Centurion*.”

“We hear nothing of Mr. Prior’s coming for England, and therefore by the next opportunity intend to send you some cider and ale, supposing English drinks may not be disagreeable to you.” (II. 67.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

169[5]-6, March 13-23. Hague.—“The letters from France, which should have been received here on Tuesday, were kept back, and to-day we had both posts together; they are filled with excuses for their Government, in what relates to the conspiracy against our King’s sacred life; that King Louis intended indeed to re-establish King James, but by open force of arms, and will go on in the same design; that it was expected every day when they should hear that Mons. de Chasteau Renault had passed the Straits: he was not come out, however, the 10th instant; that he would but just touch at Brest, where the Marquis de Nesmond is ready with his squadron to join him, and that they will both come

immediately towards Dunkirk in order to convoy the troops for England. This, indeed, is the least they can say, and probably it is the least they intend: it is certain, however, that King James with all his household is still at Calais, where all things lie ready to be embarked. Whatever they design, I hope our fleet may be in the ocean as soon as theirs. In the meantime, if you will hang villains in England, you will hinder others from coming to you.

“Our fleet is gone further off from the coast of Dunkirk.

“Two hundred small vessels from Bordeaux arrived the 7th at Brest with provisions for the fleet to remain there till the Toulon squadron arrives.

“I make bold to add[ress] to you a French *PONT NEUF*, by which you will see what opinion some of them have of the descent with which they threaten us.” *Copy.* (X. 176.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

169[5-16, March 17-27. Hague.—“Letters from Paris of the 23rd say that the fleet which was to have sailed from the Isles of Hyères the 13th was not gone the 15th. They say this fleet is to join the squadrons of Brest, Rochefort, and St. Malo, which will consist of twenty-five sail, and to go on with their design against England, which, they say, was retarded only till their fleets were all together; and that King James is in the meantime to live at Boulogne to be ready for his embarking when all things else are so.

“The Court of France takes a great deal of pains to clear itself of having anything to do in the conspiracy against His Majesty, and their emissaries and our neutral friends here take no less. We shall hear from England . . . how far their apologies hold good against our conspirators’ confessions: in the meantime their being too hasty to be justified is not a very genuine mark of their innocence.

“You will have heard that we have five companies of Bellasis’ regiment and five of Earle’s taken by three French privateers and carried into Dunkirk. Mons. D’Auerquerque sent to have the men ransomed, but the Governor answered he could do nothing in it without first having orders from the Marquis de Boufflers.” *Copy.* (X. 178.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ARNOLD JOOST VAN] KEPPEL.

169[5-]6, March 17-27. Hague.—“Par les lettres de Paris du 13 Mars ’96 on mande que la flotte qui devoit partir de Toulon le 13<sup>me</sup> ne le fit pourtant pas le 15<sup>me</sup>. On compte qu’elle doit joindre les escadres de Brest, Rochfort, Port Louis et St. Malo, qu’on dit être de 25 vaisseaux de guerre, que le dessein sur l’Angleterre n’avoit pas été exécuté parce qu’on n’étoit pas assez fort par mer pour le soutenir avant l’arrivée de la flotte de Toulon; que ce dessein s’exécutera aussitôt que toute la flotte sera jointe, et qu’en attendant le Roi Jacques iroit demeurer à Boulogne; on croit pourtant qu’



on ne laisse ce misérable Prince par les côtes que pour sauver les apparences et faire accroire seulement que leur dessein n'est pas encore échoué, et qu'il ne dépendoit pas d'un meurtre et d'un parricide. On prend beaucoup de peine à Versailles pour tâcher d'en disculper le Roi de France ; il y a de ses émissaires ici à la Haye et de nos amis neutres qui n'en prennent pas moins. On parle d'un manifeste que la Cour de France veut publier : je doute fort qu'elle n'ose rien faire avant que de savoir au vrai les preuves qui résulteront du procès fait au coupables en Angleterre. Cinq compagnies du régiment de Bellasis et autant de celui d'Erle ont été pris par les armateurs François et menés à Dunquerque.

“ On dit qu'à Paris on a frappé une médaille avec l'effigie de Sa Majesté et des paroles bien outrageantes ; si cela se trouve vrai j'en ferai frapper bien d'autres ici, et par ma foi et ma conscience, comme auroit dit en pareil cas Mons. Jour, je les ferai distribuer de la Hollande jusques à Japon.”  
*Copy.* (X. 177-8.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695-6, March 20 [-30]. Whitehall.—Desires Prior to send him a book lately published, entitled *Samuelis Puffendorf de rebus gestis Fred[erici] Wilhelmi Magni Electoris Brandenburgensis] commentariorum lib 19. Berolini, 1695.*

“ You will find by the paper the three traitors gave to the Sheriff that they acknowledge the fact for which they were condemned. Walbanck was taken this afternoon.” (II. 68.)

[ARNOLD JOOST VAN] KEPPEL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695-6, March 20 [-30]. Kensington.—“ On ne scauroit assez remercier la providence divine de la découverte de cet exécration parricide, dont la pensée doit faire horreur à tous ceux qui aiment la religion protestante et la liberté de l'Europe, qui estoient absolument enveloppé dans l'événement de ce dessein. Je ne m'estonne nullement que vous avez esté très vivement touché de cette nouvelle ; tous les fidels serviteurs du Roy et bons Chrestiens y ont paty également ; mais comme leur premier mouvement de crainte et d'embarras est tourné en joye, j'espère que ce meschant dessein des ennemys tournera a l'avantage de nostre auguste monarque, et de tous ceux qui ont l'honneur de le servir.” (II. 69.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

169[5-]6, March 20-30. Hague.—“ I am extremely obliged to you for your favour of the 13-23 with the enclosed account of the trials of the greatest villains that ever were yet heard of, except those only that set them to work. My Lord Villiers will give you his thanks for it, and so I presume will your son Stepney, to whom I send a copy to-morrow morning. The

Pensioner of Holland ought to send you a medal and chain, for I have communicated it to him, as he has done to the States. I am glad you forgive my troubling you sometimes with what passes here; 'tis far from compliment that I tell you I think it my duty to do so. I ought not to forget, though perhaps you do, that I owe it in great measure to your advice and kindness that I am got thus far, and you must not be angry with me if I consult you, which is the way to get further. You know how it is with me here; I have my appointments and lie fallow; I have ambition enough to desire to do something for the bread they give me, though I have no reason to complain that they give it me for doing very little. Whenever I go forward, it is to be, I presume, in the track I am in. Our patrons would ask, if they knew for what Mr. Hill succeeds Mr. Wolseley at Brussels, what is to become of Mr. Wolseley, and who goes to Venice and Florence? or must the Northern Crowns or Brandebourg have anybody sent to them? *Omne solum forti patria est*. Believe me this letter is neither the effect of spleen or ambition, but downright to ask his advice who, I think, is more capable to give it than any man else I know." *Copy*. (X. 180-1.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1695-6, March 24 [-April 3]. Whitehall.—“I have yours of the 13-23 instant with your bill of extraordinaries, which I carried to Mr. Tucker, who would not allow of your exceeding 20s. a day, so was forced, where you had made it 39*l*. for letters, to cut off its tail and make the 9 a cypher; with which he passed it, making no exception to the three other additional articles, and our Treasury have ordered tallies to be given for all your bills, which I shall strick [*sic*] this week and dispose of them as you shall direct. The whole payable to you is 594*l*. 9*s*.

“I desire you will be pleased to acquaint my Lord Villiers that tallies are likewise ordered for His Lordship's bills of extraordinaries.” (VIII. 135.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ARNOLD JOOST VAN] KEPPEL.

1696, April 3. N.S. Hague.—Complimentary letter, acknowledging the unexpected honour of Keppel's reply to his former letter. *French. Copy*. (X. 181.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, March 31 [-April 10].—Whitehall. “I am really not able to tell you to what post Wolseley will be assigned, nor do I find he knows himself, for he writes to me by this post to give him some light into it, but I can't satisfy him. If your friends are in the humour to move the King in your behalf, I would not have you balk their fancy; nor is it necessary in my judgment to prescribe a place to the King. If there be more stations than one in Italy, Mr. Wolseley



can't pretend to fill them all, and if you come in for a second choice, I suppose you will be well enough contented. I think you may rely on my Lord [Shrewsbury]'s assistance when the matter is ripe for resolution, but I do not know how proper the conjuncture is at present.

"Pray give my respects to my Lord Villiers, and let him know that I have it from one of our divines who is newly come from Sir William Perkins, that he has owned to him he saw and read the commission of King James, which Porter speaks of in his evidence; but he hath not as yet explained himself any further. I know not what he may do, for this evening His Majesty hath signed a reprieve both for Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, to put off the execution till Friday." (II. 71.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, May 15 [-25]. Whitehall.—"I have received this morning your letter of the 12th, and with it your ingenious lines upon His Majesty's arrival. I will not commend you because I will not reproach you; for ignorant men's commendations are oftentimes such. Another reason I have for it is that, had I an understanding and skill enough to judge of poetry, I would forbear to praise you, for fear it should make you vain, which you know that I know you are already. I will, however, venture to say this much, that they please me, and I have read some parts of them three or four times over this day, though it be a post.

"I took care of all the others you sent me, and had them carefully delivered.

"When I begged the trouble of you to buy me some cambric, I begged nothing but the trouble; and I am sorry you forbid me giving you any further troubles of that kind by telling me, in effect—*To be rid of this impertinent fellow I will give him two pieces of cambric.* This may be a sense naturally enough put upon your kindness, and I am sure I have reason to take it so, unless I had more reason to deserve it: however, I thank you for it. I believe I shall receive it to-morrow.

"Forgive this scribble. I am hastening to go to some company, a thing I seldom do." (II. 72.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, May 15 [-25]. Whitehall.—"Your writing to me what passes on that side is so far from needing an excuse, that, if you did forbear it, after I have so often invited you to it, I should think I had reason not to pardon you for refusing me that satisfaction, which I cannot receive so entire from any other hand; and therefore desire you will continue it, whether you are in court or camp. But it seems they are not willing you should go into the field, and I think they are in the right, for I know no field that can produce so good poetic fruits as The Hague does, which are admirable; and

I thank you very heartily for my share of them. The mighty theme has suggested proportionable words and thoughts, and you have outdone yourself on this happy occasion of His Majesty's preservation, as you used to outdo others on other subjects; and though I am unwilling to deny you anything you ask, yet I cannot allow you to be a better secretary than a poet, but must make you amends in saying you have found the secret of joining two things generally thought incompatible, poetry and business, and both in perfection." *Signed.* (II. 73.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, May 19 [-29]. Whitehall.—“I give you the trouble of this by Mr. Secretary [Trumbull]'s order. who courts your correspondence, wherein he takes a particular delight; and therefore, though he writ to you himself last post, I am to acquaint you that he desires you will not fail to give him the satisfaction of letting him hear from your hand what passes concerning the war, and proposals of peace, what progresses the one makes, and what are made in the latter, if any.”

“Having performed my commands, I am in my own name to return you thanks, though disproportionate to the present you have made me of your excellent poem on the King's preservation, which will preserve and perpetuate the memorial of it.” (II. 74.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, May 26 [-June 5]. Whitehall.—“I like your poem so well that I am not satisfied you intend it shall be your last. Everybody has not my excuse that they are otherwise fully employed; I wish it were your case; but if you have intervals, I know not why you should not continue to make use of them for the honour of our Master and your own. If I should desire you not to seek your discharge till we have better writers, I should prescribe you a long term.” (II. 75.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, June 2 [-12]. Whitehall.—“We are here under all the difficulties on account of our coin that can be imagined, all payments stopped and foreign bills protested, nor will any body so much as touch a tally. I have in my hands 594*l.* 9*s.*, whereof I paid Mr. Storer 60*l.*, and for fees for your bill of extraordinaries and for your tallies 32*l.* 14*s.*” (VIII. 143.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, June 2 [-12]. Whitehall.—Complaining that the pieces of cambric have been changed in the post for pieces of coarser texture, having been sent, not in a box, but “in a brown paper which was broken open, and afterwards sealed



up again in white paper." Requesting further news of the proposals for peace; and wishing that Prior's bills of extraordinaries were to be sent every post, so that he might receive more letters from him. (II. 77.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1696, June 12-22. Hague.—"I have very little to trouble Your Lordship with more than (as Sir Fleetwood used to say) *who went over the other side*; or if I had any more, Your Lordship has it from my Masters. People will have it here that in the midst of war we are thinking of peace, and that M. Cagliere [Callières] is somewhere *incognito* in Holland. Some that have formerly known him pretend to have seen him at Amsterdam; however that may be, it is certain that Monsieur Dyckveldt has lately made several little journeys out of the way; which would not be so remarkable if the man loved either a mese (*sic*) or a mistress, but as it is they think it politics, and argue him wise from his dulness, &c."

"N.B. The rest of this letter was my own affairs, which God prosper." *Copy*. (X. 184.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, June 30 [-July 10]. Whitehall.—"I have paid your bill of one hundred pounds in guineas; but for your tallies I cannot think of disposing of them, nor will I offer at it until your affairs require an absolute necessity for doing of it. The straits we are in for want of money is not to be imagined; and if I were now to discount your tallies, I cannot get them done in new money or guineas for 20 per cent.\* This is indeed intolerable, and instead of mending, which we every day have expected, it grows worse and worse. There is between 7 and 800,000*l.* new coined, and yet hardly any of it appears about the town; they now coin 70,000*l.* a week, but I know not when we shall have it run plenty."

"Mr. Tucker hath got your bill of extraordinaries allowed. You will do well, if you please, to write to Mr. Montague that you cannot get your tallies discounted but at an extravagant loss, and beg his favour in ordering this bill, and the quarter, if possible, in money." (VIII. 155).

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, June 30 [-July 10]. Whitehall.—"Mr. Methuen is appointed one of the Commissioners for Trade, but I believe

\* Other letters of Powys of a little later date refer to the great lack of ready cash. On Aug. 25 he writes:—"I do not believe I can get the money advanced under 30 pounds per cent.; you may guess by this what a condition we are in, and how scarce money is here"; and on Nov. 6 following he adverts again to the "want of money" and "complaints that are made about it, from the highest to the lowest; many people who would mortgage their plate and jewels," being unable to "get money upon them." (VIII. 159-171).

he has no great mind to change his post for it ; he is well satisfied with what he hath, and before he relinquishes it he would gladly to see of what duration this Commission is like to be, at least whether it is like to outlive the next sessions of Parliament ; and therefore he proposes to come over to take possession no otherwise than by substituting his son in Portugal, that he may be at liberty either to return back or continue a Methuen still at Lisbon. You see he is for playing a sure game ; but I don't know that his coming away will be required upon those terms, and am most inclined to think he may stay there.

“ I desire you will forward the enclosed to Mr. Breuil, who writes the *Lardon*.” (II. 78.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, July 7 [-17]. Whitehall.—“ I value your kind letters as I ought to do ; and would oftener write you my acknowledgments if I had anything besides to accompany them. But here we have as little news as money, and since there is none of this stirring, 'tis well the people do not.

“ I do most heartily thank you for the accounts you give me of M. Caliere [Callières], and when you hear further of his motions and what they are like to produce, you can't oblige me more than by letting me hear from you. The same favour I desire when you are informed of M. Plessen's negotiation, and of the design of the transport-ships which are preparing in Zealand. I assure you both in this and all other matters of my inviolable secrecy, and that nobody (either on this or your side of the water) shall know anything of our correspondence. I believe Mr. Tucker has formerly sent you word of my readiness to sign your bills.” (II. 79.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to ———

1696, July 15-25. Hague.—“ We expect you will either make war or peace in good earnest. M. Calliere is still amongst us, if you will have the latter ; and both the Emperor and the King of France (we say) must leave the giving back or dismantling of Strasbourg to the King of England's mediation after the other points are adjusted. If you intend war, Mr. Dyckvelt has borrowed (you will have known) three millions (Holland's money) of Amsterdam at 5 per cent., the States being security for the interest ; and with this you are to besiege Dunkirk, get to it as you can.

“ The disorders of our [ex]change are such as I do not see where it will end, since the Schepens of Amsterdam will have no regard to our bank bills or goldsmiths' notes, and have adjudged no bills returned from England to be worthily answered except they are all paid in ready money, which all the English say is impossible for them to comply with ; in the meantime there is 12 per cent. difference between bills



answered by bank and those in ready money, and all the mediums our merchants offer (of defraying half in ready money and half in bank bills, or of having this difference regulated by a public order and the disproportion settled to some certain sum) are all found ineffectual.

“ If M. Cailliere is at Amsterdam, he will know that this makes a greater noise there than my Lord Berkeley does upon the coasts of Brittany.” *Copy.* (X. 185.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1696, July 21-31.—“ The last letters we received from Flanders left the King marching his army towards Cambron by Ath, where he arrived on Sunday night. His design is either to force the French lines in case Mons. de Boufflers does not move that way, or to observe him if he does, whilst Prince Vaudemont besieges Dunkirk (we say), but whilst he bombards it, is I believe the utmost we propose. 'Tis for this end that stores and ammunition of all kind are ready at Nieuport, and the Dutch squadron with the bomb-vessels now before Ostend will bombard Dunkirk by sea, whilst the Prince does the same by land. There is little question but that the Duke of Savoy's truce will end in a peace. He is too far in the French hands to think of retrieving what he has done, and would be a fool to imagine the Allies would ever pardon him for having been a knave in abandoning them. Our French letters say that Monsieur is going to Lyon with a great equipage to meet the young Princess.

“ Our fleet has done no great exploits on the coasts of Brittany and Poitiers. The French say our sea-bombarding is throwing English crowns to break their glass-windows.

“ The talk of a peace cools extremely. I know not if we have withstood our market, or if the French never yet proposed anything to be accepted.

“ Our war in Hungary is managed with the usual prudence. Temeswar was to have been besieged, and when the Germans were within five miles of the place, they found they had forgot powder, bullets, pioneers, and pickaxes.” *Copy.* (X. 186.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, July 24 [-August 3]. Whitehall.—“ I can now tell you that ” Mr. Methuen “ comes over to be at the opening of the Parliament, and designs to leave his son his curate, whom he has sent for on purpose from Italy. I perceive, if he then find the Commission of Trade like to stand, and that Portugal may go by entail upon the heirs male, he will stay here ; otherwise he will be slipping back into his post again. So that I don't see what great expectancy you can have there, but you do well to be alert and on the watch, and I hope your next attempt (whatever it may be) will succeed better.” (II. 80.)

## SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, August 22 [-Sept. 1]. Easthampstead.—“ I am got into the country for a few days, and would willingly follow the advice of our good friend Horace, *Ducere sollicitae jucunda oblivio vitae*. Here I received the satisfaction, and heartily thank you for it, of your kind letter of the 19-29 inst. By this I find that the great article of peace or war is still very uncertain; and the other, as to the Princess of Brandenburg, very mysterious. However, these matters cannot but excite my curiosity, and make me renew my request to you, that at such a crisis as this you would continue to be more watchful than ever. I rely so much on your friendship, which, I assure you, I will ever inviolably preserve, that I desire you by every post to give me the most particular accounts you can, and that you will trust me with an exact character of this Princess of Brandenburg, as to her person, age, humour, and everything; for I cannot but begin to think there is something in all this noise.”\* (II. 83.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

[1696, Sept. 4. N.S.]—“ I have not troubled Your Lordship with our guesses and wagers concerning a peace, since I could not speak of it till now with any certainty. The mystery is at length out, for yesterday the Pensioner of Holland told the ministers at the Congress the effect of Mons. Dyckvelt and Mons. Caillier’s [Callières’] meetings; that France would consent to a peace upon the foot of the Westphalia and Nimègue treaties; and that if the several ministers would write to their Masters, they might upon these grounds begin to treat.

“ The ministers of our smaller German allies are really concerned and angry at these appearances, for *subsidies* is the word with them, and they would sell us war as long as we have money or tallies. Our Imperial ministers, though they really desire a peace, would have it thought that we court them to it; they made difficulties about what was meant by the Treaty of Westphalia, to which it was answered that that would be explained, and what was now proposed was only a ground-work on which they were to proceed.

“ This is the state of our affairs here. We expect shortly to hear of plenipotentiaries named with my Lord Villiers for the treaty. I must trouble Your Lordship with a word concerning my own affairs at this conjuncture.

“ I have reason to expect to be Secretary to the Embassy, having served five years on the place, and being able to plead a sort of prescription to it; but nothing is sure at a Court, and though I have not many enemies, others may have better friends. Lord Villiers will contribute as much

\* *I.e.*, a rumour that the King was disposed to marry the Princess. Cf. Luttrell *Brief Historical Relation*, iv. 94, 101.



as is in his power to my having this thing, and Your Lordship will, I am sure, send me a line from yourself to my Lord Portland in my behalf, which would fix it beyond dispute whilst the King is yet on our side. I beg Your Lordship to pardon me eternally troubling you; I am conscious of it, but cannot tell how to help it, and I seem as much to challenge a right to Your Lordship's favour to me, as you ought to do to my entire obedience and duty to your commands.

"We have had news these last two posts that the Grand Monarch has been very ill; the French post this morning confirms it. He has a swelling in his neck, which is a kind of pest sore, for which he has been blistered and scarified, and is not out of danger. We are praying devoutly for his good passage, and would fain have our peace signed by Louis the Fifteenth. Great preparations are making for the reception of the young Princess of Savoy: the Duchess of Créquy and the Duke of Choiseul are to meet her. We talk very much of a marriage on our side between the King and the Princess of Brandenburg, but I think without much ground, as far as I can see into the matter. One of the parties only are resolved; the King however intends to pay them a visit at Clèves; we shall then see if we ought to distinguish between love and civility." *Copy.* (X. 189.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Sept. 1 [-11].—Whitehall. "My Lord Duke returns an answer to what you sent him, and was glad of the opportunity to serve you, as you have the best pretensions and have put in your claim early; I hope you will meet with no disappointment. This hath put me upon considering who may be the most likely to be your rival, and I can't think of any one except Mr. [Daniel] Pulteney; and that I imagine will only happen in case my Lord Romney be one of the plenipotentiaries."\*

*Postscript.* "To show you my Lord Duke expects you should have this secretaryship, he bids me bespeak you to reserve a clerk's place for a young gentleman he intends to send over for that occasion, who is now bred in this office, and is the son of Mr. Rowley, whom His Grace hath a particular kindness for. And his son is a youth of great hopes, who writes very prettily, and will copy very well both in Latin and French; and when he hath had this improvement, he is to be returned us again." (II. 86.)

#### TREATY OF TURIN.

LORD LEXINGTON and MONS. HEEMSKERK to the EMPEROR.

1696, Sept. 16. [N.S.]—Memoir urging the continuance of the war in Italy, notwithstanding the Duke of Savoy's

\* Cf. Buccleuch MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.) II. Pt. I. 391, 397-8; Pt. II. 401-3.

secession from the Alliance\* ; for if the neutrality be accepted “la France sera délivrée d’une guerre qui lui coûte le double de ce qu’elle lui coûterait ailleurs, de sorte qu’au lieu de 36,000 hommes qu’elle y a à présent, elle en entretiendra 72[000] avec les mêmes sommes. Outre qu’elle pourra se prévaloir des garnisons de Pignerol, Suze et Nizza aussi bien que des troupes qu’elle tient pour la défense des côtes de mer, et cette augmentation de force, employée ailleurs, est suffisante pour faire diversion, tellement que de tous côtés nous serons réduits à une guerre défensive, et à la dernière extrémité dans les lieux où la foudre tombera, et il faut être aveugle pour ne pas voir quelle paix s’en ensuivra. D’autre côté la guerre cessant en Italie, les Alliés n’en pourront tirer plus de 20,000 hommes, et Dieu sait si alors on saura où il les faudra mettre, et ainsi au lieu de souffrir pendant quelque peu de temps quelque incommodité dans le Milanois, nous verrons l’ennemi, dominant en Catalogne, s’emparer de royaumes et de provinces entières sans que les autres Alliés, quelque bonne volonté qu’ils eussent de le faire, le puissent empêcher. C’est en Italie qu’il faut défendre la Catalogne comme Scipion défendit l’Italie en Afrique ; d’ailleurs la chose n’est pas désespérée ; nous avons vu en d’autre temps qu’il n’est pas si facile de subjuguier l’Etat de Milan, et ce ne sera pas la première fois que Valence s’est défendue vaillamment, et qu’Alexandrie a été assiégée sans avoir été prise dans les conjonctures où l’Espagne n’avoit pas les amis qu’elle a à présent. Il n’y a qu’à temporiser, et qui empêchera qu’on n’y envoie, même avant l’hiver, des forces suffisantes pour faire tête à nos ennemis et nous assurer des quartiers d’hiver, ce ne seront pas les ennemis assurément. Notre négligence en sera la seule cause puis qu’il est certain que les Alliés ont beaucoup plus de troupes que les François, s’ils prenoient les mesures, et qu’ils eussent la promptitude que l’on doit s’efforcer d’avoir dans de semblables extrémités, et ils seroient bientôt dans une supériorité en Italie suffisante pour y trouver des quartiers et tirer, s’ils le vouloient, une partie de leur entretien de ceux qui ont donné occasion à ces nouveaux troubles. Pour cette fin nous offrons à V.M.I. et au service public une flotte dans la Méditerranée et de concourir de la part de nos Maîtres tout ce qui est requis pour y continuer la guerre par terre avec apparence de succès.” *Copy.* (XV. 1-5.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Sept. 11 [-21]. Whitehall.—“There having been such advances made towards a treaty for a general peace that now it is no longer a secret, I hope it is no crime to desire you the favour to let me know the conditions upon which it is proposed, and which the Pensioner in a full assembly made known to the several plenipotentiaries in a

\* Cf. Lexington Papers, ed. Manners Sutton, p. 221.



full deduction of all the overtures that had been made by the French ministers. Others pretend to have them, and I have seen them ; but can scarce believe them to be right, because we have them not here from those from whom we ought to expect them . . . . But I will venture to tell you a secret, and that is, that we have received more just and perfect accounts of this matter from hands less concerned to send them, than we have had from The Hague, from whence they ought to have come.

“ The town is full of discourse here as well of the death of the King as Queen of Spain, and wagers laid every day of it, which makes us impatient to receive our letters from abroad.

“ If the treaty goes on, I wish you success in your pretension to be Secretary to the Embassy, and should be glad if any good office I could do you to Mr. Secretary would any ways contribute to it.” (II. 87.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1696, Sept. 15–25. Hague.—“ The courier which we have expected from Vienna arrived on Sunday night, and Count Aversperg went with him to Loo. The Emperor’s answer is, I hear, first, that Aix-la-Chapelle should be the place to treat, so that he takes himself to have the sole right of naming ; secondly, the entire restitution of Lorraine ; and thirdly, the ten Imperial towns of Alsace to be restored, though the French had them by the Treaty of Münster. I know not how reasonable the first of these points will seem to His Majesty, or the two latter to Mons. Caglièr [Callières] ; but this I know, that the Dutch Ministry are all for hastening a peace, and are impatient till His Majesty’s arrival here, in order to the making some public step in this affair. My Lord Villiers will (I think without doubt) be one of the plenipotentiaries ; we name Lord Pembroke and Sir William Trumbull for the other two : the least we say that the best civil lawyer in England can do for her is to make this peace. His Majesty has pleased to approve my being secretary (though as yet I do not say so) ; and it would augment that honour sensibly to me if I might have you for my master.”  
*Copy.* (X. 194.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES] MONTAGU.

[1696, Sept.]—“ As no man ever had so good a patron, so certainly no man had ever such occasion for him as I at this time. My tallies I cannot sell under thirty per cent. loss ; my aunt will not send me one farthing ; the chain and medal the States gave me is at pawn ; I have but two pistoles in the house or (to say plainly) in the world, and I have every morning a *levée* (God be thanked for the respite of Sunday) of postmen, stationers, tailors, cooks and wine-merchants who have not been paid since last December. This is the state of the matter : there needs no great oratory

to engage your affections and raise your compassion. If you can get me any ready money, it would be more charity than to give an alms to the poorest dog that ever gave you a petition; if not, patience is a virtue, and a scrap or two of Horace must be my consolation. It is as good starving in employment as out, so I have used my friends' interest to get to be Secretary to the Embassy to this Peace, of which we are all talking; and I have got it with the advantage of having the King say that he was satisfied with my service, and thought my requests reasonable. I am infinitely obliged to my Lord Duke of Shrewsbury in this affair, and I wish you, dear Master, would let His Grace know as much." *Copy.* (X. 195.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

MEMOIR presented to the CONGRESS by M. SCHMETTAU on behalf of the ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.

1696, Sept. 18-28.—The Elector is of opinion "que si la France déclare en forme authentique de vouloir rétablir pour fondement de la négociation de la paix les Traités de Westphalie et de Nimègue sans exception ou limitation, il seroit de l'intérêt des Hauts Alliés d'entrer sur ce fondement en traité avec la France sous la médiation de Sa Majesté le Roy de Suède dès qu'on auroit nommé et seroit convenu du lieu pour traiter; il paroïssoit être de l'intérêt des Alliés de ne pas accrocher le Traité de Paix à cette nomination et choix du lieu, mais d'en convenir incessamment afin de savoir au plutôt si la dite déclaration de la France est satisfaisante ou non; au premier cas on pourroit de la part des Alliés requérir conjointement Sa Majesté le Roy de Suède de se vouloir charger de la médiation et d'entamer le traité; au second on auroit besoin de réclamer la garantie de Sa Majesté pour obtenir de la France le dit fondement de la négociation; et afin que la France ne pût interpréter que par l'acceptation de ce qu'elle déclarera de la manière susdite sur le fondement de la négociation les Alliés se désisteront de leurs prétentions ultérieures, on pourroit de leur part se précautionner par une contredéclaration à donner pareillement entre les mains du Médiateur, y reservant toutes leurs prétensions ultérieures pour les déclarer lorsqu'on sera entré en traité." *Copy.* (XV. 68.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to SIR PAUL RYCAUT.

1696, Sept. 19-29. Loo.—Instructing him to warn the magistrates of Hamburg and of other Hanse towns not to enter into negotiations with the Scots' East India Company, who are building ships at Hamburg and treating for privileges, as the King is informed, whereby the rest of His Majesty's subjects are likely to be injured; nor have the Scots any credentials for this purpose. *Copy.* (XVII. I.)



## TREATY OF RYSWICK.

MEMOIR by LORD LEXINGTON and M. HEEMSKERK presented to the MINISTERS of the EMPEROR.

1696, Sept. 29. [N.S.] Ebersdorf.—They deem the Emperor would ruin the prospects of peace “en accrochant le Congrès des Ministres à une explication de la Paix de Münster par le reces de Nuremberg et la satisfaction préalable de l’Espagne. Si ces deux points dépendoient de nos Maîtres, ils seroient tout aussitôt accordés, mais comme ils dépendent de nos ennemis, et qu’il n’y a pas la moindre apparence qu’ils fassent ce pas, la question n’est plus comment il faut conduire cette affaire, et ce qui nous conviendrait, mais si l’état de nos affaires nous conseille d’entrer en négociation de paix sur ce que nous avons déjà, ou bien de rompre tout traité et commerce avec la France en nous chargeant des succès douteux dont une guerre opiniâtre et sujette à force d’accidents est accompagnée. Nos Maîtres croient que la prudence ne permet pas que nous nous exposions à ces nouveaux hasards sans nous assurer auparavant de ce que sans aucun engagement de notre côté l’on peut avoir ; et soit dit confidemment à vos Excellences, ils ont de plus une raison particulière, qui est de ne pas passer auprès de leurs peuples pour ceux qui ne veulent pas de paix, qui de l’autre côté étants persuadés du contraire, et voyants ces acheminements, seront par là animés à contribuer gaiement aux frais de la guerre pour l’avoir bonne. Ces raisons solides, où le service public a part, seroient de grande force et l’emporteroient, si l’on n’étoit malheureusement préoccupé (comme nous le craignons) que nous voulons la paix à quel prix que ce soit, et qu’arrivés au Congrès, on la fera sans avoir égard aux intérêts des Hauts Alliés. Cependant il ne sera pas hors de propos que vos Excellences connoissent que les dits soupçons (s’il est vrai qu’ on les aye) sont très mal fondés : nous n’alléguons pas que ce que nos Maîtres ont faits et essayés pour le service public durant le cours de cette guerre mériterait quelque confiance, mais nous nous arrêterons à ce qui parle de soi même et n’admet pas, à notre avis, de contradiction. Personne ne peut nier que si l’intention de nos Maîtres étoit de vouloir si inconsidérément la paix comme on pourroit se l’imaginer, ils ne seroient pas si mal avisés que de contredire à la neutralité en Italie ; au moins ne le feroient ils pas avec l’empressement qu’ils font en offrant de s’engager à des nouvelles et très grandes dépenses. Ils pourroient ménager cet argent et arriver tout aussi bien à leur but ; mais c’est une preuve convainquante que s’ils souhaitent la paix ils la veulent avoir bonne. Et la crainte que le Roi d’Angleterre et Messieurs les Etats pourroient se contenter des offres faites par la France, et que par là la paix seroit précipitée, seroit bonne et fondée, s’ils ne pouvoient sans un Congrès faire la même chose, et avec moins d’éclat

que lorsqu'on auroit eu la complaisance de s'y rendre à leur instance et prière. Au contraire on acquiert par là une espèce de nouveau droit pour empêcher qu'on ne la fasse si ce n'est d'un consentement unanime ; et si l'on y prend garde de près, on trouvera que les formalités d'un Congrès public et d'autres accidents qui le suivent nous assurent de la continuation de la guerre pour un temps, ce qui dans l'autre cas ne seroit pas. Nous vous assurons, donc, Messieurs, que ce n'est nullement l'intention de Sa Majesté Britannique et de Leurs Hautes Puissances qu'on se contente des deux Paix, mais elles appuyeront les demandes et prétentions ultérieures de leurs Alliés de tout leur pouvoir, et au de là de ce qu'on s'en imagine, la guerre leur ayant coûté trop de sang de leurs sujets et trop d'argent pour la changer mal à propos dans une mauvaise paix, et pour les fortifier dans ce louable dessein nous ne demandons que confiance et quelque déférence à des représentations sincères qui méritent assurément réflexion.

Nous espérons que Sa Majesté Impériale se dignera de considérer ces motifs qui jusques ici n'ont pas été couchés par écrit, et se laissera persuader par là de changer la réponse que nous venons de recevoir jusques là qu'elle n'accroche aux points susdits la médiation de la Suède et la nomination d'un lieu pour le Congrès sans lequel la médiation ne peut pas avoir son effet." *Copy.* (XV. 10-11.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Sept 22 [-Oct. 2]. Whitehall.—“ I am very glad you laid in betimes and have secured a post which is so much your due. You would otherwise in all probability have had a rival that neither of us thought of. Sir William Trumbull, I hear, is designed for one of the plenipotentiaries ; I don't think he would have made it his choice, if he could handsomely avoid it. But if he goes, he intends to take Mr. [John] Ellis with him, from whence I conclude he [Ellis] expected to be Secretary of the Embassy, he having partly officiated in that function at Nimegen while Chudleigh and Sir Leoline Jenkins were upon such ill terms that they did not see one another. But the matter is settled, and I hope we shall hear no more of it . . . . When you are ready for your commission, His Grace [Shrewsbury] will send over the young gentleman [Rowley] he hath recommended to you, and you will hardly find one of his years that will be more useful and less troublesome.” (II. 88).

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1696, Oct. 9. N.S.—“ The King is expected here to-night ; the State of the War is ready for his signing, and nothing is likely to keep him long on this side, provided the courier were returned from Vienna. We think the Imperial Court will rebate a little of its stiffness as to the point of Lorraine, and accordingly hope to see some steps made in the



great negotiation. Cagliari [Callières] is about an hour from hence, and will continue there, I hear, till we have this answer which we all look after so earnestly.

"The French are wisely preparing for war as if they designed no peace ; they are raising recruits in all the frontier countries, though they are embarrassed enough to pay them, which Cagliere has not stuck to confess ; and his *beau mot* is that we must make a peace on all sides, for we cannot make a war.

"We have from Paris that the Marquis de Nesmond is returned with his squadron to Brest; as is likewise Mons. Renaud: the latter has been westward, towards Havana, with design to catch the Spanish Fleet coming out. He is relieved from that service by Mons. de Gennes, but the Spaniards have had warning long enough and have reinforced their convoy, so that we hope they are safe." *Copy.*  
(X. 197.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. CARDONNEL.

1696, Oct. 6-16. Hague.—“The account I think stood thus between us. I had laid out for Mr. Blathwayt. :—

|                                                  |                             |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                                                  | 126 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i>  |
| The bookseller's bill for newspapers comes to .. | 154 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i>  |
| Skeltus .. .. .                                  | 128 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>   |
| My account to Mr. Blathwayt for postage .. ..    | 226 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i>   |
| Your account .. .. .                             | 584 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i>  |
|                                                  | <hr/>                       |
|                                                  | 2360 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> |

*Per contra.*

Received from Mr. Schuylemberg .. .. 2000l.

„ „ Mr. Cardonnel a bag of .. 320l.  
2360l. 15s.—2320l.

"I think I am right in this account. If I mistake, you may easily rectify it by yours.

"Your tailors bring me this enclosed bill of 188 gild—which I have paid. I therefore send you the bill you left me upon Mr. Hill and desire you to send me another for the residue, to make even between us. Pray send me word if there be any hopes that I may dispose of tallies, for else I am undone.

Duns come so boldly,

King's money so slowly." *Copy.* (X. 198.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Oct. 6 [-16]. Whitehall.—“ Though you do not positively tell me you have a grant of being Secretary to the Embassy of the treaty for the general peace, yet I suppose, by what you write, you have so good a promise that it will not be unreasonable to give you joy of it. We are here in perfect joy for the safe and unexpected return of His Majesty this morning at Margate. He intends to sup at Kensington to-night, which is a great journey after a pretty long voyage.”  
*Signed.* (II. 91.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1696, Oct. 9-19. Hague.—“Mr. Dyckvelt went again on Wednesday last to visit Cagliere [Callières], and, I think, the result of their conference was only to show that they could chicaner on both sides, Dyckvelt pressing Cagliere to declare that he offered the treaties of Westphalia and Nimègue *sans réserve*, and the other holding to it, that he had sufficiently explained himself when he offered the Treaties, and could include no new addition on that offer: this Dyckvelt brought yesterday to the Congress, and it served the Ministry to talk of, but is (I believe Your Grace will think) no great matter in reality, since the treaties as Cagliere has offered them are sufficient foundations for a Congress to build on, and when they come to do so, it will be impossible but that claims and reserves in several little things will be asked and granted reciprocally on both sides.

“Our express in the mean is come from Vienna, and I hear he brings word that the Emperor persists to have the treaty in some place of the Empire, and provided it be so, he will leave the naming the place to the King or the States; but he will consent to nothing else, and gives for reason that the Princes of the Empire have more to concert in the making the peace than all the rest of the Allies.

“Mons. D’Auversperg will acquaint His Majesty particularly of this affair; however, I thought it my duty to acquaint Your Grace with what I could hear of it.

“Mons. Renault, who returned some days since into Rochelle much shattered, is there equipping ten men-of-war, which will be ready in two months; the design of his going out again is thought to regard America.” *Copy.* (X. 199.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Oct. 13 [-23]. Whitehall.—Describing a serious accident to the Duke of Shrewsbury while hunting, which prevents him from answering Prior’s letters. (II. 93.)

## SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Oct. 13 [-23]. Whitehall.—“I . . . join with you in your wishes that we were well over this first rub and all others that stand in the way to what is much to be desired, if it can be come at fairly and honourably; and if the foundation proposed be not sufficient ground to build the fabric upon without enlarging it by interpretations, as is now proposed, it is to be feared the whole may fall to the ground.” Requesting further news. *Signed.* (II. 94.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1696, Oct. 16-26. Hague.—“Mons. Dyckvelt alarmed the Congress yesterday morning by telling them that Mons. Cailiere [Callières] said to him in a conference the day before,



that he had never offered Luxemburg otherwise than demolished. Don Quiros, you will easily imagine, took fire at this, and though his anger was more intelligible than his reasonings, the whole Congress were of opinion that his difficulty was to be taken off before it was possible for any step to be made further; which will cost Dyckvelt another visit to-morrow, and will be the subject upon which he is to be baited on Monday.

“The Imperialists are still obstinate to have the place of treaty in the Empire, though it is thought they will come to in this point, as they have done in the others of having the treaties of Westphalia and Nimègue the basis of the peace without adding either *sans réserve* or *dans leur entier* to them so that, as well as I can trace what is kept a secret here, the Preliminary Articles are:—

“The treaties of Westphalia and Nimègue the foundation of the Peace.

“The King to be acknowledged.

“Strasbourg to be restored in the state France took it.

“Luxemburg as it now is (to be settled), all reunions since the Peace of Nimègue to be restored.” *Copy.* (X. 201.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.]

1696, Nov. 2. [N.S.] Hague.—“We are chicaning here about the preliminaries of a peace, on which it is no wonder if we do not agree, since so many different parties are concerned, who think not much of each other’s interests, nor rightly explain their own. There has been a difficulty about the ten Imperial towns in Alsace which the House of Austria gave up to the French by the treaty of Münster in 1648. The French think they have right to govern them absolutely in their own ways; the Imperialists allow them only *la préfecture provinciale*, as they call it, which was all they had, and consequently all they could give. The ministers have referred the question they could not decide as being not proper for the preliminaries, but what ought to be handled when they come to treat.

“The affair of Lorraine is likewise agreed on by both parties not to be mentioned in the preliminaries. There is another difficulty of very great consequence, Cailiere [Callières] saying he never offered Luxemburg otherwise than in the state in which France took it, and Dyckvelt having understood him all along to have meant it in the state it now is in. The whole Congress and particularly the Spanish and Dutch ministers, have charged Dyckvelt to tell his *incognito* friend that, if he does not recede from this point, all hopes of a treaty are utterly cut off. Cailiers says he cannot do it without express order from the Court, which accordingly he has writ for, though I look upon this to be an artifice of Cailiere, for doubtless

France always designed the restitution of Luxemburg as it now is, if ever it really designed a treaty ; and Cailiere, I presume, in giving it up will ask some other thing in compensation, or at least has made a step *en habile ministre*, endeavouring to gain his Master as much as he could. So on the other side it was a blunder in Dyckvelt to have been treating so many months without having asked a clearer explanation of a point so very considerable.

“ Your Lordship sees how very slowly the advances towards a treaty are making. The success of the whole affair will depend upon the resolutions of our Parliament. France will certainly give more or less in the treaty as the people of England will proportionally give towards carrying on the war in case those offers miscarry ; and however great our poverty is we must hide it, if possible, from the enemy.

“ I think I may presume that I am to be Secretary to the Embassy, and I presume my masters will be named as soon as these points in hand are settled in the preliminaries.

“ Your Lordship will pardon me a long letter in my own trade, by which I only mean to acknowledge his kindness who set me out to prentice.” *Copy.* (X. 202.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1696, Nov. 10–20. Hague.—“ I make bold to trouble you with our secrets here. The enclosed is a plan of the preliminaries on the several points of which I think the parties are agreed, except in that of Luxembourg, which France offers in the state it was in when they took it, now in the preliminaries ; and for the fortifications they have added they would agree, in the treaty itself, for a sum of money. No answer has been given to this proposal, the Spanish minister being absent from the Congress by reason of an indisposition, which in all probability will keep him at home till he knows his Master’s resolution in this matter.

“ Thus time and method are likely to bring us to a treaty, and I believe necessity will make us conclude it.” *Copy.* (X. 204.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Nov. 13 [–23]. Whitehall.—My Lord Duke “ is still confined to his country habitation, and is spitting blood, while Sir John Fenwick is spitting venom. I don’t care how soon the last is choked ; I wish the other may recover as soon from his distemper as he will from the rage and malice of Sir John and his party. His Grace made a trial on Sunday last how the air would agree with him, but he found himself the worse for it, and spit more blood after it than he had done for some time before, so that it is very uncertain when he can be able to come up. His cure goes on as slowly as your treaty ; for all we hear of plenipotentiaries



being named, we don't yet persuade ourselves that France is in earnest. We are told that Sir George Barclay is let loose again, and another detachment of cutthroats is sent over. We are never like to be left without alarms, but I hope we shall not be snapt by surprise." (II. 95.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1696, Nov. 17-27. Hague.—“I am glad for the merchants' sake and for the safety of our letters that you have been pleased to advance the proposition of three frigates to cruise between Yarmouth and the Maas, and I am obliged to you in particular that by laying it before the King you gave His Majesty occasion to remember he has a small minister here who has little more to do at present than just to show his zeal to his Master's service. I wish the enclosed may be an instance of it, and if you think fit to show it, you will, I am sure, give me a new occasion [of] being obliged to you as I am very greatly already. My Lord Villiers gives Your Honour that whilst one of the French ministers is chicaning here, and puts an absolute stop by it to the preliminaries, the other two are hastening away to be ready to begin the treaty.—

*Quo teneam [vultus] mutantem Protea nodo?*

“Possibly this list may expound the riddle, and they may design another descent, as I hear they have sent their villains before. God prevent them, or if this last attempt does not succeed, the King of France may have all seeming merit of having done his utmost for King James's interest, and of having dwelt, as long as he could, upon the article of owning His Majesty. I hope this behaviour of Cailliere [Callières] is but grimace and ask your pardon that I dare trouble you with base conjectures.” *Copy.* (X. 205.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to MONSIEUR BAYLE.

1696, Nov. 18-28. Hague.—“J'aurois plutôt répondu à vostre obligeante lettre; mais j'ay cru que je devois attendre que milord Villiers vous eut dit luy même que je me suis bien acquitté de la commission que vous m'avez donnée. Sans cela je n'aurois pas pu me résoudre à différer si longtemps à vous écrire; ne croyez pourtant pas que je veuille m'étendre sur le mérite de vostre ouvrage. Je laisse cela aux savans, et me contente seulement de l'admirer, et de me féliciter de l'honneur que j'ai de connoître le grand génie qui l'a fait—

*Satis est hunc mihi nosse virum.*

“Au reste je vous remercie par avance du présent que j'accepteray avec joye. Je ne doute point que vous n'ayez disposé de vos autres exemplaires en faveur de véritables savans, mais je doute fort que vous en ayez donné à personne qui en aime plus la lecture, et en estime plus l'auteur.” *Copy.* (X. 207.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to [RICHARD] POWYS.

1696, Dec. 7. [N.S.] Hague.—“Tallies at 45 per cent. may make a man mad, especially if he has but 20s. per day, but the wood, I hope, will sell better, and the allowance be augmented in some time. It was on this consideration that I drew the last hundred pounds on you, and since it was at 5 months, we have a little leisure to look about us, and I hope you will not be inconvenienced in the payment of it. I send you enclosed the copy of a bill of extraordinaries from August to November, which, you see, is within my compass, and will, I suppose, meet with no opposition. You will be pleased to give it either to Mr. Ellis or Mr. Tucker. I have writ a word to Mr. Secretary to prepare the way for it. Tallies are such horrid commodities that it makes one very stoical as to one's own interest. I would desire you, however, to do me the favour to send me the marks and particulars of those which I have; for I have a project, if it comes to anything, of getting some of them off here, or at least of trying to take up some money upon the merits of some of them for 6 months or a year, it being understood always that you are first repaid what you have so kindly disbursed for me, and which, you see, I can only acknowledge in bare words.

“Some miracle may possibly mollify the hearts of the Treasury that we may get a little ready money for these bills and the ordinary appointments. Who knows? We should do well, I think, to try it, though I am ashamed to ask Mr. Montague anything when I fear to put him upon the hardship of refusing me.

“Sir Joseph Williamson coming in to the Council makes me think he may be one of our plenipotentiaries, though I do not know how to reconcile that to my Lord Lexington's pretensions, except they intend to have four, or make my Lord Villiers the first. You would oblige me in sending me a word of what you may hear of this, as likewise who it was that, being Secretary to the Embassy, had 3*l.* per day; and how it was practised at Nimègue upon that account; for that, I believe, will be our rule: this is only between us, as is likewise that I am glad Mrs. Smyth married, and I would not have you sorry.” *Copy.* (X. 208-9.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1696, Dec. 7. [N.S.] Hague.—“It [is] my duty to leave the business of the Congress to my Lord Villiers, but it is likewise so to tell you what I remark here. Though Mons. Cailliere [Callières] does not plainly say he has an answer from France concerning the point of having His Majesty owned, he has, I believe, given Mons. Dyckvelt to understand that there will be difficulty made in it, and I have heard that Mons. Dyckvelt does not say all he knows



of this business to the Congress, till Cailiere has writ, for, I believe, it was after Dyckvelt had downright entreated him to do so.

“ These are my thoughts, and I infer from them that these people would have a peace, *telle quelle*. I see nobody of another opinion but the Pensioner, who is no way Cailiere’s dupe in the whole business, but encourages and manages the preparations towards a war as actually as if there were no conferences on foot towards a peace. Don Quiros (Your Honour will have heard) is named first plenipotentiary for Spain ; he is as mad as the Catholic religion and a hot temper can make any man. Kaunitz advances very honestly, but is (by the way) a good deal a bigot. I believe my Lord Villiers and these Ministers I have named of the *quatre Puissances* will have a private conference between this and Monday, which is the day they expect Cailiere’s answer, upon which the whole affair may take a turn one way or other absolutely.

“ Mons. Plessen is going away very much rejoiced that he has signed the treaty, as I believe everybody is that wishes the good of the common cause, or the repose of Europe.

“ Pointi[s] is not yet gone out (I think) with his squadron from Brest, though as well there (as appears by the list I did myself the honour to send you) as at St. Malo and La Hogue there are such preparations making as look like attempting some considerable enterprise. They have talked of a descent in Ireland, and it is certain they are not idle whilst Cailiere amuses us with his preliminaries.” *Copy.* (X. 210.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,]  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

1696, Dec. 1–11. Hague.—“ For some time past the French Minister here, Mons. Cailiere [Callières], has chicaned about the manner of owning the King, which put a stop to anything that looked like forming a treaty ; but on Sunday he told Mons. Dyckvelt that he had order from the Court of France to adjust that great point, which will be done by the ministers agreeing to a form according to which Cailiere shall acknowledge His Majesty’s title to the Mediator at the same time that he dictates to him the other preliminary points.

“ Your Lordship sees some advances towards a treaty, which looks as if the French really intended it. In the meantime they make great preparations on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy ; they have put the troops that come from Piedmont into Burgundy, Lorraine and along the Rhine, and are as actually making ready for a war as if there were no hopes or thoughts of negotiating a peace ; which, if it comes to good, will be all owing to the resolutions of the Parliament.

“ We may now expect to hear who will be our plenipotentiaries from England. Sir Joseph Williamson being called

to the Council makes us expect he will be one. To whomsoever they are (when they may be named) I need not doubt of Your Lordship's recommendation." *Copy.* (X. 211.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1696, Dec 1-11. Hague.—“My Lord Villiers tells you in what manner the great point is likely to be adjusted and the negotiation to advance. Cailiere [Callières] seems very glad to have received these orders: the hopes of seeing himself soon an ambassador may contribute a good deal to that joy. He puts on a seeming openness and simplicity in confessing that his Master, *veut sortir tout de bon de l'affaire*. The French in the meantime have put their troops that came from Piedmont into Burgundy, Lorraine and along the Rhine, and Your Honour is advised from all hands what preparations they make on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy.

“However the preliminaries seem to be near agreed to; you will see we shall defer going to a treaty in form as long as we can, and decide as much as we can in this private way with Cailiere, and I take the reason of it to be that, as soon as a public Congress is formed, so many little ministers will open, and so many different Princes' claims be produced, as might hinder the whole machine from moving as fast as it should do: but God be thanked that the point relating to His Majesty is finished, and our apprehensions of last post on that subject over; all which is owing to your good resolutions in Parliament, and will, I think, advance as you find funds.” *Copy.* (X. 212.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Dec. 8 [-18]. Whitehall.—“It must be a miracle indeed, as you say, if our Treasury give you ready money for I can assure you our condition is such at present that there is not sixpence of disposable money, all that is in the Exchequer being either appropriated for the war or repayment of loans.

“Your letter which came to Mr. Vernon with an account that Calliere[s] had agreed to own our King hath put a new life into our affairs, and, I hope, will speedily put our treaty of peace on foot, in which you are to have a share. Mr. Ellis tells me, 40s. a day and 300*l.* equipage is the utmost that is allowed to any secretary of Embassies. And as to your plenipotentiaries my Lord Villiers will certainly be one, Sir Joseph Williamson, it is believed, will be another; but Lord Lexington will have no hand in it, as I am told.” (VIII. 179.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, December 8 [-18]. Whitehall.—“I received yesterday your letter of the 1-11 inst. It could not have come more *à propos*, for I received it just before the House went



into a Committee upon the state of the nation. I happened to tell my next neighbour the good news it brought, and it ran round the House like fire in stubble, and had a very good influence in restraining people from running into the peevish propositions that some had prepared for that day. It was so well received and so little expected that the gentlemen who suspected they should be disappointed by it would have had it pass for a contrivance started up to serve a turn, but your name and credit passed for authentic among them, and I think it is owing to you that we avoided a good deal of peevishness at that time; but after all I find we must not so depend upon a treaty as not to be upon our guard against what the enemy is designing both by sea and land." (II. 97.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1696, Dec 21. [N.S.]—"The new alterations which the Imperialists would have in the preliminaries keep all at a stand till Cailliere [Callières] has an answer from France. President Canon insists to have Lorraine named in the Preliminaries; the Congress have consented to it (though you know it was proposed by the Imperialists and consented to by all that it should be entirely omitted till the treaty). Of this point likewise Cailliere expects an answer.

"That of Luxemburg would be agreed to on France's side, but the Germans themselves hinder it; they murmur that it should be rendered in a better condition than Strasburg, and like the man in the Scriptures take it ill that their neighbours are kindlier treated than themselves, though they had before what they thought was their due; however, that point will soon be adjusted, and as we desire it.

"Mons. Norf will hardly get Dinant restored otherwise than in the state it was at the Peace of Nimègue.

"You have more particular accounts of the preparations the French are making at Brest than I can give you from hence: and I hope you are prepared for them, whether they are meant either against England or the West Indies.

"I do not know Sir Joseph Williamson, but I take your question to look very kindly; you know, Sir, I told you at Loo who I wished might command me." *Copy.* (X. 214.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Dec. 11 [-21]. Whitehall.—"The King has this evening been pleased to name for his plenipotentiaries at the general peace the Lord Privy Seal [Pembroke], my Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson. Mr. Secretary at the same time proposed you to be their Secretary, which the King seemed well inclined to, but did not positively declare it to be so. You have no competitor, and I think you may have no reason to doubt being the person." *Copy.* (II. 99.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696, Dec. 15 [-25].—"Perhaps you might have heard from the other office by last post that His Majesty had named his plenipotentiaries, but I did not know it till afterwards. As soon as it came to my knowledge I remembered your concern in that matter. Both Mr. Yard and I have spoke to Sir Joseph Williamson to let him know your pretensions, and he is very glad they shall be so well assisted.

"Nobody needs to recommend you to my Lord Pembroke. However, when I made him my compliments this morning I was offering to say something in your favour, which he took with so good a grace as if it had been the way to oblige him to have a just opinion of you; and he promises to take the first opportunity of speaking to the King that your place may be fixed and all competitorship silenced."

*Postscript.* "We are undone here for want of coffee, and they say you abound with it in Holland. Pray therefore engage Mr. Vanderpoele to send one half a dozen pound of that which is good, and let it be directed to Mr. Edisbury at Harwich. (II. 100.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1696, Dec. 15-25. Hague.—"I have the favour of yours of the 8th, and am very glad my letter had a good influence upon your debates. I know you are not capable of making any but a right use of whatever comes to your hand, but I cannot forbear telling you that some of our correspondents are scandalized at my writing to you plainer than to them; but whilst there are men there will be passions, and it is best to take no notice of what we cannot help.

"The Emperor's ministers have sent back the courier to Vienna. I wish upon their remonstrance that Court may cease to clog the preliminaries with difficulties which can have no other effect than to make us lose time. I am glad to tell you that His Majesty is satisfied with the manner in which he is to be owned, and the other points will in all probability be adjusted, provided the Imperialists would once explain to their friends, or indeed rightly conceive themselves, what they mean by reunions and recesses: and not order their ministers to give up a point one post and retract it the next.

"We are apprehensive the French design against Bonn this season; and now we begin to complain that the breaches have not been made up since it was taken." *Copy.* (X. 241.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

169[6]-7, Jan. 1. [N.S.] Hague.—Congratulating him on his appointment as plenipotentiary for the treaty, and praying him that he may be retained in his present post as secretary. (X. 243.) *Copy.*



## MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

169[6-]7, Jan. 1. [N.S.] Hague.—Thanking him for his intercession in the matter of the secretaryship.

“Pointi[s] is still at Brest. They give out that he waits for more provisions from Rochelle and Bourdeaux. The merchants here [are] of opinion his design must regard the Spanish Fleet.

“The French are in motion in Flanders; but I do not hear there is much reason to fear their doing any mischief considerable this season.” *Copy*, (X. 244-5.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696[-7], Dec. 22 [-Jan. 1]. Whitehall.—“I have never affected to be the publisher of news, nor would I have the moroseness to grudge the public that which will please them. I happened, I believe, that day to receive my letters the first, or to be the earliest in the House; and it was a piece of news so greedily desired and so little expected that I find it makes me an author to be envied. All the satisfaction I can make them is to give them free leave to interlope in our province, and if they can learn anything as good, they shall be the free vendors of it; and if they will excuse you for a random letter now and then, I had rather they should hate me than not receive it.” (II. 101.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696[-7], Dec. 25 [-Jan. 4]. Whitehall.—“I send you a list of the Lords as they were upon the late division, when Sir John Fenwick’s bill passed. I am sorry you will find all the Lords Justices, who are in Town and have voices, were against it, except the good Archbishop of Canterbury, who not only voted but spoke for it with the eloquence and courage of St. Paul. I shall say nothing of another advocate for the bill, viz., the Earl of Monmouth. There lies a mystery that is not yet unriddled, but ’tis certain a plan was formed how Sir John Fenwick might colourably justify the accusation given in against the principal persons mentioned in his paper. Let them answer it whom it shall stick upon. I hope the same providence will protect the innocent that hath been hitherto their guard, and turned the vengeance on the heads of their accusers.” (II. 102.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

169[6-]7, Jan. 8. [N.S.] Hague.—“My Lord Villiers writes to-night as a minister (what I tell you as a friend) that the preliminary points are adjusted.

“The treaties of Westphalia and Nimègue to be the ground and foundation of this.

“Strasburg to be restored in the state the French took it.

“Luxemburg in the state the French took it ; and means to be thought of for a compensation for the new fortifications.

“Dinant as it was taken.

“Mons and Charleroy as they now are.

“All reunions made since the Treaty of Nimègue to be annulled.

Lorraine to be restored as at the Treaty of Nimègue, which restitution not to hinder the further discussion of that affair in the treaty.

“The preliminaries thus adjusted, the place of treaty will now be shortly agreed on, and consequently one may answer your question as to the time our plenipotentiaries will set out. I cannot enough thank my Lord Duke for having written to them about their secretary, and I own I am impatient to have that thing fixed : for though it seems in a very fair way, *multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra* ; and at Court a thing is only then done, when it is signed and sealed. I hope in a post or two to hear that this is so, and leave it in the meantime to your intercession, who see how it stands in a truer light than I can do from hence.”  
*Copy.* (X. 245.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF DORSET,  
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

169[6-]7, Jan. 8. [N.S.] Hague.—“There begins now to be some real appearance of a treaty ; the preliminary points are pretty well agreed, and the place will soon be named, the Allies having for that intent proposed three towns, of which the French are to choose one ; after which the plenipotentiaries may be setting out towards fixing the state of Europe, at least till the King of Spain’s death sets all into a new ferment, which cannot be long before it happens, considering he has so frequent relapses and such a sickly constitution.

“For all our advances towards peace the war may be continued if Pointi[s] can seize the Spanish galleons, which is probably his design. Our French letters make no mention of his being sailed. I wish our squadron had sufficient provisions to follow him to Havana, in case he attempt it.”  
*Copy.* (X. 246-7.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

169[6-]7, Jan. 15. [N.S.] Hague.—“I may be able in a post or two to tell you that the place of treaty is chosen, the Allies having named three, Maastricht, Nimègue, and Breda, of which France is to name one. In the meantime endeavours are used to have it here at The Hague, to which the French will probably consent, notwithstanding the other nomination, if the Imperialists can possibly be brought not to oppose it ; but the matter is treating secretly, and therefore proper only for me to write to (I hope I may say) my Master.



“ Letters from Paris of the 7th say that Pointi[s] was not out the 28th past, but that eight men-of-war that went out that day were going to disarm at Rochefort. Four of them have been miserably shattered by a storm, and they had no news then of the other four. I am afraid it was the same ill weather that obliged Sir Clou'esly Showell to return to you.” *Copy.* (X. 249.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF PEMBROKE,]  
LORD PRIVY SEAL.

169[6]-[7], Jan. 8-18. Hague.—“ We are impatient till the place of congress be named, which indeed will be a good step in the whole negotiation. It was thought that Cailiere [Callières] would to-day give the answer from Versailles to the proposal, that has been offered by the Allies, of three places, Maastricht, Nimègue and Breda, of which places France was to have its choice; but instead of this answer the ministers were told from Cailiere that he presumed his Master would consent to an overture that has been privately made here of having Ryswick (the King's house between Delft and The Hague) the place of treaty; the French ministers to live at Delft, and the Allies' here. The Imperialists oppose this, and I think have no other reason for their doing so than *such is Count Kinski's pleasure*: everybody else is for it, and very justly since they, being already on the place, have nothing to prepare but their equipage; and none need passports but only the two French ministers that are in the commission with Mons. Cailiere, and their secretary who was named at the same time with the Embassy. The Imperialists write to-day of this proposition to Vienna, and I hope we may have a favourable answer, upon which Your Lordship will (I presume) be setting forward to those parts. Upon this supposition I beg leave to ask Your Lordship if you would desire His Majesty to give you apartments in the Old Court, or if Your Lordship would have Prince Maurice's house again, (which I think the States dispose of), or what other measures you will resolve on, and in all cases that Your Lordship would be pleased to command me.

“ Our letters from Paris say that Mons. Pointi[s] was not gone out the 7th from Brest, and I have been told by people that should know here that he has but seventeen ships in his squadron.” *Copy.* (X. 251.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696-7, March 5 [-15]. Whitehall.—“ I hope I may congratulate your safe arrival in Holland, and as I shall be very glad to hear from you when your leisure serves and matters of moment offer, it is fit I should continue to acquaint you with the progress we make in the House of Commons, where, I hope, we are drawing towards a conclusion, now the

funds are settled for the next year's supplies. It remains only to dispose of them into bills, and that, I hope, may be done before Easter. Besides which we have another effort to make towards the helping of credit and the checking of stock-jobbing and tally-mongers, which is now under consideration.

"I don't doubt but you heard of an answer prepared to Sir John Fenwick's paper by the Bishop of Salisbury. It is now come out, containing likewise a succinct account of the arguments for and against the Bill. If your being here so lately has made it no curiosity to you, perhaps my Lord Villiers may be glad to see it, and therefore I send it you, and when you have done with it, I desire it may be forwarded to my son for his instruction." (II. 65.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

169[6-]7, March 9-19. Hague.—"I am safely arrived at my post, and ought from thence to return him thanks whose good offices placed me there. I find things pretty well disposed towards a treaty on everbody's side but the Imperialists'. I wish their irresolution proceeds from no worse cause than the usual gravity and slowness of the House of Austria: they chicane the least points as long as they can possibly; they promise us, however, that the next post shall determine their choice of the place. The French ministers are come to Delft with their women and *abbés*, and Mr. Lilienroet has the greatest mind in the world to be in his mediation in form. I visited the Pensioner at my arrival here; he entered into a very long discourse with me about our English affairs. As to those of the money, I let him understand that it was reasonable to hope that the methods the Parliament had taken would raise our credit, and that we were not in so desponding a condition as at this distance we might seem to be: as to the inclination of the people I said it was wholly towards a peace, provided we may obtain it sure and honourable: that the Parliament left the direction of this work to His Majesty and the Ministry, and contented themselves to labour the establishing such good funds as were necessary to accomplish the peace as it should be, or to prolong the war if occasion required. I perceived by the whole of what he said, Holland is absolutely bent to a peace, and I believe the Pensioner thinks that our present want of money may be the only reason that France can find to stand off. I am sorry that the mistake in the ratifications makes them returned." *Copy.* (X. 254.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES MONTAGU,] CHANCELLOR  
OF THE EXCHEQUER.

169[6-]7, March 26. [N.S.] Hague.—"I am again got into my flamels [*sic.*] and begin to take memoirs, *répliques* and protocols for current coin. The French are at Delft; and the Mediator longs to be at work; however, we have not



as yet a positive answer from Vienna as to the place, and whilst that Court demands explications on the preliminaries, I wish it were in earnest for the treaty; but this is what I should say to my Master alone; at *amicitiæ æternæ* and twelve o'clock at night:—'Whatever they may mean by this slowness we must drag them on, and as soon as my Masters come, we shall begin in good earnest.'

"I am never to write to you but I must give you thanks for some new favour; I do so, therefore, most heartily for the tallies you have been pleased to order me. Mr. Powys tells me Your Lordships have allowed my Lord Pembroke and Sir Joseph advance-money and equipage, but says not a word of my Lord Villiers, which puts us all into a fright here. I find His Lordship as forward in his equipage as any, and it will be as magnificent. I always presumed there was no kind of objection to his case and told him so at my return: there is no doubt but that His Lordship will plead his own interests." *Copy.* (X. 254-5.)

#### JOHN TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696-7, March 19 [-29]. Whitehall.—"Before and after you left Harwich we had several accounts here of the great numbers of French privateers lying off our coast, which put us in some pain lest they should have shown you Dunkirk in your way to The Hague, but we were glad to hear you had escaped them. Your other two matters for the treaty are now in some readiness to follow you, and last night at the request of Sir Joseph Williamson His Majesty ordered the *Mary* yacht to be got ready to transport him to Holland, whither my Lord Pembroke goes in the same.

"I cannot tell but now all his equipage, &c., is likewise ready, and I hope you will soon be busy upon the great work which everybody so much desires and at the same time doubts the success of; but you and I, who have more faith, do believe without doubt." (III. 1.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696-7, March 23 [-April 2].—Whitehall. "I have received your letter of the 26th and suppose our plenipotentiaries will be with you sooner than any good answers will come from Vienna. Sir Joseph Williamson is under a fit of the gout, but he don't intend either that or the Treasury shall be a hindrance to his promoting the public service.

"We have been apprehensive lest His Majesty might have a spice of a quartan ague: the first appearance of it was on Wednesday last, and he had a kind of a fit on Saturday again at Lattens Lodge. I hear he was very well this morning, but whether there hath been any return of it since I don't know. I hope not.

"My Lord Chamberlain [Dorset] has sold the keepership of Greenwich Park to the Earl of Romney. I don't like it

when great men begin to divest themselves of what they have ; their way used to be rather to add to it." (II. 70.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1696-7, March 23 [-April 2]. Whitehall.—“ I shall in a few days have your candlesticks and snuffers out of the Jewel Office so as to send them with your other things ; but I doubt I shall not have your standish out so soon, for by an Act lately passed in Parliament no plate is to be made after the 25th instant, but what is to be made finer than the present standard ; and no new standard pieces being yet made the standish will not pass the assay of the Hall till that is done ; but the candlesticks being already cast are sent to the Goldsmiths’ Hall to pass the present standard, and [be] finished afterwards.” (VIII. 207.)

The SAME to the SAME.

1697, March 26 [-April 5]. Whitehall.—Letter of commendation for the bearer, Mr. Eden, eldest son of Sir Robert Eden, knight of the shire for the Bishopric of Durham, who is sent over with Sir Joseph Williamson to “ see the method of your treaty and the ways and manners of a foreign country.” (VIII. 211.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, March 26 [-April 5]. Whitehall.—“ I see there is little news stirring with you, and we have not much.

“ My Lord Monmouth is about petitioning the House for his liberty, but the application will be first made to the King.

“ We hear of a negotiation carrying on between the Weavers’ and East India Company, which latter, provided they may be established for a certain number of years by Act of Parliament, are willing to submit to all the restrictions of the late Bill that is lost by both Houses adhering ; and besides they will undertake to advance 400,000*l.* on the credit of the Malt Act.” (III. 2.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, April 5. [N.S.] Hague.—“ My Lord Villiers informs you how our Congress affairs proceed, as much as I can guess at them. The Imperialists will come to, and Holland is certainly so intent on the peace that, as soon as my Masters arrive, we may make great steps towards it ; in which case the Germans must shuffle after. The French lie civil and silent at Delft, and seem very much in earnest towards beginning the negotiation. King James (people say again) is to go to Avignon ; in the meantime he has made another Declaration or Manifesto or Petition or Challenge (for one knows not what to call it,) to the Protestant Princes, which will have as good effect as that to the Catholics. Your



Honour will probably have seen it before, but I take the liberty, however, of sending it as soon as it comes to my hands.

“I have mentioned to Debreuil the proposal of settling a correspondence, but I do not see that he can do it so effectually as to make it worth attempting. As to ordinary correspondence the poor man will do his best; he has been sick, and this *Lardon* is the first fruit of his recovery. I dare not dun you and I am sure you will not forget him, but if he had some little thing, it would save him from dying of the cruellest disease imaginable, which is hunger.” *Copy*. (X. 257.)

JAMES CRESSET and SIR PAUL RYCAUT to the BURGO-  
MASTERS and COUNCILLORS of the CITY OF HAMBURG.

1697, April 7. [N.S.?] Hamburg.—Remonstrance, complaining that in spite of two previous remonstrances they continue to make conventions and treaties with the Scottish East India Company, who have no credentials for that purpose, and have even erected a public office to receive subscriptions. Desiring them, in the name of the King their Master, to desist from the practice. *French. Copy*. (XVII., No. 2.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, April 9. [N.S.] Hague.—“Your Honour sees from the enclosed what news I have from France, relating to the sea. I wish to God the contents of it were better; but there is an ill fate upon the Admiralty’s conduct of either nation, and I see nothing but prayer can remove it.

“The same letters (they are of the 5th) say, that the Marquis de Villeroy is to part at the 20th from Paris towards Flanders, and the Marquis de Choiseul about the same time for Germany: they make no mention of the Duke of Vendôme’s going to Catalogne. This, with the Spanish minister’s having declared that our fleet’s being sent into the Mediterranean could only save Catalogne from accepting a neutrality, may justly make one fear they have already accepted it.

“I think our great affair does not much advance: the French will explain themselves no fuller in what the Imperialists require; and till a courier which Count Stratman has sent to Vienna returns again, we know not how far Kinski will recede. The Turk, I am told, will not hearken to a peace, and the Emperor had rather carry on two wars, of which one costs him nothing, than be left alone in one in which all the world will see his weakness. Your Honour will judge of the truth of this reflection. As far as I can inquire into the humour of our French negotiators, Harlay and Cailleres [Callières] are (I find) bigots, and Cressy an old chicaner; by this Your Honour will see that our hopes for [blank] are but moderate, for in private conversations, where the last article in the *Postulata* has been touched by chance, they fly out

into extravagances; but this is to you alone and to my Masters at their coming." *Copy.* (X. 259.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, March 30 [-April 9]. Whitehall.—“Sir Joseph Williamson is growing well again, and our plenipotentiaries, we think, will be going in 8 or 10 days.

“The Earl of Monmouth is now a free man again. If he can be a quiet one, it will be better for himself and his neighbours.

“Since leave given by the House of Commons the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who are Members, have attended the Committee of Lords, Mr. Russell only excepted, who is like to leave it to others to satisfy the Lords in the questions they have to ask.” (III. 3.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the [EARL OF PEMBROKE,]  
LORD PRIVY SEAL.

1697, April 12. [N.S.] Hague. — “Count Stratman’s secretary arrived here yesterday morning from Vienna, and (as my Lord Lexington informs my Lord Villiers) brings orders to the Imperial ministers here to agree, as the rest of the Allies have done, to the preliminaries as they now are, and without any further explication or change. The Imperial ministers for all this will not acknowledge that they have received any other order than what confirms their former of not receding the point without obtaining the explication they have been asking, and which, I may say to Your Lordship, France would deny them to the end of the world. Your Excellency sees how hard it is to deal with these Germans; we stay first two months to have a reasonable answer from their Court, and are likely to stay some time longer before their ministers will avow the receiving the answer when it is sent.

“The ministers of the least Princes have taken the greatest houses here, and at such rates as if they never designed to pay the rents. I hope at least Your Lordship and Sir Joseph will have apartments in the Old Court.” *Copy.* (X. 261.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 2 [-12]. Whitehall.—“I am afraid you have heard the ill news that is come hither of the loss of the Dutch Bilbao fleet, most of which is said to be taken by the St. Malo’s privateers.

“The Earl of Monmouth came not out of the Tower till yesterday: a fit he hath had of the gravel with swelling in his side kept him there two days after his discharge. It was declared on Wednesday last that my Lord Clifford should have his place of Lord of the Bedchamber, and to put him yet more out of humour the Earl of Peterborough is like to



recover, who was concluded to be dead, and that it was not to be owned till quarter-day were past.

“My Lord Pembroke talks of going from hence the week after next: I know not whether he can have Sir Joseph Williamson’s company so soon, for he lies very ill with a fever, and hath an ill symptom of a great doziness upon him.” (III. 4.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, April 16. [N.S.] Hague.—“The substance of that packet from Vienna which I forwarded to you by last post might justly make you expect to hear something from hence by this of the Imperialists receding from the explication in the preliminaries, which for some time past they have insisted on; but Count Kaunitz stands as tenaciously to the point as if he never had received one word which might authorize his yielding it. The Pensioner, Mons. Dyckvelt, and my Lord Villiers are now together on that occasion, and till the Imperialists will remove this difficulty the whole work is at a stand.

“The German ministers here are apprehensive the French may begin the campaign with some action on the Rhine; that Mayence may be besieged or bombarded. The King of France sees the review of the Swiss and French Guards, the Household Troops, etc., the 20th of this month, after which they march towards Germany. Captain Price will tell you he is arrived at Helvoet, having landed his recruits and officers at Ostend.

“We want five posts from England, so know not if the King or his Ambassadors are ready to come.” *Copy.* (X. 262.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 6 (–16]. Whitehall.—“I find you are very sanguine on the subject of the peace, and doubt not but you build on a good foundation. We believe you will not long be without the King’s ambassadors. We have had no letters from your side of the water since those of the 5th instant N.S., so that we know not what progresses are of late made at the Congress at The Hague, but in ours at Westminster we have done to-day, by laying 12*d.* in the pound more upon land, and doubling the last subsidy, somewhat that in its consequences may contribute much towards a peace; for this will make the King easy in his affairs, and put a speedy end to this session of Parliament, so that His Majesty may soon be going over to Holland.” (III. 5.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 9 [–19]. Whitehall.—“We have now three mails due: all I have to send you is that another piece of

malice against my Lord Duke [Shrewsbury] has been defeated this day, which was to have been introduced by Mr. Arnold's report, those concerned in it designing to bring the informer Smith before the House of Commons, as he had been formerly before the Lords, and so to have concluded the sessions with some slur; but when they found people were so little afraid of their report as to call for it and to press the bringing it on, they grew shy of exposing that and themselves, and thought it best for the reporter to play least in sight. Whereupon the House resolved to hear no more of it." (III. 7.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 13 [-23]. Whitehall.—“I am obliged to you for your free communication of your observations and thoughts upon the present transactions, and you may assure yourself that what you entrust me with goes no further; and therefore you are safe as well as kind in using freedom with me; and I desire it the rather, because, to be free with you in my turn, the accounts my Lord Villiers gives me are very imperfect, and therefore I entreat you to continue to me the satisfaction of letting me know the characters and inclinations of the ministers at the treaty, the progress of affairs there and what hopes there is of a peace, or the contrary, or what other remarks your station and your talent enable you to make.” *Signed.* (III. 8.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 13 [-23]. Whitehall.—“Having a few scraps of news and conjectures I send them to you; and first Sir James Rushout, an old, rich, unhealthy gentleman, is chosen by the Turkey Company upon the King's recommendation to be Ambassador at the Porte in the room of my Lord Paget recalled. Consul Blackwell this morning kissed His Majesty's hand as Envoy to Florence. The Earl of Manchester, I suppose you know, is appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to Venice to return their compliment, though I think a little too soon; and Mr. Stanyan in our office is like to go Secretary to the Embassy (not Ambassador) and will have a Commission, 300*l.* equipage and 40*s.* *per diem*; this last is not absolutely done, but so far that I believe it will be.

“My Lord Pembroke intends to embark the first fair wind, and stays for nothing else. Sir Joseph Williamson is so well, as in probability he may be able to go in a few days; so you may expect him with the King, who, we begin to say, will go hence the latter end of the next week, the wind permitting. The Parliament, I believe, will be up on Saturday next; but before His Majesty goes, we say, there will be some alterations amongst the Ministers. I do not hear who will be out, but there being vacancies in the Admiralty, Treasury, and Com-



mission of Lords Justices, those will be filled, and some few removes besides. One named (amongst others) to fill the Commission of Lords Justices is my Lord Sunderland, but till you hear further, pray keep that to yourself.

“We expect an alteration in the Government of Ireland, the Lords Drogheda and Monrath, who are now joined with my Lord Galway, it’s said, will be both out, and in their room Mr. Methuen (now Lord Chancellor) and Mr. Henry Boyle. Just now we received an express from the Governor of Dartmouth, giving an account that a great fleet of ships were seen off the Start Point, which alarmed the country, believing them to be French, but it is most likely that they are either our own Virginia Fleet, or Admiral Evertz with the Cales [Cadiz] and Portugal Fleets.” (III. 9.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 16 [-26]. Whitehall.—“We have ended our session, and His Majesty’s speech will inform you how well he approves of it. I know not whether we have answered expectations abroad, but we have exceeded what many among us ever thought could be done; and I don’t think any Parliament hereafter will have it in their power to give so much.

“I am sorry I must tell you my Lord Duke has grown worse of late; not only his spitting of blood is a little increased, but there are some symptoms that show a tendency towards a consumption, and it is imputed to the wrong method that hath been taken for his cure. Doctor Ratcliff hath long disapproved of it, and now His Grace is prevailed on to put himself into his hands. I wish we may have more reason to commend the course he intends to take, but he speaks of it with assurance, and therefore I hope he doth not think his assistance is required too late.

“There is a great fire just now broke out in Derby Court at the end towards the water. I hope it may be soon mastered, since there is little wind stirring.” (III. 10.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 17 [-27]. Whitehall.—“Mr. Howard, the person who will deliver you this, is son to a worthy gentleman of my acquaintance, a doctor of physic; and his genius inclining him to painting, his father, though a wealthy man, will not oppose his inclinations, but rather seconds them by allowing him to travel, to make what improvement he can in an art he so much affects; and who knows whether he may not help to revive that noble science much fallen of late from its ancient splendour and perfection?

“I desire you will please to give the young man, who is so modest he will not be troublesome, such countenance and protection as he shall stand in need of for the better prosecution of his design at The Hague; and when he shall have a mind to go to Amsterdam or Leyden to see what those

places afford for his instruction, that you will please to recommend him to some person there who may assist him in his laudable design.

“I do not often trouble you with my letters, because Mr. Tucker constantly acquaints you with what happens here worth your knowledge, and the repetition of them from my hand would but make them worse. He had a fair escape last night, the house being on fire just as he was going to bed, so that he had only time to clap on his clothes again and take away some guineas he had ; the rest of his things are burnt or pillaged. All that [Derby] Court is burnt down, so [you] will believe some of your relations near it were well frightened.” (III. 11.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1697, April 20-30. Hague.—“We had eight posts yesterday from England, and I am honoured with as many letters from you. I am ashamed my correspondence can no way balance yours ; the little chicanes we have had here have hardly been worth sending you, and an ugly defluxion upon my eyes has hindered me from writing to you so regularly as I ought to have done.

“I hope to get well by that time my Masters come, and to make amends for my negligence to my friends when we may have something worth troubling them with. The only point that obstructs our entering into the negotiation is (I think) the reunions the French have made in the Spanish Provinces since the Treaty of Nimègue. The Spaniards have given a list of their pretensions to the Mediator, and are pretty fair in the matter. The French chicane ; they will give their answer, but so very little time (possibly some hours only) before the entering upon the treaty, that the Spaniards shall not see it, or at least not have time to object against it, otherwise than whilst the treaty is actually on foot, and so that their excepting against it shall not hinder the going on with more material points : which being interpreted is that, the treaty being ready to be finished, the Spaniards shall not think it worth while to break off all for that which they would make as much bustle as they can to obtain now. I know not if the King of Sweden’s death may not hinder us some time longer : the young King under the government of his grandmother and Oxenstiern will certainly carry on the mediation. I hear to-day that Denmark will desire a part of it, but I cannot give you this for certain.

“I suppose you do not think Mr. Rowley will be less welcome to me for my not having mentioned his coming in my last letters to you. I take it as a thing done, and when my Lord Duke thinks fit to send him to me, I shall behave myself to the young gentleman as if His Grace had not only baptized but begot him.”



*Postscript.* "I am extremely glad my Lord is recovered. I leave it to you to tell His Grace so as you may find occasion or think fit. I have sent Jimmy his packet of news." *Copy.* (X. 264.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, April 20 [-30]. Whitehall.—"I have your letter of the 26th instant. What is become of the three preceding mails we know not, but are told they were put on board a vessel that is gone for Ireland. Since they are to go thither, I am glad you had not the trouble of writing any by that conveyance, though I am very sorry at the occasion for it, and we find that our plenipotentiaries take their turns to be out of order; and what exceedingly adds to my trouble is that my Lord Duke finds himself much worse since he went into his new method. He took Dr. Ratcliff's prescriptions, which were opiate pills, on Friday and Saturday only, and the last time they occasioned a great vomiting, which brought up a quantity of blood and some of it clotted, and he hath been very weak and much out of order since that time.

"He is now returned again to Sir Thomas Millington's advice, and finds it absolutely necessary to remove to a greater distance from London, that he may be freed from the importunity of visits and the fatigue of business, both which, it is feared, render his recovery impracticable.

"His Majesty's convoy will be ready, as was ordered, by Thursday next, and the wind being now come about, I suppose he will be going to Margate on Friday or Saturday at furthest. In the meantime a Council must be called and the Lords Justices declared, which is not yet done; we know only of one new one to be added, which is the Earl of Sunderland, to whom my Lord Dorset hath resigned his office of Chamberlain for the sum of 10,000*l.*, which His Majesty pays.

"I hear my Lord Keeper [Somers] is to be a peer of England, and to induce him to accept of it he hath a grant of lands made him to the value of near 2,000*l.* per annum, which every one thinks he well deserves.

"The Commissions of the Treasury and Admiralty are to be renewed; Mr. Pelham will be added to the former and Mr. Wharton to the latter; whether any more I know not.

"Mr. Duncombe is removed from being receiver to the Excise, and it is given to Mr. Burton of the Exchequer, who, if he be not so rich as the other, shows, however, a greater forwardness to accommodate himself to what the public service requires.

"Sir Robert Clayton is going off from the Customs, great notice being taken of his discouraging the subscriptions which are to be the foundation for issuing Exchequer bills," (III. 12.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES MONTAGU,] CHANCELLOR  
OF THE EXCHEQUER.

1697, May 3. [N.S.] Hague.—“With the last English letters we had the news that Sir James Rushout was to go to Constantinople; Lisbon therefore is open, unless envoys are to be entailed, and Methwyn succeeds Methwyn till Shiloath comes. Though the Portuguese have just now sent an envoy to us, the peace might be made before ours went to them, if he were named now. You see I am recommending myself to you to be recommended by my Lord Keeper for this employment. My Lord Duke of Shrewsbury would, I believe, be on our side, and my Lord Albemarle would second anything of that kind, if it were once on foot. To help this, the Embassy would hardly be denied such a thing for their secretary, and your friend Matt Prior might learn Portuguese, and get two thousand pounds in three years, and come home again to dedicate the rest of his life *amicitiæ æternæ*, and to the commands of my Master. If this project fails, so will Sir James Rushout’s life before he gets halfway to Turkey, so that if I were sure that no other consumptive member should be put into that pool before me, I would certainly in recompence bring you the peace, rather than leave it at Aston’s lodgings: but Portugal is the present point, and I leave it to your consideration. I confess I should prefer it to any thing, but to being at home and near you.

“The steps towards a peace advance as fast as the gravity of the House of Austria will permit. The difficulties which the Emperor made are adjusted, and the only ones that remain to obstruct the opening the treaty are about the reunions which have been made by France in the Spanish Netherlands since Nimègue. The French will not give their answer to the list which the Spaniards have made of these reunions till just the beginning of the treaty, because (say they) the Spaniard, not consenting entirely to the answer, may refuse entering into treaty. Chicane (my dear Master) and nonsense, for the French know very well that, let their answer be what it will, the Spaniards are not in a condition to refuse coming to a treaty with the rest of the Allies; and the Spaniards know as well that they shall gain nothing by this little bustle besides the credit of being thought considerable enough to stop the treaty some little time for what they are sure to yield at last. In some days the treaty will open, and things look as if it would succeed. If you are of opinion that this affair of Portugal be practicable, you will let me have a line from you in order to my getting it seconded; if not, *nil mihi rescribas*.” Copy. (X. 265.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, May 3. [N.S.] Hague.—“The affair of the reunions in the Spanish Netherlands made by the French since the treaty of Nimeguen is the only one (I think) that hinders



our entering upon the treaty so much expected: it is very senseless on both sides."

"I believe the treaty will soon be opened, so I wish my Masters were here, for Holland will have a peace, and is pretty open in its discourses on that head. The Pensioner, I think, is a little too much so; it is showing his cards before he is quite sure of the game: but when we once come to a treaty, the thing will doubtless not be long doing.

"I have spoke with some of our French here that have dined with the Ambassadors. Their table is well served and sober, the discourse of it very well and all politics industriously avoided: the only thing observable was that Harlay, upon the speaking of King James' Manifesto, observed that there was nothing more contradictory than his two papers, and that he was mighty ill served and advised in the publication of them. And upon naming that Prince I must tell you that a good friend of his, Sir Robert Tirril, is here, and, as he says, is going over for England. I have an eye to his haunts, and shall (according to my duty) advise you if I have any reason to think his conduct here any way mysterious."

Solicits Trumbull's favour in the matter of the Lisbon envoyship. *Copy.* (X. 267-9.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES] MONTAGU, CHANCELLOR  
[OF THE EXCHEQUER].

1697, May 10. [N.S.] Hague.—"I will not trouble you with the particulars of our Congress affairs yesterday at Ryswick, where we met for the first time, and in short did little more than show the Mediator our *pleinpouvoirs*.

"I troubled you so lately about my own affairs that I should blush to do it again but for an accident since that I could no way foresee. My Lord Villiers, when he kissed the King's hand yesterday for being made a Justice of Ireland, told him that he thought it would be for His Majesty's service that I should be Secretary to the Justices, and that His Lordship should take it as a particular addition to the honour the King designed him; that, if His Majesty would be pleased thereupon to order a letter to be writ to the other two Justices, there would be no difficulty in the thing; and that my absence till the peace might be supplied by a *commis* or deputy, I being actually as much in His Majesty's service here as my Lord Villiers himself. The King answered, that he was satisfied with my service, and with the proposition, but added,—*I think I have already been spoken to for another, but if the Lords Justices agree upon Mr. Prior, I am willing to it, and will write to the other two.* My Lord Villiers asked him if in the meantime I might write about it to you, and the King consented: *ad te itaque advenio, spem, salutem, auxilium expetens.* I know you will press the Marquis of Winchester upon this point, and if you gain it,

we shall get our thousand pound a year in Ireland, and I shall come once or twice a year to England, which, my dear Master, are no light considerations. I write you just the state of the affair, that you may take what measures you judge rightest in it. If this secretary, whoever he is, was recommended or is protected by my Lord Sunderland, there is no hope of our succeeding: if otherwise, we have the King, Lord Villiers and, I believe, Lord Galway on our side." *Copy.* (X. 269-70.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD SUNDERLAND.

1697, May 1-11. Hague.—“ My congratulating your being Lord Chamberlain is but a pretext, by which I would colour the presumption of writing to you. The true meaning of my letter is to beg your favour and protection to a young minister who has a mind to be all his lifetime Your Lordship’s servant. My Lord Villiers, being named one of the Justices for Ireland, did me the favour to recommend me to His Majesty to be Secretary to that Commission, as soon as the honour I have of being Secretary to the Embassy here ceases. His Majesty testified better of me than I deserve, but added that he had been spoken to about that employment in favour of somebody else; but that if the other Justices consented to what my Lord Villiers asked in favour of me, His Majesty was willing to confirm it, or to give me anything else in Ireland that should be judged proper. I therefore beg Your Lordship’s favour in this thing as far as it will bear. I should not thus have dared to break through all forms but for this emergency, which may be so considerable to my future fortune, nor have troubled Your Lordship on a less occasion than to tell you that my life may take that turn which you please to give it.” *Copy.* (X. 271-3.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 4 [-14]. Whitehall.—“ This morning I received the favour of yours of the 10th instant (N.S.) with a copy of the journal of the first day’s proceedings of the Plenipotentiaries at Ryswick, which I heartily thank you for, and am glad to see matters look so well. I wish you all success.

“ Mr. Secretary showed me yours to him of the same date, wherein you desire to know whether for the future you are to address yourself immediately to him, Mr. Ellis or myself in your public capacity; he replied—*pray write to him* (meaning you) *to-night, and desire him by all means to write to me*: and to be free with you, I believe he thought you would be more particular to him than perhaps their Excellencies may be. As to the other part of your letter, wherein you say my Lord Villiers had proposed you to the King to be the Chief Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland, I do assure you Mr. Secretary was so ready to serve you that he himself found my Lord Galway, and spoke to him about it; and His



Lordship was pleased to assure him that nobody had yet been recommended to him, or (he believed) to the Marquis of Winchester either; and that he should be very glad to have you their secretary before any other person whatever; but he asked how it could be, while the treaty was on foot, where you were already engaged as secretary? Mr. Secretary leaves it to you to solve this question; and perhaps it may not be difficult, if you will consider that there are always two secretaries, and one may shift for so short a while as your employment there may be likely to last; or at worst, it is but leaving that, if the King will consent to it, and somebody else supplying your room: but these being only my own hints to you, you may probably think of some better expedient. I do intend to-morrow to wait on Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and desire him to speak to the Marquis of Winchester; but without further consideration, since you have two of the three already, I must desire you to apply for the King's recommendation immediately, for it will be worth your while, and I wish you heartily well." (III. 14.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 4 [-14]. Whitehall.—“I have your letter of the 1-11 with the enclosed account, and shall keep you from being reprimanded for it; though somebody ought to think it their business to inform the Lords Justices of what passes at the treaty. I find Mr. Blathwayt refers it to those who are properly concerned, and I don't yet see anybody that undertakes to do it.

“I am glad to hear my Lord Villiers had you so soon in his thoughts for the Secretaryship of Ireland, and I am more pleased to find it is not a compliment only. I am told by one who came from my Lord Chamberlain this afternoon that you were spoken of there as the man pitched upon. I take it for granted, therefore, the King's pleasure was signified by this post; and it came seasonably, for I found them unresolved where to choose, though several had been proposed. This being the case, you will want no offer of my service; but I have engaged one who is intimate with the Marquis of Winchester to give him your character, and my Lord Galway knows it already. That which still puzzles me is how you will divide yourself between Dublin and The Hague.” (III. 15.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

[1697, after May 5-15. Hague].—“You see by the enclosed what was done on Wednesday at the Congress. I wish Count Kaunitz' haughtiness and Mons. Zeiler's formality may not hinder us in points more essential to the treaty than this of their manner of meeting the French could be. I cannot forbear saying to you that I am not sorry those people who

would distinguish themselves in everything meet with some little mortification in this. I wish to-morrow may answer the Mediator's third proposition; for till something material is before our ministers, these punctilios will amuse those of Germany and especially those of the Emperor.

"By an express just now arrived from Zuytlestein we hear that the King is quite freed from the indisposition he lay under. God preserve him to us. The letters from Flanders to-day talk much of the motions the French make, which, it is thought, will end in the siege of Ath." *Copy.* (X. 272-3.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 7 [-17]. Whitehall.—"I find it is no secret in this town that you are to be the Chief Secretary in Ireland, but still I can't be resolved whether Ireland or the treaty must want you, unless you intend to make a speedy end there either by concluding the peace or sending home the French plenipotentiaries.

"Sir Joseph Williamson is got abroad, and will be moving towards you when the convoy sails next week." (III. 16.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES MONTAGU,] CHANCELLOR  
OF THE EXCHEQUER.

1697, May 21. [N.S.] Hague. — "*Victoria!* My Lord Sunderland has writ to my Lord Villiers that the two Justices have consented to my being their secretary; my Lord Villiers has writ the thing to my Lord Albemarle, and I do not doubt but that it will be confirmed here. I need not tell you the sense I have of your favour in this matter, nor thank you for your solicitations or for your two letters. I spare my Lord Sunderland likewise from my compliments, though I had the impudence to trouble him with my requests. I beg you to say for me to His Lordship all that you think a mind truly grateful could imagine. I write to my new Masters, but you must help me too to thank them. I hope my peace-making may give me leave ere long to pay them my duty; indeed, Master, it will be a great consolation to your wandering dove, when he comes with the olive-branch in his mouth, to find a place prepared where he may set footing. I read my Lord Villiers your excuses for not writing to him; he thinks it sufficient." *Copy.* (X. 274.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, May 21. [N.S.] Hague.—"The Congress on Saturday afforded but very little. The Imperial ministers gave the copy of the project they had drawn up for the Empire to the German ministers, who are to examine it and will give in their sentiments of it to-morrow.

"Mons. de la Tour is arrived here again. He has taken a house at Ryswick, and intends to show his credentials for assisting at the general peace.



“The paper to Mr. Tucker tells the news we have concerning Ath. God knows if it can be succoured. People talk very differently of it. The design of besieging so inconsiderable a place does no way answer the ideas the French gave us of what they would do in Flanders.

“I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to you for what you have done for me in the business of Ireland.”  
*Copy.* (X. 275-6.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 11 [-21]. Whitehall.—“I have none of yours to acknowledge, and shall not go about to acquaint you with occurrences that you will find in other letters. But as to what concerns yourself, I find some endeavouring to provide you a substitute in Ireland till you come to officiate, and they would have me join in it for Palmer, who is now Secretary to the Justices; but I refused it for many reasons; for this chiefly, that if you are detained there, I think it will not be refused you to appoint your deputy, though the best way is to execute your own office and to begin with your new Lords.” (III. 18.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

##### SCOTLAND.

[1697, May.]—Instructions to the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain at The Hague to secure for the King's subjects in Scotland (1) confirmation of the ancient privilege of naturalization as free subjects of the King of France; (2) their accustomed exemption from an imposition of 50s. per ton laid by the French upon all foreign shipping; (3) the removal of heavy impositions laid since 1660 on the produce of Scotch manufactures; a prohibition of the import of herrings and “white fish,” and an additional imposition upon salmon. *Sign Manual.*

Further instructions to the same to endeavour to secure the restoration of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, to her title of Duchess of Chastel-Herault and her other rights and possessions in France, including the arrears of a yearly pension of 12,000 *livres* until restitution be made, which pension was last ordered to be paid in 1661: also the restoration to Sir William Douglas of the lands held by him in his wife's right at Dankelsheim and Ketelsheim in Alsace and elsewhere in France: also the insertion of a general clause in the treaty restoring all Scotchmen to lands in France whereof they have been dispossessed. *Signed, W. R.*

*Endorsed* :—“Given to Mr. Prior by the Earl of Pembroke, May 28 [N.S.], 1697.” (XVII., No. 4.)

#### R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 11 [-21]. Whitehall.—“Sir Joseph Williamson came on Friday night to take his leave of our Lords. I took

the opportunity of recommending your plate to him to be sent with his goods; and the next day I got it out of the Jewel House and sent by Beaumont, a porter, to his house; the receipt for it together with the key of the trunk you will find enclosed. There is in the trunk six large candlesticks, a snuffer-pan and snuffers, and a silver standish. I paid four guineas, fees, besides 5s. to the office-keeper, and 1s. 6d. cord and porter, &c. When I came to take them away, they told me that, the King wanting three pair of candlesticks for Flanders, they had given Mr. Lowman those that were made for you, and these sent you were made according to His Majesty's directions for his own use, and that Mr. Lowman would call on you to exchange them, there being little difference in the weight, but these the handsomer if you can keep them, which I suppose you will, for before they will come to your hands, I suppose the King will be gone to the army.

“Mrs. Prior sent to me a week ago to know if I had not directions to pay her 100*l*. I told her I had not yet any orders about it, nor money to pay it with. She said you owed her 44*l*., and that you told her in May she should have 100*l*. to repay herself and to get some things for you, and desired me to acquaint you therewith.” (VIII. 223.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to the AMBASSADORS.

1697, May 14, 24. Mecheln.—The Comte de Soissons being now on his way to Italy to reconcile himself to his cousin the Duke of Savoy, and by his means to his uncle the Prince of Carignan, from whom he has considerable pretensions, the King signifies his pleasure that their Excellencies will give the Président de la Tour and his colleague to understand that the Comte, who has for some time past owned his adherence to His Majesty and attended him in eminent dangers of the war, is recommended to the favour of the Duke of Savoy, that there may be a just and favourable decision of family interests to preserve that branch of the House of Savoy from ruin, to which their misfortunes have exposed them. *Signed*. (III. 21.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, May 24. [N.S.] Hague.—“The enclosed contains the formalities of what was done on Wednesday at Ryswick. The essential part of it may be comprehended in very few words: that the Imperialists gave in Saturday before an imperfect paper, and tacitly confessed their having done so by changing it on Wednesday, and that they made the most ridiculous demand imaginable where they asked that of the French, for what have the French to demand or why would the Imperialists have them demand anything? You see, Sir, how slowly we advance: I hear the French grow impatient at it, and I take this to be a good argument that they are in earnest for a peace.



“ I have not yet seen the Imperialists’ project, but by the account I have had of it by piece-meal from their secretaries (I may say to Your Honour), it appears to me a little monstrous.” *Copy.* (X. 281.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 18 [-28]. Whitehall.—Giving as his private opinion that “ as the Lords Justices are in the highest trust here, and have the honour to represent the King, and what is now negotiating at The Hague being of the greatest moment to this kingdom,” they should not “ be made strangers to it.

“ I don’t perceive but that hath been the case hitherto : perhaps it proceeds from an opinion that nothing hath yet passed that requires a communication ; but I can judge only by what I see, and when the Ambassadors shall order any accounts to be sent hither, they may depend upon it that the Lords Justices will have the perusal of them.

“ There is one come up to-day from my Lord Duke who tells me he is much mended ; he is gone this day to his house in Worcestershire.”

*Postscript.*—“ The Lords Justices of Ireland took their leave this morning ; their journey is fixed for Thursday.” (III. 19.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 18 [-28]. Whitehall.—Thanks for Journals of the Transactions in the Congress at Ryswick. Has no doubt His Majesty will approve of the Lords Justices’ choice of Prior as their secretary ; is glad of it for Prior’s sake, though he lose by it a good correspondent in Holland, which is of value at this time. Desires Prior to take particular notice of Sir Richard Onslow’s son, now at The Hague. *Signed.* (III. 20.)

LORD GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 18 [-28]. London.—Congratulating him on his appointment to the Chief Secretaryship in Ireland, and asking for directions as to the filling of that post during his absence at The Hague. *French. Holograph.* (III. 22.)

TREATY OF RYSWICK.

1697, May 19 [-29]. Hague.—Regulations as to the ceremonies to be observed at the meetings of the plenipotentiaries and the behaviour of their servants. *Latin. Authentic copy, sealed and attested by N. Lillieroot (the Mediator).*

[The text is printed in *Actes et Mémoires des négociations de la paix de Ryswick*, second edition, Vol. II., p. 25.] (XVII., No. 9.)

SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 21 [-31]. Whitehall.—“ I hope your business of Ireland has received the King’s approbation, and that his pleasure will be signified accordingly. All I can say is that in this matter, as well as all others relating to you, I have been and shall always be very zealous and very sincere to use my little interest in your behalf. I hope this will come soon enough to your hands before you leave The Hague, and because we courtiers are not apt to do something for nothing, I am going to give you a little trouble, and will make it as short and as easy to you as I can. The story is this.—

“ When I was at Paris, Mons. Lilierote, who was very kind to me, lent me two volumes of the Treaty of Nimeguen, *i.e.*, the letters from the French Court to their Ambassadors at that Treaty, and the Ambassadors’ answers, which I had copied; and then these two volumes were all he had. He has now three volumes more, which I have written to him to do me the favour to trust in your hands, and entreat you to procure on such terms as you can some tolerable amanuensis to copy them for me, and to leave somebody, when you come away, to see them well (*i.e.*, truly) transcribed; that you would let them be copied on good paper, such as may not blot through, with a margin on the inside large enough for their being bound up afterwards so as to open well; and a larger margin on the outside; desiring they may be sent over hither in quires, to have them bound as my other two tomes are.

“ That you may be sure to begin the third volume right, I desire you would see the end of his second; the last letter in my second volume being one from Mons. de Pomponne to the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen, dated the 28th December, 1677.

“ Be pleased to let the person you leave entrusted with these books have an express charge not to suffer any other copy to be taken: if you have any inclination that way, you may command mine when you please: and when one volume is finished, then the transcriber to be paid according to your agreement with him, which I will repay to your order, and then sent over to me by the first conveniency.”

*Postscript.*—“ Let me know when you design to be here, when my Lord Lexington comes to the Congress; who is to be your successor in the Secretaryship to the Embassy; and what judgement you make of the great affair, &c.” (III. 23.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 21 [-31]. Whitehall.—“ Your Lords Justices went away this morning, and lie to-night at Dunstable; it will be Wednesday before they get to Chester. They intend to strike off from Coventry and make my Lord Duke a short visit.



“I have done what I could that Mr. May, the second secretary, might officiate for you till your arrival, and I hope it will be so ordered; and I have spoke to him that he be accountable to you for the profits, which he hath promised, and that he will refer himself to you for what you think to allow him for his pains.” (III. 24.)

ARTHUR PODMORE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 22 [-June 1]. Dublin Castle.—Having for many years before and since the Revolution been employed under the Chief Secretaries to the Governors in Ireland, is desirous likewise to serve under Prior. Refers to Lord Coningsby, and also to Sir Cyril Wych and Mr. George Clarke, who were secretaries there, who will favour him with their good word.

Since the year 1690, a relation of his, Joshua Dawson, has been in the office with him, and the business, whether in times of trouble or peace, has not required more; and if Prior will be pleased to accept of their service, all commands will be performed without other assistance. (III. 25.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 1. [N.S.] Cockleberg.\*—“It is certain the naming the King at least once in the body of the treaty is the more necessary, since in an answer made in England to King James’ late Manifestos and printed by authority, wherein King James calls upon the Princes of Christendom for the execution of their treaties with him, it is laid down as a maxim that the obligation of all such treaties goes to the possessor of the Crown, and consequently that there is nothing due from them to King James; and you know our English proverb in all such cases.

“Your reason for a general communication of all the Articles at once is very good, if it were possible for the French to have digested the pill you had prepared for them—at least without a better vehicle. ’Tis therefore in order to the finding out a fit temperament that the Dutch Ambassadors are to discourse again with the French about that point; and to delay any longer the giving in our main project would throw upon us in the eye of the world the procrastinations so much complained of.

“Have not the French submitted all their reunions before this war to an entire restitution? And give me leave to tell you their conquests upon the Hudson’s Bay Company had no other pretence than that of a reunion upon account of the first discovery, so that although the Hudson’s Bay Company do now tell you in the papers remaining in your hands that they are masters in fact as well as by right of all that Bay, and consequently of the peltry trade, the French upon signing our treaty will come in for their share, and show a new title to their imaginary pretensions.

\* *I.e.*, Kokelberg, near Brussels.

“For the general negotiation your progress is indeed retrograde, and till there be an inward desire in all of you to despatch, there will be none. There is nothing so easy as to hinder a treaty as well as to write against a religion; but to promote or propagate either in the present circumstances—*Hoc opus, hic labor est.*

“We talk much of the Pensioner’s coming hither. Your letters make no mention of it.”

*Postscript.*—“I should with submission have said something to you of the style and correctness of your project, but their Excellencies saying ’twas to be given in Latin would have made my criticisms unnecessary.” (III. 29.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, May 23 [-June 2). Malines.—“I come now to wish you joy of your new office, the King having resolved that you be First Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland. This I have signified to my Lord Villiers, and asked his opinion what may be fit to be done further for the fixing you in that employment.

“I am indeed heartily glad of your success in a business that may, I believe, very much save your circumstances. Do not fail to thank my Lord Albemarle for his good offices, and to own the obligation to His Lordship.”

*Postscript.*—“The second secretary must officiate during your absence.” (III. 26).

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. POWYS.

1697, June 4. [N.S.] Hague—Acknowledging the receipt of the plate for the Embassy, and thanking him for his care and trouble in procuring it. “For my aunt, *patience* is the word. I hope to bring her home the peace, which is better than 40*l.* ready money. Lowman and I shall agree about the candlesticks, as you and I shall, I have reason to hope, in everything.” *Copy.* (X. 287.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

1697, June 4. [N.S.] Hague.—“I hope this letter may find Your Lordship safely arrived in Ireland. I wish I may likewise soon be there to receive and execute Your Lordship’s commands according to what as well my inclinations as my duty requires. I take the liberty to add to what Mr. Blathwayt will have written to Your Lordship, that your dispensing some time with my absence will complete the obligation you laid upon me when you chose me: and that by my diligence and constancy in the service when I am upon the place, I hope to atone for my being detained some time from it.

“As much as one can guess at the peace, it will advance by large steps at one time. The French to a bundle of



*postulata*, which the Imperialists gave in, have returned a previous question in four lines and with it a sort of answer : they ask the Imperialists if they have agreed to the Preliminaries of the 10th of February last or no ; if they have, the demands they now make (say the French) are unreasonable and not to be granted ; if they have not, the French add that they are ready to begin to treat upon a new foot with them. This, however pressing it seems, will (Your Lordship sees) oblige the Germans to think of treating one way or other in earnest, and that side of the negotiation being once brought to any head, the whole affair, I think, will move with more ease and quickness. Your Lordship will pardon the boldness I take of writing to you without your leave, since the honour you have done me in admitting me your secretary seems to entitle me to a sort of right to do so." *Copy.* (X. 286.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 8. [N.S.] Cockleberg.—“ I . . . cannot imagine the reason why their Excellencies are so hard-hearted to Mr. Secretary Trumbull as not to send him a copy of your project, as well for his private satisfaction as you are in his province, as for the communicating upon occasion to the Lords Justices the whole or such part of it as they may desire to be informed of. But be it as it will, you know there has been no occasion for my requesting it of their Excellencies, the project having been given me by the King with orders concerning it which I signified to their Excellencies ; so that so many clerks as I had, so many copies I might have taken of it without bringing you under censure or the imputation of discovering secrets ; though, indeed, upon an English, Dutch and German post-day my people were so employed that I rather chose to rely on your hands when they might be at leisure. The matter being thus circumstantiated, their Excellencies could have no reason to suspect you of a breach of trust ; but lest they may do so, I must not conceal from you that the Pensioner, being with me here, told me he had occasion to discourse with the King upon the Separate Article, that he had brought no copy of it nor of the project, knowing he might apply to me for it ; and therefore, if you think that upon a conference with their Excellencies he may happen to produce your hand, you may, if you please, wait upon him in my name for it and thereby save yourself harmless, and send me either that copy or another of that Separate Article, if there be no danger in it.

“ I have already told you the clause about Hudson's Bay is not only useless but hurtful to us ; but that, you know, is not my fault.

“ I had writ this when I receive yours of the 5th instant, where you say you hope to send me the treaty by the next post. I suppose you mean the treaty in Latin, since you know I have it in French, except the Separate Article, which

His Majesty by me ordered their Excellencies to keep back and the matter of it to be negotiated by our friends with the French Ambassadors. This is only to yourself, as you will find by the style. My other letter will be communicated by you to their Excellencies." (III. 39.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

[1697, about June 8. N.S. Hague.]—"To the enclosed answer made by the Imperialists to the trying question of the French, I have only to add that by next post I hope to send you the reply which M. Harlay is already forming, and which in all appearance will be something decisive. Lord Villiers will acquaint Your Honour with the success of his visit to the Danish Ambassador's, whose master has taken time to chastise his pupil, who on the other side is as stubborn as one can imagine. There is nothing can still these people but the general peace." *Copy.* (X. 288.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES MONTAGU,] CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

1697, June 11. [N.S.] Hague.—Lord Villiers says "that his business is before you, and that he is a good deal in pain that the report of it is not come over to this side. You do not think I am impudent enough to intercede in this matter; but I cannot forbear pouring forth an ejaculation or two that everything may succeed to my Lord Villiers, and this particularly which lies between you and him, the two men I have reason most to love, and whom I would have love each other as much as I do either.

"Our negotiation must move, I think, though the Germans clog the way with quires of *postulata*, to which the French gave a short answer on Saturday that they never intended to treat on any other foot, nor would debate on any other articles than those contained in the Preliminaries of the 10th of February, upon which only they are ready to begin to enter upon a treaty. The Imperialists grumble at this answer, but, I think, cannot reply to it." *Copy.* (X. 288-9.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, June 13. [N.S.]—"The enclosed contains all our Congress proceedings, which, we hope, are set upon a foot to advance faster. My Masters are thinking of our business in particular, and I am very glad to find it is thought high time they should do so. The French have, I hear, answered Mons. Dyckvelt on this subject, that they are ready to renounce King James in as formal terms as can be proposed, provided he be not named."

"Mr. Stepney, your *spes altera*, is, I hope, speaking his gratitude to you this week as I was the last. I don't know how either of us can do it enough." *Copy.* (XVI. 18.)



SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to the Lords Ambassadors  
PEMBROKE and VILLIERS.

1697, June 4 [-14]. Whitehall.—“That I might more effectually answer Your Excellencies’ desire . . . to know whether our affairs in America have received any essential alteration, between the making of the treaty of Breda in 1667 and the beginning of this present war, I sent to the Council of Trade before whom those matters lie more immediately, to be informed thereof. And they let me know yesterday that, having looked into the papers given in to them, upon occasion of their preparing a project of a Treaty of Commerce with France, they do not find anything further on that subject than what is contained in certain papers, copies whereof were transmitted to me in April last, duplicates whereof were annexed to the copy of the project of Treaty of Commerce with France which were put into my Lord Ambassador Pembroke’s hands here ; but there being mention made in the copy of a letter from the Hudson’s Bay Company amongst those papers, marked E, of damages done them in ships and goods, such an account will be sent as soon as it can be made up. However, I hope this may answer Your Excellencies’ expectation at present, in relation to the first part of your demand, and I will send you an answer to the second part, that is, of damages done since the beginning of the war, as soon as possibly it may be done with any certainty.” *Signed.* (III. 30.)

H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 6 [-16]. Dublin Castle.—Obliged to Prior that he approves his appointment as Secretary to the Lords Justices during Prior’s absence. A Parliament will probably meet at Dublin about the end of July. (III. 31.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, June 18. [N.S.] Hague.—“It is impossible for us, from those papers my Lord Ambassador Pembroke has, to form any judgment of the state of our plantations. According to what I have heard, it is most probable things will be settled with the French as at the beginning of the war ; and if we may believe Mons. Dyckvelt, our business will be proposed by him to them to-day. I cannot learn but that the French are earnest enough for a peace, and I believe these people are pretty well advanced towards it.” *Copy.* (X. 291.)

The EARL OF PEMBROKE and LORD VILLIERS to SIR  
WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, June 11-21. Hague.—Requesting him to send an abstract of England’s gains and losses in all her plantations, colonies and forts from 1667 to the beginning of the present war : the French enquire more particularly about St. Christopher’s and Acadie. *Copy.* (XVI. 23.)

## J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 11 [-21]. Whitehall.—“The first part of your queries about America was answered, by referring to a state of that matter given to my Lord Ambassador Pembroke before His Excellency went from hence, and the answer to the second part is not yet come from the Council of Trade, who is our oracle in matters relating to that other world.

“We are enquiring into the state of the jointure of the late King’s Queen, and though the settlements made on her, when he was Duke of York, are not to be found in any office here, we hope they may be procured, so as to be sent by next post, and that then you may have the answer likewise to the last question about America.

“Her jointure was considerably increased after she was Queen, and I have copies of those warrants out of the Treasury.” (III. 34.)

THE LORDS AMBASSADORS PEMBROKE, VILLIERS and  
SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON to WILLIAM III.

1697, June 24. [N.S.]—Enclosing the project of the peace which they have drawn up, and desiring the King’s pleasure therein. The French wish to have a copy in Latin; but the paper the Ambassadors send is in French, in which language the Dutch Ambassadors have discussed most of its points with the French.

“One point of our instructions was that an article might be inserted to settle a Treaty of Commerce. Your Majesty will see that such an article is omitted, we leaving it to them to be proposed, since the balance of trade, as it now stands, is evidently on the English side.

“Your Majesty will see that the 6th Article relates only to the French who are your own subjects. The Dutch insert a like article in favour of the French who are their subjects. As to the affairs of the French Protestants in general, we will act conjointly with the ministers of the States and of the other Protestant princes here.

“Your Majesty will find that the 7th Article settles the affairs in America on the foot they were in at the beginning of the war, which we understand to be Your Majesty’s pleasure. Most of the other articles are conformable to those which England has generally made in their [*sic*] treaties with France.

“We expect from the Pensioner the Article concerning the Principality of Orange. We have followed Your Majesty’s directions in consulting with the Pensioner about this particular Article concerning the late King James. He is of opinion that it should be drawn up, as we presume it is, in the strongest terms imaginable; and that King James should be mentioned therein expressly and by name. The Ambassadors of the States have had several conferences with the French on this point, and have always represented this nomination as a thing essential to our negotiation, and



from which we could no way recede. The French are very positive that their Master cannot in honour consent to the naming a prince in this manner; with whom he has been in so long and so strict an alliance. We humbly desire to have Your Majesty's directions how we are to behave ourselves in case the French persist.

“In the discourses which the French Embassy have had with the Dutch, they have mentioned the restoring the rebels who have followed King James' party.” *Copy.* (XVI. 27-9.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 15 [-25]. Whitehall.—“I find I reckoned a little too fast, when I told you, in my last, that I hoped to send you an account, by this post, of the settlement of the jointure of the late King James' Queen; that part of it which was settled on her when he was Duke of York being not so easily to be come at as that augmentation made after he was King; the copies of which warrants, taken out of the books in the Treasury Office, I send you herewith as an earnest of the rest, whereby you will see that she was to enjoy above 47,328*l.* a year, before her husband's death, and after it too, if she outlived him; all these grants being made to her during her natural life, and to be paid immediately to her, without coming into the Exchequer. What the value of St. James's House was I cannot tell; that I presume was given her for a nursery.”

To “the second part of my Lords Ambassadors' question, about damages done us by the French in America, since the beginning of this war to this time, I am enabled from the Council of Trade to make you this answer, namely, that their Lordships have nothing more to offer upon that subject, with relation to the state of America, either before or since the war, than what is contained in those papers, which were transmitted to Mr. Secretary Trumbull the 5th and 17th of April last, and that they have yet received no answers from the Hudson's Bay Company as to the particular damages done them in their ships and goods. This last seems none of the material alterations, and so not to be comprehended in my Lords Ambassadors' question; but Mr. Penn having some time since given me a small Memorandum about a place called Corotoque, I send you a copy of it, to be made use of as you shall find occasion, if it be of any use.

“Copies of the papers aforementioned, given to Mr. Secretary 5 and 17 April, my Lord Ambassador Pembroke had before His Excellency went from hence; so that the answer to their Excellencies' second question is by way of reference, as that to the first was.” (III. 35.)

THE MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 15 [-25]. Dublin.—“I received directions from the King by Mr. Blathwayt signifying his pleasure that

he thought it necessary for his service that you should remain where you are for the present, and that he would dispense with your attendance in the meantime, which I acquainted my Lord Galway with. When you come, I hope you will bring peace with you, and in the meantime I shall be very glad to hear sometimes from you. This day the Parliament here was adjourned until the 27th of next month." (III. 36.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to the LORDS AMBASSADORS.

1697, June 17[-27]. Camp at Cockleberg.—“ His Majesty, having perused Your Excellencies’ letter of the 24th inst., with the enclosed draught of a treaty with France, and Separate Article relating to King James, has commanded me to return them to Your Excellencies with the signification of his pleasure that Your Excellencies deliver the said draught of a treaty to the Dutch Ambassadors, to be given with the addition of the article concerning Orange by them to the Ambassadors of France in the language proposed by Your Excellencies. But that the Separate Article be not delivered to the French Ambassador until those of Holland shall have discoursed with them further upon the subject-matter of it, and His Majesty’s further pleasure shall be known therein.

“ The only alteration His Majesty has directed in the said draught is the naming of both Kings, which His Majesty has thought necessary at least of himself to obviate all chicanes the French might at any time make in favour of King James. And if Your Excellencies shall think fit to name His Majesty more than once, or to add any relatives to His Majesty’s Christian name in any parts of the draught, it is left by His Majesty to Your Excellencies’ discretion.” (III. 40.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 27. [N.S.] Camp near Brussels.—With yours of yesterday “ I received a copy of the first article of the treaty between the Imperialists and the French. Now I return their Excellencies the draught of a project of peace with France, without much alteration, but I must observe to you in particular that your 7th Article will be of the greatest prejudice to the Hudson’s Bay Company, as you may have judged by the papers received from the Council of Trade ; for that by this article all those places taken from that Company before the war, and retaken by them during the war, must be restored to the French, whereas we have not in nature a reciprocal to give us an equal advantage ; for let me tell you, your 4th Article will not help us in this case, but on the contrary, as I could explain to you for your private satisfaction if the post were not going away, and show you that three words would have mended the matter, I mean an exception of these evident *voyes de fait* the French made use of before the war, and which was a cause assigned for it in the declaration of war, wherein we shall now have



no remedy. But all this is only by way of discourse with you, which your former letters have engaged me in; not doubting but their Excellencies have had their superior reasons to word the treaty otherwise, so that it could not be fit for me on a sudden to hinder the progress of it by a single discussion with the King at so critical a time." *Signed.* (III. 42.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF DORSET.

1697, June 28. [N.S.]—"I have hoped that our treaty might long before this have afforded something material enough for me to have troubled Your Lordship with, but by what has been written to Your Excellencies in general on that subject, you see, my Lord, that we are advanced but little beyond our Preliminaries, and in fifteen meetings we have hardly agreed to the first article either of the Imperialists or Spaniards, though they contain little more than *pax sit*. I think the mystery of this slowness on the French side is that they have a mind to see the event of what they hope as well from the West Indies as from Barcelona. We are thinking of that part of the treaty which regards us, and then England and Holland will certainly have quicker answers towards making a good peace, or break off those conferences which as yet advance so little towards it. Your Lordship will see by the enclosed protestation in what a posture King James' affairs stand; this is the last entry he is likely to make. The Mediator when he showed it the Congress declared he received and looked upon it as neither valid or of consequence, but read it only as a curiosity.

"I am never to write to Your Lordship without repeating my acknowledgments for all your favours. I wish Your Lordship all that leisure and satisfaction to yourself which you deserve, and which your place of Chamberlain kept you from enjoying so entirely as you desired: but I hope, my Lord, you will never leave the Court so absolutely as not to be near it in every case wherein the welfare of the nation may ask your assistance." *Copy.* (X. 292.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT

1697, June 29. [N.S.] Hague.—"My Masters now are in conference with the Pensioner concerning the substance of your letter, so that what I can say is not by authority but by the private spirit. I make bold to tell you then that we always understood till now that the article about King James was by our friends here to have been communicated to the French as any other article whatsoever, lest they, having closed with the common article of peace, restitution, etc., should boggle in this most material one, and turn the reason of the peace not being signed upon our sticking upon what they will call some words only in that point."

"I send you a copy of the treaty and great article, and shall think it abundantly returned if you would write me

three words of explanation in the fourth article, and alter the form of the seventh, so as to help the Hudson's Bay Company. . . . . We have not all the light imaginable from the other side, Mr. Ellis having once more referred us to what we had of my Lord Pembroke from the Commission for Trade, which paper is very imperfect; and . . . though they would altogether labour to inform us, you can do it something better.

"The enclosed will show you how little has been done at Ryswick. If we do not get into a better method (which I believe we shall not do till the French see what becomes of the affairs of the West Indies and Barcelona), we shall have time enough to have our projects corrected and the manner of proceeding in them rightly adjusted. The Imperialists have been as well with the Dutch Embassy as with my Masters to concert with them as an answer to the French, that, since they neither liked the first way of going on upon the *postulata* in general nor the second of answering to each article separately, there was no method left but for them (the French) to specify to all the Allies what lengths they would go, and what points they would accord for the general peace, and that the Allies might upon that declaration return their several answers. This, I think, will be moved to the Mediator to-day, and without the spirit of prophecy one may guess that the French will shuffle up an imperfect answer of their having already declared themselves on this account in the Preliminaries, and so I am afraid we shall have run round a circle, and shall find ourselves the next week where we were a fortnight ago.

"The Mediator spoke at Ryswick on Wednesday about this protestation of King James, which I send you enclosed; but as a thing no ways authentic or of consequence, but what he looked upon only as a curiosity. I did not misunderstand you as to my Master J[oseph] having conversed with the Plantations: may be so; but we keep our knowledge as carefully up as our money: though I know no time when the expense of either will be so necessary as now." *Copy.* (X. 294.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

[1697, June.]—Project of the treaty between the Kings of Great Britain and France, "as it was returned from His Majesty under cover of Mr. Blathwayt, 29 June, 1697." *French. Corrected draft.*

[This is essentially the same as the text printed in *Actes et Mémoires*, 2nd ed., Vol. II., p. 189: but the wording is in many cases different.] (XVII. 10.)

The EARL OF PEMBROKE, LORD VILLIERS and SIR  
JOSEPH WILLIAMSON to [JAMES] CRESSSET.

1697, June 29. [N.S.] Hague.—"On Thursday [June 17–27] Mons. Hespén communicated to the Congress of the



Allies here the substance of a letter which he had received from the Duke [of Holstein], his master, wherein that prince expostulates the hardships he is under; hopes due means may be taken in order to a just reparation, and assures the Allies that in as much as in him lies he will take care that the peace in the North be not disturbed. The Congress desired the ministers, whose principals can any ways be concerned in this affair, to write to them to interpose their good offices." Instructing him to act in this matter with the ministers of Saxony and Brandenbourg and Mons. Hop, to whom the Pensioner has written to the same effect. *Copy.* (XVI. 33.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, June 22 [-July 2]. Whitehall.—“I hoped to have sent you by last post the account enclosed of the late King James’ wife’s jointure, which was settled upon her when he was Duke of York, in a more authentic form than this is; though I believe the substance of it is the true state of that matter, but that we have to do with a very perverse person; but if anything further be necessary for your satisfaction in this point, we must look for it in the Rolls, where we are told it is to be found.” (III. 41.)

THE LORDS AMBASSADORS to WILLIAM III.

1697, July 3. [N.S.]—Acknowledging the receipt of the draft of the treaty. In the article of mutual restitution of places taken during the war they have inserted the words,—“Except such places as belong to His Majesty of Great Britain, which the French seized during the peace immediately preceding this war,” in order to retain possession of the forts in Hudson’s Bay which the French seized in time of peace and the English recaptured during the present war. This exception they submit to His Majesty’s approval, as being for his service, though not in strict accordance with their instructions. *Copy.* (XVI. 36–8.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, July 5. [N.S.]—“We expect the Pensioner from the army to-day: in all probability he will bring us methods for a more expeditious way of carrying on a treaty; or else I cannot see what this method can come to.

Mons Dankleman, second of the Embassy of Brandenbourg being arrived, the ministers from the crowned heads make the same difficulty of visiting him as they did at Nimègue. Sir Joseph Williamson has informed us of what was done in that case by King Charles twenty years since, . . . . and their Excellencies desire to know His Majesty’s pleasure therein, in order to their seeing Mons Dankleman.” *Copy.* (X. 297.)

JOS[HUA] DAWSON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 27 [-July 7]. Dublin Castle.—To the same effect as Podmore's letter of 22 May [-June 1] (p. 122, *supra*). Hopes Prior will not think it necessary to bring over any clerk with him, as Podmore and he can very easily discharge the whole business of the office, and the fees are but sufficient to maintain two clerks. (III. 44.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 8. [N.S.] Camp.—“ I have laid your letter of the 5th instant before His Majesty relating to Mons. Danckleman, . . . . . also two enclosed papers received from His Excellency Sir Joseph Williamson; in answer whereunto His Majesty commands me to signify his pleasure that their Excellencies do visit Mons. Danckleman, though no ministers from crowned heads have yet done it, and that he be treated, as well as the first minister from that Elector, with the honours of an Ambassador, to which His Majesty is disposed not only by the precedents in this case, but by his particular relation and affection to the person of His Electoral Highness.”

*Postscript*.—“ His Majesty is very desirous that this honour be done to the Ambassadors of Brandenburg by their Excellencies before they receive it from any other ministers whatever.” (III. 47.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, July 10. [N.S.] Hague.—“ The Congress did nothing on Saturday, the French persisting not to give their project in till the Spaniards (whom they meant, though they expressed it the Allies), were agreed to it. The Spaniards confess their Pyrenean pretensions to be but chimerical, and would close with any temper in the world that might do their business, provided they only keep the bare pretence: in short they did nothing, not that they intend to persist, but because they would see what directions the Pensioner, who came hither on Monday, may have; and indeed we all hope he has His Majesty's pleasure how the great affairs may advance; and Mr. Stepney's Empire must roll on according to that quantity of motion the King will give it, for it is a heavy body and has very little celerity in itself. I have your remarks upon our cause to thank you for. I know who was likewise of the opinion of a wiser man that it should have been reciprocal, but the thing was determined as you find it, and my part was to write what others dictated. The French are digesting the whole project as it is without one word having been mentioned of the great article other than by Mons. Dyckvelt, *viva voce*.

“ The Elector of Saxe being chosen King of Poland is all the discourse here. The refugees go no further into the consideration than to pity his spiritual state: the politicians



agree it is well for the present, but are concerned what may come of it twenty years hence, when he may be powerful enough in the Empire to oppress the House of Austria, or if he joins with that House to oppress the Protestant party. This is speculation, but the present influence the thing has is that the Imperialists like a peace less, and the Brandenburg more than before.

“ I am sorry that you will see from my Lord Villiers that our poor Consul is faulty ; but *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*. He has often been told he ought not to be nibbling at passports, and after this if he will burn his fingers, they are his own, and nobody can help it. That Mons. Vanderpoele and his clerk Lawrentz took in (as they call it) the passports at the Briele or Helvoët, and gave the passagers notes or tickets of a new fabric and by their own power, upon which notes they went aboard, has been a grievance I have mentioned for some years past, and which must certainly be remedied to make the giving of passports here any way effectual.”  
*Copy.* (X. 300.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1697, July 12. [N.S.] Hague.—“ I have very much wished our Congress might have given me an occasion of writing to Your Lordship without being wholly impertinent, which as yet it has not done. This is no very good character of it, my Lord, after nineteen meetings. I think this slowness may be attributed to the great love the Germans have to method, by which at last they found that they were hardly advanced to the end of the first article, and that *sit pax* was just consented to. The French willingly closed with this irregularity of doing nothing, that they might in the meantime see what became of Pointis’ squadron, the siege of Barcelona, the choice of a king of Poland, and if anything might be attempted in Flanders ; but these hopes having as yet in a great measure failed them, and the Germans being come off from their darling method of treating singly and by articles, the French have agreed to give in a project at once of what lengths they will go towards a peace, which we expect to see to-morrow.

“ The Spaniards were hardly brought to join with the Germans in asking this project, and have at last only done it with their old reservations and chimeras of sticking to the execution of the Pyrenean Treaty ; though they durst not have spoken of it, but that they are sure the French cannot recede from that of Nimègue. My Lord Portland has had an interview with Mons. Boufflers, which looks as if a suspension of arms were designed. The Pensioner of Holland has been at the army with the King, and we hope has His Majesty’s resolution of what is really to be done at Ryswick, for it seems time to be in earnest, and these Allies have played the fool long enough for form’s sake, if they design a peace

at last; and too long, if they do not. The King has approved of a project of peace for England. His Majesty's directions concerning the Principality of Orange, which makes one article of it, we had only the translating of, having had it in French from the Pensioner of Holland. What concerns King James is left first to the Dutch Embassy (who give the French the treaty) to get as far as they can *viva voce*, that a secret article may be formed afterwards. I send this treaty by order of my Lord Ambassador to Mr. Secretary Trumbull and to Mr. Vernon, who will lay it before Your Excellencies of the Regency. This letter may possibly find Your Lordship at Althorp, which must excuse my troubling you with a particular copy of it.

"I dare trouble Your Lordship with no more foreign news than that the Elector of Saxe is chosen King of Poland, that the French have passed the Rhine, and that Barcelona holds out." *Copy.* (X. 304.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD LEXINGTON.

1697, July 12. [N.S.] Hague.—"Here is the copy of our project of peace: I wish Your Lordship here to sign it. I have told Mr. Sutton that we have done nothing at Ryswick this week: in private Mons. Dyckvelt has given in this project for us. We have had His Majesty's approbation of it, though I may venture to say to Your Lordship I think the forming it a little irregular for neither Privy Council digested it, nor Secretary of State formed or drew it up. I am ordered to send it by this post into England, and am not much in pain what they may say against it there, provided there be nothing objected to it at Delft. The exception in the seventh article, *vis solummodo locis*, regards some forts in Hudson's Bay, which the French took from us in time of peace, and which we retook since the beginning of this war, and are at present possessors of; the rest is almost naturally a treaty of peace upon the foot of that of '67 with France; the great article of King James by His Majesty's order left to be treated by our friends first *viva voce*, lest we might ask in a thing so delicate what we might be obliged to retract from. The Pensioner of Holland has been with His Majesty, and has, I believe, his instructions to what will be done in earnest in the great affair, which must advance by much larger steps than it has done or be quite broken off; but I think France will not let it come to that." *Copy.* (X. 302.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, July 12. [N.S.] Hague.—"I am commanded by my Lords Ambassadors to desire you to acquaint the King that the Imperial Embassy was this afternoon with their Excellencies, desiring to be informed if there were any ground for the report of a meeting between the Earl of Portland



and the Marquis de Boufflers. They said that they thought two persons of so considerable a character could not meet upon a small occasion; and added that this conjuncture of time made them more than ordinarily curious to know as much of the occasion and result of it as His Majesty could be pleased to have communicated to them. This request they made with great modesty and with all imaginable respect to the King. This their Excellencies order me particularly to mention to you, and to desire you to represent the thing so to His Majesty, as they may have his commands in what manner they are to answer the Imperial Embassy on that subject." *Copy.* (XVI. 46.)

#### H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 3 [-13]. Dublin Castle.—“The Lord Justices since their arrival here have issued two proclamations, one for prohibiting the exportation of grain, which is become so dear as to make the subsistence of the poor very uneasy in some parts, which the next harvest does not promise a total redress of without that timely help; which has had the good effect already to lower in some measure the price of corn: the other was to notify the sitting of the Parliament for the despatch of business [among other matters the confirmation of attainders and vesting of forfeitures in the King] on the 27th inst.

“Capt. Lemel, commander of the *Pontchartrain* of Dunkirk, 44 guns, brought some time since by the *Medway* frigate into Kinsale, who with another officer of that ship was detained there by direction from England in lieu of two English prisoners at Dunkirk, whose names I have not heard, made his escape from Kinsale, and was taken three days ago endeavouring to get a passage from this port to England.

“On the 25th past were set ashore near Dingle in the county of Kerry, the master, chirurgeon, and ten men lately belonging to the *Mercury* advice-boat of 4 guns, taken the 19th past ten leagues off Ushant by three privateers after she had been in Brest harbour, where she took a fisher-boat, whose people assured them there are fifteen three-decked ships there ready to put to sea; that the men were not on board, but ready in the town.”

“The two clerks in your office here having desired me to recommend them to your favour, . . . I must in justice to them acquaint you that Mr. ‘Padmer’ [Podmore], one of them, has been in the office above thirty years, the other, who is his nephew, has likewise served a considerable time, and if you shall think fit to employ them, you will find them very diligent in and capable of the business.” (III. 45.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, July 3 [-13]. Hague.—“By order of the Lords Ambassadors I send you the enclosed project of the treaty

in Latin, as (according to His Majesty's command) it was given to the Dutch Embassy to be transmitted to the French. You see in the 7th article, *iis solummodo*, etc., the clause which their Excellencies inserted with relation to our forts in Hudson's Bay: the 10th article their Excellencies added, the substance of it being usually inserted in treaties of peace, and the whole design of it only to oblige each party to the strictest observance of all the rest; their Excellencies therefore do not think it worth troubling His Majesty with any other wise than as you may be pleased to do it, as occasion may serve by way of discourse. The 12th article regarding Orange is translated from what my Lords Ambassadors received from the Pensioner in French. You see by the enclosed journal how little has been done the two last meetings at Ryswick, and how much we expect from that to-day. The meeting of the Earl of Portland with the Maréchal de Boufflers we think may contribute more to the great business than many other meetings of our ministers here. You have seen by the letter I did myself the honour to write to you last night how much the Imperialists desire to know the effect of that meeting; and the world here are upon the same strain: 'tis the whole discourse in conferences, assemblies and coffee-houses, and the least people will have from it is a cessation of arms.

“ Their Excellencies have, according to His Majesty's commands, visited Mons. Dankleman with the respect due to an Ambassador: they have likewise (as the Imperial ministers and all others have done) congratulated Mons. Bosen, Ambassador from the Elector of Saxe, upon that Prince's being chosen King of Poland.” *Copy.* (X. 308.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 5 [-15]. Camp.—“ I have received your letters of the 2nd and 3rd instant written by order of their Excellencies my Lords Ambassadors. In answer to the first, relating to the interview and conference between the Earl of Portland and the Maréchal de Boufflers, and the inquiries made by the Imperial Embassy, His Majesty is pleased to say that their Excellencies have already received sufficient informations and instructions in that matter, which need no repetition at present.

“ Upon the latter I have only to inform you that His Majesty has been acquainted with my receipt of the project of our treaty in Latin and additions made thereunto by their Excellencies and with the visit made to Mons. Dankleman, with which His Majesty is very well satisfied.” *Signed.* (III. 46.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, July 6 [-16] Hague.—“ We did nothing on Saturday: the French only told the Mediator that they intended to give



in their project with all the speed they could : they did not think it could be done by Wednesday, but they would at least endeavour it : thus, Sir, we shall go to Ryswick to-morrow, but do very little there.

“ We are as yet in the dark as to the substance of the conference between the Earl of Portland and Mons de Boufflers. The Germans are very uneasy about it, and I believe to-morrow morning we may have at least an answer for their curiosity, whether the right one or no, I dare not promise.

“ I sent the project last post in such haste that I am conscious some slips may be made in it, which you will have the goodness to pass by, and Mr. Ellis will take the care to correct.

“ Mr. Graham has given me your letter of the 20th June from Easthampstead : the gentleman may be sure of all the service I can do him, and brought a recommendation with him, which shall always have the force of a mandate to me.” *Copy.* (X. 310.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, July 9 [-19].—“ I am commanded by the Lords Ambassadors to inform you that Mons. Botemar, Envoy from Celle, hath acquainted them that, the Elector of Hanover designing to give his Minister to the Congress the character of Ambassador, he hoped that, as the King had already protected that Prince in his title of Elector, so on this occasion he would allow the usual honours to be paid to his Ambassador. Their Excellencies take it for granted that they may do it, except they have His Majesty’s order to the contrary.

“ Mr. Bosen has told their Excellencies that, as he is persuaded that His Majesty would favour the election of his Master to the Crown of Poland in general, so he would particularly in giving orders that John Bart might be hindered from coming out, it being said that Bart designs to carry the Prince of Conti northwards : their Excellencies already know what care is taken to hinder Du Bart from coming out : yet they think it proper to acquaint you with what Mr. Bosen had said to them.\*

“ The French promise their project to-morrow, which was all that was done on Wednesday at the Congress.” *Copy.* (XVI. 49.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, July 9 [-19].—“ The Elector of Saxe’s Ambassador has informed their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors of England that he hopes His Majesty will favour his Master’s interest as it relates to Poland, and in hindering Du Bart from coming out of Dunkirk, who, as it is reported, is to carry the Prince of Conti northwards. Their Excellencies have ordered me to write to Mr. Blathwayt what this minister

\* Cf. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, iv. 251, 254.

has desired, though for reasons more material the squadron to observe Du Bart was ordered out before.

“Mr. Ellis has sent the papers relating to America. I have laid [them] before their Excellencies, though as far as I can find we have omitted nothing relating to our colonies in the project I sent you. As to what regards St. Christopher’s these papers refer to what has been done there since the beginning of this war, and care is taken of all that in the 7th article. The African Company mentions damages before the war: this is rectified by the 4th article, and the places which they mention to have been taken since the war are likewise comprehended in the 7th article. What they add, that the French should not traffic into the rivers of Gambia, Nunez, Serelion, etc., is referable to the treaty of commerce hereafter to be settled.

“The business of Newfoundland will likewise be settled, by the 7th article. This is only my own private opinion, and not by order from my Masters.

“Their Excellencies are now at a conference with the Imperialists to tell them the substance of the conferences which the Earl of Portland has had with the Marshal de Boufflers: the substance of which is held here as the greatest secret imaginable. It was that whereas the King of France has said he was ready to make a peace, and that the King obstructed it, His Majesty thought himself obliged to let all the world know that he was ready and willing to agree a peace, provided it was reasonable and honourable, and that he first chose to let the French King know his opinion to be such, adding that he did not think it proper that the Allies should let a negotiation continue which could not but be prejudicial to them, except the King of France did in earnest desire the conclusion of it. Mons. Boufflers’ answer in the second conference was that he had express order from the King his Master to assure His Majesty that his designs for a peace were real, and that he had given his Ambassadors orders by which the Allies should see that they acted accordingly. I hope we may see the good effect of these promises, and thought it my duty to give you the best account of this affair that I could, though as yet I know it but imperfectly.

“I gave our project of peace by order of their Excellencies to Mr. Lilienroot yesterday.” *Copy.* (X. 312.)

#### THE EARL OF GALWAY TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 10 [-20]. Dublin Castle.—Explaining why he has reduced certain dues payable by officers in the army at the Secretary’s Office. *French. Signed.* (III. 48.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 12 [-22]. Camp.—“Their Ambassadors are to represent to Mons. Bosen that His Majesty, being ready to



do all things that may tend to His Highness the Elector of Saxony's quiet possession of the crown of Poland, has given orders to the English and Dutch squadrons before Dunkirk to hinder as much as in them lies the coming out of John Bart or his carrying the Prince of Conti to those parts, according to Mons. Bosen's desires." *Signed.* (III. 49.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 22. [N.S.] Cockleberg.—“ Their Excellencies had an account by an express that went away this morning of yesterday's interview between my Lord Portland and Boufflers. These conferences are only in aid of yours at The Hague and Ryswick, and tending only to quicken the treaty or shorten the Congress. The Separate Article between us and the French you will find to be the chief occasion of demurs on both sides.

“ I desired you this morning to send me as soon as possible in Dutch or French the treaty of Breda between us and the Dutch.” (III. 53.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 13 [-23]. Whitehall.—“ I send you herewith, by Mr. Secretary's direction, a copy of a memorial newly sent him from the Council of Trade, relating to the sufferings of the Hudson's Bay Company by the French for several years past ; and the Council say they now expect only some answer from the agents of Barbadoes to finish all they have to offer upon the subject of the alterations which have happened in the King's American Dominions by the French since the Treaty of Breda : so that now you see land in this business, for I think nothing material has been done in Barbadoes. This way of memorials, as they are called, is tedious, and will make you a great [deal] of picking work, which I would have had done to your hand by a short historical account of the matters and accidents ; but some people had a mind to have a maypole, and so you have a long one.” (III. 50.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 25. [N.S.] Cockleberg.—“ I acknowledge the favour of the 24th inst. with the enclosed. I shall give you my deliberate thoughts upon the whole by the next post ; but I may now tell you there is more to be said and done upon the subject-matter by Mr. Hatley's good leave.

“ What the Council of Trade have sent you further about the West Indies is but ‘ wishewashes ’ and nothing to your purpose. I like the news of Pointi[s] and Carthagera very well, since he is kept so long in those parts.” (III. 56.)

## WALRAND PRINCE DE NASSAU to WILLIAM III.

1697, July 25. [N.S.] Au Camp de Nevel.—“Aprenant que négociations de la Paix commencent à prendre leur train, je prie vostre Majesté de me permettre que je là vienne très humblement suplier de faire la grasse à ma branche de Nassau-Saarbrück de leur accorder une lestre de rescomendation à ses ambassadeurs, et à ceux des Estats Généraux, pour le traicté de la Paix, affin que le député de ma maison les puisse présenter luy mesme aux susdits ambassadeurs et les informer en mesme temps de nos justes prétentions sur la restitution de la prétendue réunion de la Chambre de Metz. Vostre Majesté sçait que nous y sommes considérablement interessez, ce sera un surcroit de grasse que moy et mes parents tascheront de s'en rendre dignes par leurs servises et submissions très humbles.” (III. 57.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, July 27. [N.S.] Hague.—“We have as yet no comment upon the French project, though I believe the Imperialists will furnish us with one to-day. They acquainted the Mediator on Wednesday with the method in which they resolved to answer the French, which was that they would receive or make their exceptions against every article as it lay; and on the other side the Mediator told them that he had used his best endeavours to prevent the French from setting a time for the agreeing to or rejecting this project, after which time they would not look upon themselves as obliged to stand by it, or to perform the contents of it: he added that he thought he hardly could prevail with the French longer than Saturday (this day), to defer proposing such a time. The Mediator told our Embassy that though they were not immediately concerned in the project, he thought himself obliged to communicate the substance of it to them and desired to have their opinion upon it. This is the state of our Congress affairs here: I wish your conferences in Flanders may be easier and more conducing to the great end we propose.

“You judge most truly of the worth of those papers relating to the West Indies which the Council of Trade has sent us; however, having laid them before the Lords Ambassadors, *liberavi animam meam.*” Copy. (X. 317.)

## WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 19—29. Camp.—“His Majesty having received the enclosed letter from the Prince of Nassau Sarbroug [Saarbrück] praying his protection and care of his interests at the treaty of peace, His Majesty is pleased to order their Excellencies to favour the Prince of Sarbroug's pretensions as far as they may be able, in such manner and to the effect the agent of that prince at The Hague shall desire.” *Enclosure supra.* (III. 51.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF GALWAY.

1697, July 20 [-30]. Hague.—To much the same effect as the letter to the Marquis of Winchester which follows. *French. Copy.* (X. 323.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

1697, July 21 [-31]. Hague.—“The French have at last given in their project to the Allies: it is upon the foot of that of Nimègue, and the House of Lorraine obtains no better conditions than that peace allows them, except the Emperor will consent to an equivalent for Strasbourg, for which France offers Brisac, Fribourg and Philipsbourg, with Huningue to be demolished. Your Lordship sees that the Emperor is pressed upon this equivalent; for in taking Strasbourg he must abate of what he has hitherto pretended for his nephew; and in taking the equivalent he will venture as well the resentments of the Princes of the Empire as the safety of the Circles of Franconia and Suabia.

“The Germans are no way satisfied with the project: they intend to give in their answer to it so as to consent to or make their exceptions against every article in its order. This, my Lord, is the state of our negotiation at Ryswick.

“As to what regards His Majesty’s affairs in particular, my Lord Portland has had four conferences thereupon with the Marshal de Boufflers; and I have reason to think they advance in adjusting them. His Majesty with the greatest wisdom and calmness has let the French plainly understand that he will have peace or war, and does not think it expedient to protract a negotiation here which can be no way advantageous to his affairs or those of the Allies in general; and I believe this declaration will do more towards the procuring a speedy peace than all the *factums* and musty papers which can be given in to and transmitted by the Mediator here.

“It is with pleasure that I see His Majesty’s affairs under Your Lordship’s conduct in so fair a train in Ireland; but with equal regret at the same time, that I reflect I cannot yet be there, where my duty to Your Lordship does so particularly oblige me to be. In the favour of a letter I have had from my Lord Galway, His Lordship informs me that he has (with Your Lordship’s joint consent, I presume) retrenched and regulated some of the fees which have hitherto belonged to the secretary. I take the boldness to assure Your Lordship (as I have done my Lord Galway) that, as I am, I hope, the man in the world who would not encourage extortion or injustice, so I entirely submit to any regulation which Your Lordships think proper to be made, and that I wish nothing so much as to have been on the place, that the gentlemen of the army (for it is in that part of the list that the regulation is made) might see that I very willingly declined the reception of any fees or perquisites which might

give any occasion of grievance from their being received, and that I might have made that my act, which with all imaginable respect I acquiesce in as your command." *Copy.* (X. 319.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ARTHUR] PADMORE.

1697, July 21 [-31]. Hague.—Assuring him that he will be retained at his present post in the Secretary's Office at Dublin. *Copy.*

A similar letter to [Joshua] Dawson, of the same date. (X. 321-2.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 31. [N.S.]. Cockleberg.—“We reckon upon Saturday next for the day of our setting out, when we shall get to Breda the same night, and expect to have the Pensioner with us on Sunday.

“You have an account how the French are changing their camps, which is only the more to engross the forage.

“I shall be very glad to serve their Excellencies in any thing that may further relate to the plantations, but it is not easy to know what they would be at by their enquiries, which are too general.” (III. 59.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, July 21 [-31]. Hague.—“I laid the Prince of Nassau Sarburg's letter before their Excellencies.

“Your private congress in Flanders has alarmed the Imperialists here more than another rebellion in Hungary could do their Master. They were yesterday with the English Embassy, desiring to know the result of my Lord Portland's last conference: my Masters told them it was about the King's affairs in particular, that they were in a fair way, and that His Majesty desired the Allies to think in earnest of bringing the business to a conclusion, which I think it is very evident our Imperialists never meant to do, whatever their *articulatum* way of answering may pretend to. In this very methodical way they are not yet ready, nor have done any more towards answering the French project than murmuring against it. This is the reason, Sir, why I send you no journal of what is done at Ryswick; for except you would know that Baron Schonbourn's powers were presented by Mons. Lillieroot, delivered to Mons. Caunitz and read by Mons. Norff, there is nothing worth your being troubled with.

“The French have named the last of August to the Mediator as the time in which the Allies should resolve to come to some fixed resolution about the project; the Imperialists have prevailed with the Mediator not to declare it to them (at least as yet) publicly, and so plead ignorance



as to any such nomination being fixed. My Masters are going to Ryswick, where we shall hear how these matters go on. It is with the greatest comfort imaginable that we hear His Majesty's affairs are so well terminated." *Copy.* (X. 325.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, August 2. [N.S.] Hague.—“His Majesty leaves the army to-morrow, and will be at night at Breda. The Pensioner and my Lord Villiers meet His Majesty there. My Lord Portland, I have privately heard, will be here in a day or two. All this and the conferences the English and Dutch Ministry have had together (of which the enclosed give you an account) seems to say the Imperialists must be persuaded to their own interest and consent with a kind of *actio mixta*, as the Schools call it, *quae nec voluntaria nec coacta*. I do not yet know in what estate things are left in Flanders; I believe there is no truce formally agreed on, and yet a kind of tacit consent that things should remain as we call it *in statu quo*. This is but my own private conjecture; but I think everybody agrees that His Majesty's quitting the army now does as plainly denunciate a peace, as his going to the field at other times used to speak the continuance of war." *Copy.* (X. 329.)

H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 24 [-August 3]. Dublin Castle.—“This day the Lords Justices received from thence [England] three [bills]: for prohibiting Protestants from intermarrying with Papists; for enabling the subject for distraining corn or hay for rent; and for suppressing friaries, etc.; with three private bills, which come very opportunely to employ the Parliament.” (III. 54.)

J[OSHUA] DAWSON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, July 24 [-August 3]. Dublin Castle.—“The military orders and commissions are the chief branch of the profits of your office, and Lord Galway has so reduced them that your yearly advantage will be far short of what other secretaries have usually enjoyed, as you will easily judge by the enclosed copy of the fees relating to the army formerly taken and now appointed. I presume this was occasioned by my Lord's having a mind to oblige the army, but I am sorry he could not think of some other way of doing it than at the expense of your office. We satisfied His Lordship by the books that the fees we take was what has been accustomed for above thirty years past, even when the Chief Secretary was allowed 500*l.* *per annum* by the King, which has for some years been discontinued. But all to no purpose; our arguments were not of force enough to prevail with His

Lordship to forbear this act of grace to the army till your arrival, which has obliged me to lay this matter before you for your taking such measures therein as shall be thought fit. If His Lordship could be influenced to suffer the former fees to be taken till you come over, I am confident your presence would readily remove all obstructions and put matters into their former method.”

*Enclosing table of fees, showing the reductions made by Lord Galway.*

*Enclosure.*

A List of the Military Fees in the Chief Secretary's Office and reduced by the Earl of Galway :—

|                                                                                      | Ancient fees. |      |     | Reduced to |     |          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------|-----|------------|-----|----------|
| For a licence of absence to an officer of the army in the Kingdom .. .. .            | 0l.           | 13s. | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 10s. 0d. |
| To an officer out of the Kingdom .. .. .                                             | 1l.           | 6s.  | 0d. | ..         | 0l. | 15s. 0d. |
| To a non-commissioned officer in the Kingdom ..                                      | 0l.           | 7s.  | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 2s. 6d.  |
| To a non-commissioned officer out of the Kingdom                                     | 0l.           | 13s. | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 5s. 0d.  |
| For a licence to sue any officer of the army or attending the State .. ..            | 0l.           | 13s. | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 5s. 0d.  |
| Fees of Commissions signed in England and taken by the Chief Secretary in Ireland :— |               |      |     |            |     |          |
| Horse and Dragoons.                                                                  | Ancient Fees. |      |     | Reduced to |     |          |
| Colonel .. .. .                                                                      | 6l.           | 5s.  | 0d. | ..         | 2l. | 12s. 0d. |
| Lieutenant-Colonel ..                                                                | 5l.           | 15s. | 0d. | ..         | 2l. | 0s. 0d.  |
| Major .. .. .                                                                        | 4l.           | 15s. | 0d. | ..         | 2l. | 0s. 0d.  |
| Captain .. .. .                                                                      | 3l.           | 2s.  | 6d. | ..         | 1l. | 10s. 0d. |
| Cornet .. .. .                                                                       | 1l.           | 12s. | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 10s. 0d. |
| Staff Officers each .. ..                                                            | 1l.           | 12s. | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 10s. 0d. |
| Foot Field Officers or Horse.                                                        | Old Fees.     |      |     | Reduced to |     |          |
| Captain .. .. .                                                                      | 2l.           | 6s.  | 0d. | ..         | 1l. | 0s. 0d.  |
| Lieutenant .. .. .                                                                   | 1l.           | 15s. | 0d. | ..         | 0l. | 10s. 0d. |
| Ensign .. .. .                                                                       | 1l.           | 2s.  | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 7s. 6d.  |
| Staff Officers each .. ..                                                            | 1l.           | 2s.  | 6d. | ..         | 0l. | 7s. 6d.  |

(III. 55.)

THE LORDS AMBASSADORS to WILLIAM III.

1697, August 10. [N.S.] Hague.—“ The Imperial Embassy represented to us in a conference on Thursday that Your Majesty having done them the honour to acquaint them by the Earl of Portland of what had passed between His Lordship and the Maréchal de Boufflers, His Lordship had intimated to them that Your Majesty would give way to the accepting an equivalent for Luxembourg. They laid down in a long discourse and with great earnestness that the consequence of such an equivalent would be the exposing the



Electors and Princes of the Rhine to all the inconveniences of a war whenever France should see occasion, and that it would tend to no less than the utter ruin of the Empire, and particularly of the Emperor; that Luxembourg is of the patrimony of the House of Austria and a fief of the Empire, and therefore cannot be alienated by the King of Spain without the consent of the Emperor, which His Imperial Majesty was so far from giving that he would never consent to sign a peace without the restitution of that place: they used many other arguments to this purpose, and added that they had always understood that His Majesty was of the opinion that Luxembourg should not upon any consideration whatever be left in the hands of the French, and that therefore they were the more surprised at this change now.”  
*Enclosing* :—Memorial of a Deputation from the Empire on the same subject. *Copy*. (XVI. 64-5.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, August 3 [-13]. Whitehall.—“I have the favour of yours of 6th instant N.S. to acknowledge; and though all of yours are very valuable, yet this is most of all, it bringing such assurances of peace, the most acceptable thing in the world; and yet, as good as it is, it will do me a damage by depriving me of the benefit of your agreeable correspondence, for when you are in your kingdom of Ireland, the current of your correspondence will run in another channel, and we must expect but the pleasure of a few drops of it. You will have little occasion for Memoirs relating to your business there beside those your office will furnish you with; only it will be necessary that you acquaint yourself with the laws and statutes of the kingdom. One of your disposition, temper and experience will find nothing difficult there; what that people chiefly expect in a person in your post being what you will naturally practise, “affability, justice and despatch. This Triple Alliance will secure you against all enemies, or rather prevent any from being so.” (III. 61.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, August 16. [N.S.] Hague.—“I send you by order of my Lords Ambassadors the remarks which those of France have made upon our project and the answer which their Excellencies returned yesterday thereupon: their Excellencies desire you would be pleased to lay these papers before His Majesty, and to inform him that the French propose the having a treaty of neutrality in America according to that made by the late King James in 1686.”

“As to what they advance in their 7th article concerning the possession and propriety which they pretend to have had in Hudson’s Bay, their Excellencies desire you would give them what light you can in that affair, and if the matter of fact be true as they represent it, for the informations we

have had on that subject from Whitehall are very imperfect, nothing being mentioned in them concerning Hudson's Bay beyond the year 1682: their Excellencies desire you would let them know His Majesty's pleasure, how they should act upon these two points.

"As to the late King James' Queen, the French desire to have an account of her contract of marriage, what grants or Acts of Parliament were made in her favour, and would have such grants and acts confirmed in this treaty. Their Excellencies think it was not safe to make any other answer than that which they have done. If His Majesty thinks it convenient to have any thing further or more particularly answered on this point, you will please to let them know it." *Copy.* (XVI. 68.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

1697, August 6 [-16]. Hague.—"In my last I did myself the honour to tell Your Lordship that our Germans were alarmed lest an equivalent be accepted for Strasbourg: they are so at present and with more reason about Luxembourg for which Menin, Maubeuge, Condé, and Ypres are proposed; some add Tournay, but I think this last is rather what is wished than really expected. The Imperial ministers and those of the four Rhenish Electors are fired about this thing, and we have whole quires of remonstrances, that the Duchy of Luxemburg is inalienable from the Empire, and that the equivalent tends to nothing less than the ruin of these Princes; but His Majesty is, I think, of another opinion. The Elector of Bavaria and the States have reason to be so too; and in all probability the equivalent, which covers Ghent, Brussels and indeed all the Low Countries, and gives a double barrier to these Provinces will be preferred to a great town which asks near ten thousand men to garrison it, which the Spaniards cannot furnish, and the different Princes round it would never consent, who should or in what manner supply that defect.

"As to our affairs the French have agreed to most of the articles in the project, and given in their answer to the rest. My Lords Ambassadors have returned their opinion upon this answer, and sent to know His Majesty's pleasure in a point or two of the greatest consequence, such as their title to Hudson's Bay, and what the late King James' Queen asks for her dowry." *Copy.* (X. 331-3.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF GALWAY.

1697, August 6 [-16.] Hague.—Repeating the above news, and adding that the King is at Loo and the Czar of Muscovy at Nimègue: both are expected at The Hague in a few days, entertainment there being less costly than at Loo. *French Copy.* (X. 330.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, August 6 [-16]. Hague.—“ Their Excellencies desire explication first as to the point of Hudson’s Bay Fort, if the matter of fact which they advance be true, or what objection we are to make to it. The Memoirs we have relating to Hudson’s Bay go no higher than ’82: in this we must beg the Company to be very exact.

“ Secondly, their Excellencies desire you to take notice of what the French would have relating to the settlements made to the late King James’ Queen; their Excellencies therefore would ask a copy of her contract of marriage, and of what grants she is possessed, and how Acts of Parliament stand as to her pretensions. Of this I have had some papers from Mr. Ellis, but neither the contract or Acts. I wish we could be full and clear in this point, though I hope the subject of it will terminate in nothing further than a civil answer.” *Copy.* (X. 335.)

## SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, August 6 [-16]. Whitehall.—Having heard that application is designed to be made to the Czar, when he comes into the Low Countries, for the restitution to His Majesty’s subjects of the trading privileges which they enjoyed in Charles I.’s time, he has desired the Council of Trade and the Company of Russia Merchants to furnish him with information on the subject, and the latter have promised to transmit a copy of their charters. They wish further to have liberty to import tobacco into Russia, paying a small duty thereon, for they find that “ some Dutchmen have obtained a privilege of carrying tobacco into Muscovy for one year duty free; ” and they believe that they would have a good share in the trade if admitted to it, since “ our tobacco is much better than any the Dutch have, unless they buy it from us.” *Copy.* (XVII., No. 30.)

## WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, August 19. [N.S.] Loo.—I have “ acquainted His Majesty with the proposal made by the French for a neutrality in America, whereupon I send their Excellencies here enclosed the signification of His Majesty’s pleasure by way of apostille in the margin of the said answer.

“ His Majesty does not think a neutrality in America convenient for us, but, as the referring the consideration of such a treaty to commissioners may induce the French to give their concurrence in other things that may be desired by us, is pleased to agree to such a proposal.”

*Postscript.*—“ It is easy to suppose the French will be able to make a reply to the assertions in my paper concerning our right to Hudson’s Bay, as they have done heretofore when those matters were in agitation during the late reigns.” (III. 68.)

TRADERS AND INHABITANTS OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND  
to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, August 10 [-20]. London.—Requesting his assistance in the furtherance of the objects mentioned in their enclosed petition to the King, since they know him to be “a patron of Virginia and Maryland”; pointing out the advantages of the proposed trade, and expressing a fear that the privilege granted for one year to a Dutchman may be “improved” into a monopoly. *Six signatures.*

*Enclosing* :—Petition from the same to the King to use his influence with the Czar to procure the removal of the prohibition of the importation of tobacco into his Empire. *Fifty-five signatures.* (XVII., No. 34.)

THE COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS to the  
LORDS JUSTICES.

1697, August 10 [-20]. Whitehall.—“We have endeavoured to procure authentic copies or extracts of the several grants of privileges made by the successive Emperors of Russia to the Company of English Merchants trading thither. But having been delayed therein for some days by those from whom we expected them, and only answered that the dates or confirmations of those grants have been in the years 1556, 1564, 1569, 1572, 1586, 1599, 1621, 1626 and 1628, we crave leave in the meanwhile, because of the pressing occasion that we conceive there may be for despatch in this matter, to annex hereunto the copies of two of the said grants made by the Emperors John Basiliwitz and Theodore Juanowitz, which we find printed in *Hackluyt's Voyages* as passed in the years 1569 and 1586.

“We have also endeavoured to procure a sight of the instructions given to the Earl of Carlisle, when he was sent Ambassador into Muscovy by King Charles II. in the year 1663 . . . . but have not yet been able to procure it.

“Nevertheless, upon such information as we have been able by other means to obtain, we now humbly represent . . . . that the privileges thus granted consisted of three principal heads, viz. :—

“Liberty to come with their ships and vessels to any port of that Empire, from a great part whereof all other strangers were totally excluded.

“Liberty to trade within all that Empire inwards and outwards, by wholesale or retail, in what manner they pleased, without paying any manner of customs, tolls, or duties whatsoever, and even without any manner of search or examination of their goods; except only that the finer sorts were to be brought to and first opened in the Emperor's Treasury, that he might have the choice of what should be thought proper for his use and service.

“Liberty to travel in and through that whole Empire, and to reside in what places they thought fit and there to



hire houses, with exemption from taxes, and entertain Russ servants according to their occasions.

“Liberty to carry their commodities through the Russian territories into Persia and other places, and bring back their merchandise from thence through Russia to be shipped for England without paying any custom, or being liable to any manner of search either backwards or forwards.

“Several privileges in points of judicature; and the judgments in controversies between the English and Russes reserved to the Council in Moscow; or if an Englishman by that Council should be found guilty of having injured any Russ, or of other gross fault deserving the Emperor’s displeasure, the cause then to be reported to the Emperor himself and by him determined.

“These with many other privileges peculiar to the English were continued till, upon occasion of the Rebellion against King Charles I., they were taken away by the Emperor then reigning: and since that time the English have continued to trade into that country under no better conditions than other foreigners, being forbidden so much as to go up to Moscow without particular license; forbidden to keep Russ servants; obliged to pay a custom of 4 or 5 per cent. for all their commodities; and subjected to many other inconveniences.

“Upon which state of those affairs we humbly offer to Your Excellencies our opinion that what seems unto us most reasonable to be proposed in this present occasion is a general restitution of all those former privileges without entering into the debate of so many particular heads. But if that cannot be so fully obtained, what we esteem of next importance is an exemption for Englishmen from customs; liberty to travel to and to reside and trade in what places they think fit; as also to transport their goods to and from Persia and other places custom free through the Russian Empire. But if this also should be refused, then a diminution of customs by reducing them to one half or one third part would, however, be some advantage. And upon refusal of that also, if it should so happen, and that no manner of privilege can be obtained for the English above other strangers, an assurance, however, that in times to come no strangers shall ever be preferred before them, but that they shall be entitled to whatsoever privileges may at any time hereafter be granted to others, is fit to be desired.”

Permission to import tobacco is very important, owing to “the extent of those territories, the number of the people, and their passionate love of tobacco . . . . And this proposition . . . . may not at this time be altogether unreasonable. First, because we are informed that such a permission has been lately granted there to one Thomas Fathomrecht for the importation of tobacco during one year; which seems to us to argue that there is already some

allowance for the use of it. And in the next place we believe the ministers of that Emperor may be made sensible of the great usefulness of tobacco to soldiers in the fatigues and hardships of war, especially in a cold country, which may be an inducement to them to advise the allowance of it; and to incline them the more thereunto, we humbly conceive it also not improper to suggest to them the great advancement to be made in that Emperor's revenue by the duties that may be laid upon that commodity, which the merchants in such case will gladly submit unto." In case the former privileges should be refused, this last request should be strongly insisted on "as some sort of equivalent."

"If this permission can be obtained, though even under a higher custom than is now laid upon other goods, we humbly conceive it will tend more to the advantage of His Majesty and of England than an entire exemption in that country from all other customs whatsoever." *Signed.* J. Bridgewater; Tankerville; John Pollexfen; John Locke; Abr. Hill.

*Enclosed are the copies of the Charters mentioned.* [The reference to Hakluyt is (ed. 1809) Vol. I. p. 424, and p. 530.] (XVII. No. 33.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, August 23. [N.S.] Hague.—"Our affairs are *sur le tapis*: you will see the state of them by the enclosed papers, and this copy of a letter which I have just now written to Mr. Blathwayt may serve for a key to them. The deduction of His Majesty's rights to Hudson's Bay I had from him: it is very full and continued from the finding out those parts to the present time: the latter part of the letter is, you see, in answer only to Mr. Blathwayt's private opinion on the clause in the 7th article, which stands now,—*excepting such places as belong to His Majesty of Great Britain*; and which Mr. Blathwayt thinks might have been, *in possession of His Majesty*. In a day or two we shall, I suppose, hear what answer the French will give us, or what exceptions they will produce to what we offer.

"The Congress journal is not worth sending to you. Mons. Boreel died on Wednesday night, but the Pensioner supplying his place at Ryswick, and the negotiations being so far advanced, his death will most affect his own private family, whom he has not left, I think, in very good circumstances. The ministers meet every day, that is, such of them as have business, and the usual general meetings on Wednesdays and Saturdays continue.

"The Imperialists will not yet be moved, but necessity is more powerful than their constitution.

"You will hear by your letters immediately from His Majesty that he is still at Loo: we expect him here the next week. If the Czar pleases to honour us with a visit, His



Majesty will likewise come for a day or two, and I hope he will not be further from us than Loo till the great business is perfected." *Copy.* (X. 336.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, August 23. [N.S.] Hague.—Their Excellencies have acted conformably to His Majesty's orders, and have laid the enclosed papers before the Pensioner.

"No. 1 is a Memoir for him in particular, that according to it he may act for us in what relates to the French Protestants. The reason why we only desire a promise that such of these people who are under His Majesty's protection may have liberty is because the French make no farther mention of the Irish; which if they should do, it would be time enough then to act in it by way of treaty.

"No. 2 is an article so worded as to give His Majesty's subjects right to whatever they can legally pretend, but will on the other side give no sort of handle to the Irish to demand any reversion of attainders or anything contrary to law.

"No. 3 contains the pretensions of the French upon Hudson's Bay.

"No. 4 is the deduction of His Majesty's right to it, translated from the paper you were pleased to send me, till the beginning of the present war, which their Excellencies return as an answer to No. 3. As to your remark upon the clause in the 7th article, *except such places as belong to His Majesty of Great Britain*, their Excellencies are of opinion that it should rather stand so than *in possession of*, since, if the article had been made in general terms, as it would not have been safe, the French having squadrons out, so it would have been against His Majesty's order of settling things as at the beginning of the war; and if this exception were made particular for Hudson's Bay, it is not likely the French would have granted it: besides, their Excellencies think there was no ground to ask the thing at all but upon supposition of a preceding right, which the words *belonging to* denote.

"Their Excellencies did likewise give the Pensioner yesterday a memorial of Duke Schomburg's [*sic*] losses and pretensions, and another of the Duchess of Hamilton's titles to the *Duchy* of Chastel-Herault, and Sir William Douglas' claim to some lands in France.

"The French have not since mentioned a treaty of neutrality or commerce: till they do, their Excellencies do not think fit to begin to start either."

*Postscript.*—"Your query upon the 5th article on the word *usages* to be added is obviated by the *Latin*, *per solennes tractatus et vetustam consuetudinem.*" *Copy.* (XVI. 74-6.)

[1697, August.]—Memoirs mentioned in the preceding letter. *French. Copies.* (XVI. 349-353.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES CRESSET.

1697, August 14 [-24]. Hague.—“I own it is a shame that I have not written to you, but so vicious our nature is that we transgress most where we presume we may be easiest pardoned. Mr. Swinfurt has been constant, which may likewise help to atone my negligence; and so much for apology.

“The great business goes on as fast as your unwieldy *corps Germanique* will let it. They are all very angry, but they know not why: the Imperialists are exclaiming against an equivalent for Luxemburg, whilst in their hearts they wish one for Strasbourg and talk as high here as if Charles I.\* lived at Vienna, whilst my Lord Lexington writes me word from thence that they have neither money nor credit: but *compellantur ut veniant* will be found as true now as it was in the times of the Apostles, and they must growl on till the day they sign the peace. Our Brandenburgers are very troublesome because France does not treat with them in particular, and though we never opposed it, they lay the blame on us: they dislike the peace in general, which is the reason that they appear so angry against this particular circumstance of it, and subsidies and quotas are too good things to be left off all of a sudden without regret.

“The Spaniards and French are every day in conference: their business is very well advanced. I hear no more of any equivalent [that] will be preferred to Luxemburg. The Spanish Ambassadors here dare not consent to it before the Elector of Bavaria does, and the Elector would not take it upon himself though he desires it passionately.”

Our own affairs are, God be thanked, *sur le tapis*, and though the great point was adjusted at the army there is work enough in them. “The French have insisted upon an article for Queen Marie’s dowry, which in other words is for King James a pension; but nothing of this will be granted, and I hope in few days we shall have adjusted our points, except those which, relating to *marchandises*, will be referable to a treaty of commerce hereafter if the French ask the setting such a treaty on foot.

“Mr. Hill is with us. Mr. Stepney is going for England, and I hope it will not be long before I think of Ireland.”  
*Copy.* (X. 339.)

## NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA.

1697, August 26. [N.S.] Dieren.—Instructions to Pembroke, Villiers, Lexington and Williamson to welcome the Czar or his Ambassadors on their arrival at The Hague, and to endeavour to procure for the King’s subjects such privileges as they formerly enjoyed, and such further privileges as they now desire; assuring the Czar of the King’s strict friendship

\* *I.e.*, Charles I. of Spain, the Emperor Charles V.



and his desire for mutual benefits of trade between their subjects. *Sign Manual. Signet.* (XVII. No. 35.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [WILLIAM] AGLIONBY.

1697, August 17 [-27]. Hague.—“ I should much sooner have answered yours of the 3rd if it were not for much business and sore eyes. Our own affair is *sur le tapis*. I have this afternoon transmitted our secret article: it is strong enough to confound our Jacobites. I think I had best turn it into verse and send it to Mr. Dryden, for I would fain have him enough of our side to write a panegyric upon the King, in answer to Dr. Blackmore’s satire.

“ We are every day at it at Ryswick, either Imperialists or Spaniards. The former are as stiff as ever, and will only come to because they must; the latter will take an equivalent for Luxemburg, and are at last so bent upon the peace that they stick at nothing but some dependencies and villages; and that I think is only to seem to have something to do till the other part of the *Augustissima Casa* let us know what they would be at.

“ I have letters from Ireland that only tell me one of my Masters is married and the other rules like Titus with great virtue and without a Berenice. Your reflection upon their speech is too severe; men of their quality are not obliged to be wits, and people have not chosen kings for being so since the reign of Fleckno.

“ I wish the third of my Masters were in his dominions, and so does he too. Most wise governors are of opinion things go best when they are present: the Czar perhaps may be of another mind. The Master I mentioned is very much your servant.

“ Pray tell Mr. Tollet of your office that I have forwarded his letter to Mr. Howard; and throw away a line or two upon me at your leisure, to inform me how the great affairs go of politics and poetry.” *Copy.* (X. 341.)

THE EARL OF GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, August 19 [-29]. Au Château de Dublin.—“ Mettant à part l’intérêt public, je me réjouis de l’approche de la paix par le plaisir qu’elle nous fait espérer de vous voir bientôt icy. Nous y aurions déjà bien besoin de vous, pour nous aider à surmonter les petits embarras, qui ne laissent pas de traverser, quelquefois, le cours des affaires qui sont dans le meilleur train. Mais quoy qu’il en soit, nous n’avons pas lieu de nous plaindre. Les 150,000 pièces accordées au Roy, acquitteront toutes les dettes. L’on travaille à en établir les fonds, et nous avons tout lieu d’espérer que les affaires continueront à avoir le succès que nous pouvons désirer. Hâtez-vous le plus que vous pourrez, de venir travailler avec nous, puis qu’apparemment vous n’aurez plus guère d’occupation où vous êtes. Ce sera pour moi une satisfaction particulière.” *Signed.* (III. 66.)

ST. GEORGE [Ashe, Bishop of] CLOGHER, to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, August 19 [-29]. Dublin.—“ I am infinitely obliged to you for your favour in recommending my brother to be my Lord Villiers’ chaplain, and shall endeavour by all the ways I am able to express my gratitude both to you and His Excellency. All that I here converse with have the same opinion of my Lord’s goodness and integrity which you bear so advantageous a testimony to, and do long for his coming among us, not only for the happy peace which we expect he will bring with him, nor only for your good company which attends it (though these two are precious things), but also for the many advantages we propose to ourselves under his government.

“ Our present session of Parliament will not furnish me with much news to send you, for we very peaceably endeavour to do the King’s and the country’s business, without heats or *brigues* which are usually the most fruitful topics of news and correspondence. The Commons have voted 150,000*l.* to the King (which is a very great sum for our poor country), and are now upon ways and means to raise it. We are also making some necessary laws against troublesome Papists, and such as may prevent future rebellions in this country.

“ Since my last to you the King has been pleased very advantageously to change my title, but nothing shall ever alter me from being,” etc. (III. 67.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, August 29. [N.S.] Dieren.—“ I received the packet you enclosed to me in your letter of the 27th inst., which contained another to me with a petition to the King from the most considerable merchants of England, for the obtaining leave from the Czar that they may import tobacco into Muscovy. His Majesty is very desirous that they be gratified, and has commanded me to send those papers to their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors to make such use of them as of those already transmitted with His Majesty’s instructions as their Excellencies shall be able, the matters proposed being of the greatest consequence to the trade of England.” *Signed.* (III. 73.)

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE and LORD VILLIERS to  
WILLIAM III.

1697, August 30. [N.S.] Hague.—“ The French promise to restore all French prisoners, fishers or others which have been taken on board of English ships, provided Your Majesty will promise to release the Irish, of which the enclosed list contains the names, which, they say, were taken on board French ships. We already have Your Majesty’s directions to consent to this point. They insist to be put into possession of those forts in Hudson’s Bay taken during this



war (which we excepted in the article of general restitution), but they consent to refer the right of these forts to be adjusted by commissioners: we understand by my Lord Portland that it is Your Majesty's pleasure that we should rather consent to this than retard the treaty. They still insist upon a settlement for the Queen in France, but they will be satisfied with Your Majesty's promise that we shall have her maintenance without making an article of it. As to the commandant mentioned in their remarks, they insist that he should not only be set at liberty, but have satisfaction for his pretended damages, which, they say, amount to 150,000 French *livres*. As to these two last points, though we have not Your Majesty's particular direction, yet if we are pressed to sign the treaty before we can have Your Majesty's answer, we shall venture to consent to them rather than not agree to the signing the peace." *Copy. List of fifty Irish prisoners subjoined.* (XVI. 77.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, August 20 [-30]. Whitehall.—As to the Hudson's Bay Company, and King James' Queen's marriage settlement. "For the contract of marriage, being a private affair, and deposited in private hands, it is not to be found, though much enquiry has been made after it: and it is not thought of such moment in this business as to look longer after it . . . . The King's Counsel . . . decline meddling at all with it, it belonging to the Parliament to judge how far it is affected by the abdication. But one thing is to be taken notice of; that the settlement, properly so called and that can be accounted such in law, is only what was made when she was Duchess of York, which does not amount to 20,000*l. per annum*: all the rest was but voluntary and in the nature of a free gift; and if this be explained to the French, it is probable they will not insist upon the matter, at least not so much as if it were what it seems to be, above double that sum."

*Enclosing* :—"A Memorial" of the title of the Hudson's Bay Company, and "A State of the Settlements upon the late King James' Queen," together with extracts from letters patent of 1685, August 28, and King's warrants of 1685, July 25; October 26; and December 23. *Copies.* (III. 69.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, August. Loo.—"You see how ready I am to lay myself forth at their Excellencies' desire in the business of Hudson's Bay. The matter is indeed very much perplexed, which I gave you warning of, and told you how our West Indies suffered heretofore for want of information and true measures.—*Nemo poeta nascitur*. I do not see how you will get well out of the difficulty you are engaged in. There

was room for a little artifice, which the French Ambassadors and their Court would have hardly discerned, and then you would have had the applause of the merchants. We are now engaged to leave matters as they were before the war, but, thanks be to God, our American affairs are so well changed that I wish they were to be left *in statu quo nunc*, which would gain us St. Christopher's, worth a million without any probable hazard to ourselves. I can't tell if it be for the King's service that the French Ambassadors should be informed of the good news from Newfoundland, which will make them incline the more to restitutions, which is not to our advantage at present." (III. 70.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Sept. 2. [N.S.] Hague.—“The enclosed paper is the sum and substance of yesterday's conference at Ryswick, and our Imperialists have twenty days more to digest an equivalent for Strasbourg. They have met this morning the ministers of the other princes of the Empire: they are all railing at a project which they must accept at last.

“Our own affairs are *in statu quo*; and after all the hurry we were in we shall have but too much time before the signing.

“I have laid before their Excellencies the merchants' petition for obtaining leave to import tobacco into Muscovy, as I had before done those other papers relating to the same subject. I do not know when the Czar or his Embassy will come hither. Mr. Stepney is gone to Amsterdam, I think, to fetch him.” *Copy. Enclosing the French Mémoire.* (XVI. 81.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, Sept. 3. [N.S.] Hague.—“We thought we were near a conclusion of the affair on Saturday night, but the Imperialists let the time slip, and the French, being at liberty from the engagements they were under, proposed these new conditions, and as you see with a cavalier freedom. I know not what the Empire will say to this, but I believe the Emperor would rather have the equivalent, and is secretly not sorry that there is a seeming force upon him to take it. However his inclinations are swayed in this point, His Majesty is against the equivalent, and as by this conduct he shows his dislike to the French way of negotiating, so he conserves his glory of standing by his allies. I hope their own wilful humour will not on the other side abuse his generosity, and that means will be found to bring us to a conclusion of the whole affair without any other loss than that of a fortnight or three weeks.

“My Lord Portland is here and labours with indefatigable diligence and great prudence in this affair. You see, Sir, how delicate it is; we cannot leave our Imperialists, nor



be seen in persuading them to close with this proposition, and yet the conclusion or the breaking off this negotiation depends upon it. Our own affairs are in a manner agreed on; the right of Hudson's Bay will be referred to commissioners; our agents, therefore, will come too late for any but laying their rights before such commissioners when they shall be named, and as to the settlements made to King James' Queen, I hope we shall not have so much occasion for them as we were afraid we might have had, and that the French will [be] or are satisfied with a verbal promise from His Majesty for something in her favour." *Copy.* (X. 343.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to ———.

1697, Sept. 6. [N.S.] Hague.—“Since Sunday everything relating to our Congress has been in so dead a stillness that the prospect of it is melancholy enough in appearance, for I do not see that the French will be brought off so as to restore Strasbourg; and all my hopes of having the thing go down the other way are founded upon my believing that the Emperor does in secret prefer the equivalent, and thinks this sort of extremity the only way will bring the Princes of the Rhine to consent to it, though my Lord Ambassador Pembroke has told the Congress in the King's name that His Majesty will have Strasbourg restored. I hope there are temperaments and means found to bring us from our constancy if the thing cannot be fairly brought about, and that this one demanded town, which no way concerns us, will [not] have influence enough to engage us to prolong a war. The Mediator is labouring under hand in this affair; we have no new orders concerning it from Loo, so I dare not trouble you with uncertainties or with my own hopes or fears in it.” *Copy.* (X. 345.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Sept. 7. [N.S.] Hague.—“The Mediator is frequently in new conferences on all sides; if he has had any success, we shall hear of it this afternoon, though indeed I very much doubt of it. My Lord Portland is here: God knows what they are doing; I hope nothing that may venture us in the least to an uncertainty, for I confess to you I am a coward in this point, and if the Emperor has more mind to the equivalent, though he dare not say so, than to Strasbourg, in God's Name let him have it rather than look [lug] us again into the war, which is what we [he] had rather do than have either Strasbourg or the equivalent. This I know is blasphemy to friend Stepney, to whom I dare not say as much, though he be writing in the room with me. All things being at a stand; I can only say that the Hudson's Bay agents and memoirs shall have all the help I can give them when the allies treat with the French, and the negotiation is on its feet again.” *Copy.* (X. 348.)

## WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Sept. 9. [N.S.] Loo.—His Majesty directs their Excellencies to endeavour that the Comte de Soissons may be included in the treaty of peace with the French if practicable, and to discourse with the Président de la Tour in order to secure his assistance for such a purpose. *Signed. Enclosing the following letter.* (III. 76.)

*Enclosure.*

THOMAS DE SAVOYE, COMTE DE SOISSONS, to LORD VILLIERS,

1697, August 19. [N.S.] Milan.—“La fièvre m’empêchera, Monsieur, de vous écrire une longue lettre, et particulièrement dans la certitude où je suis que vous aurez des ordres sur mon chapitre, je vous conjure seulement de vous souvenir que vous m’avez fait l’honneur de me promettre votre amitié, et que si je ne suis compris dans la paix que vous travaillez à conclure par un article particulier qui me fasse remettre dans le même état ou j’étois en sortant de France, je suis absolument perdu.” *Copy.* (III. 77.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, Sept. 10. [N.S.] Hague.—“I know I should not trouble you with the common news which Mr. Ellis lays before you, but probably this may find you at Easthampstead, and this may serve me for an excuse. You see, Sir, we are not so far from the 20th but that one might reasonably expect a definitive resolution as to the great affair against the time. My Lord Portland came hither on Saturday, and after a long conference with the Pensioner went on Sunday morning in great secrecy towards Brussels. As well his servants as people here of greater mark gave out that his coming hither was to order things for the Muscovitish Embassy, and that he returned to the King; but he went again to Flanders, and the design of his voyage is to confer again with the Marshal de Boufflers.

“As far as I can judge of the state of the whole affair, as on one side it would be hard enough to bring France back to the restoring Strasbourg, since Barcelona is taken and consequently Spain mad for the peace on any terms, so on the other side I see it would be impossible to satisfy the Germans if the French were brought back to the preliminaries. I believe what we are endeavouring is to get the equivalent a little bettered; this seems the easier to both parties, and if they could get the French to propose it, I think we should shake hands.

“Mons. de la Tour in a visit to the Mediator on Sunday talked upon this subject, but only as from himself, and as his private opinion. I wish Mons. de Boufflers and my Lord Portland may agree it, for there will nothing be done with our Germans here,



"Mr. Blathwayt has transferred to me the papers he has received from Your Honour relating to our Muscovite trade, which I lay before the Lords Ambassadors, who have a commission to treat with the Czarish Embassy on this subject, and procure all possible advantages for our merchants to trade to those parts." *Copy.* (X. 349.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JOHN ELLIS.

1697, Sept. 10. [N.S.] Hague.—"The negotiation in general is at present at a stand. God send it may move again before Saturday sennight so as to roll into a peace. If not, my being torn into pieces (as yours of the 27th past intimates I must be) is but the least part of the grievance. *Dii meliora!*

"The Jersey men and whosoever else are to be helped by a treaty of commerce will only be set in a way in being so by us, but they and all good subjects shall have my assistance as far as my poor mite may contribute to their good. I hope for all this we shall have our peace. My Lord Portland is gone again to Brussels, but since this is a great secret here, pray let it be so on your side unless you hear it from other hands." *Copy.* (X. 351.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Sept. 12. [N.S.] Soestdyke.—"His Majesty having received the enclosed letter from the City and Republic of Bremen, and having a particular regard to their behaviour on all occasions, is pleased to order their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors to do what in them lies to gratify this city in what they desire, or in such other manner with relation to the general treaty as may be most practicable." (III. 80.)

*Enclosure.*

THE FREE CITY OF BREMEN to WILLIAM III.

1697, August 25. [N.S.?] Bremen.—Congratulating him on his successes in the war and his endeavours to bring about a peace, and praying him to continue his past favours to the republic by including it specifically among the powers that are to reap the benefits of the general treaty of peace. *Latin. Great seal of the city.* (XVII., No. 37.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

1697, Sept. 13. [N.S.] Hague.—"I do not see it probable that the Imperialists will come to a determination within the time prescribed, nor do I think France will recant a step so formally made as that of the 1st instant, the retention of Strasbourg for the equivalent, which (all considerations weighed) may be found equally valuable, being all that King requires for his expense and loss before Barcelona. If the equivalent were made better, there might probably be found some way of closing with it.

"My Lord Portland is gone privately to Brussels to confer again with the Mons. de Boufflers. I believe I am not mistaken if I say some proposal of this kind may be made in the interview, but I am not sure of it, nor say it but to Your Lordship. The Imperialists seem inflexible upon the terms as they now are offered them, but they would be equally so if those terms were better, and the best we can expect from them is that they must be at last (in appearance) forced; for it is sure they like the equivalent best, though they dare not say so to the rest of the Germans.

"My Lord Villiers is gone to the King at Soesdyck to have his orders as to the formal part of something in our treaty, that at least we may be ready when the negotiation, which seems at present dead, may have life again.

"The King has seen the Czar of Muscovy *incognito* at Utrecht. The immediate use we endeavour to make of him is that he would allow tobacco to be imported into his dominions, which has been forbid since the year '48. His own inclinations oblige him to carry on a war with the Turk, and for that purpose to get a fleet ready for the Black Sea. He is absolutely against the French, and that aversion may contribute a good deal towards settling the crown of Poland upon the Elector of Saxony.

"The Prince of Conti is parted from Dunkirk, we say, with a squadron of John de Bart's commanding from Dunkirk, though I have seen good advices from France which say he is gone privately by land, and that only his followers are embarked *pour sauver les apparences*. It is certain his party is stronger than was thought, and that the Elector wants money, the needful qualifications towards succeeding in a Polish Diet." *Copy.* (X. 353.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, Sept. 13. [N.S.] Hague.—"The letter to Mr. Ellis relates the interview the King has had with the Czar. His Majesty is very well pleased with him and invited him to dinner: the Czar, it seems, thought it civilest to accept the invitation, and sent afterwards to get himself excused." *Copy.* (X. 359.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

##### Hünigen.

[1697, Sept.]—Memoir: proposing the total demolition of Hünigen as in the interest alike of the Empire, the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and the King of Great Britain. (XVII., No. 41.)

##### French Protestants.

1697, Sept.—Memoir by the Ambassadors of the Allies pleading for toleration for French Protestants, and the liberation of such as are in prison on the galleys on account of religion. *Long list of names. Copy.*



*Also*: Recommendation to their Excellencies' protection of four Protestant ministers in prison on account of their religion in the castle of Vincennes. *Four names, to wit*: Maturin, Cardell, La Bastide, Giury, Gerault, Salvé. *Copy. French.* (XVII., Nos. 42, 43.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Sept. 3 [-13]. Whitehall.—“What you tell me of my Lord Portland's journey is, as you desire it should be, a secret. I wish him success and am glad to find that you are still of opinion we shall yet have peace.”

“We have got our friend Mr Stepney safe and sound. He had as quick a passage as if the wind had known how to make a compliment to a Commissioner of Trade. He has invited me to a bottle of burgundy, where 'tis a 1000 to one but we shall remember you.” (III. 75.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Sept. 4-14. Hague.—“There was nothing done at our Congress on Wednesday, but all stands in a melancholy stillness. I hope my Lord Portland's return will put some life into us; His Lordship is expected here to-day; my Lord Villiers' coach is gone for him to Rotterdam. My Lord Villiers, or rather the Earl of Jersey (for such it seems you have made him), returned last night; I presume His Lordship has brought the Embassy His Majesty's opinion and orders as to the points yet undecided in our treaty, for though at present all seems to be broken off, it is very necessary we should know how to behave ourselves in case things come again to be treated, since Friday will soon be here. I lay the letter from the City of Bremen, which I receive with your favour of the 12th, before their Excellencies, as I do the substance of your letter of the 10th. My Lord Villiers has His Majesty's verbal directions likewise as to Count Soissons' affair.

“Sir Joseph has been laid up with a kind of gout that makes him complain very much, and eat very excessively: he intends to get out to-day, and then our Embassy may make a figure again, but it has been much lessened by Sir Joseph's sickness and Lord Villiers' absence. Your Flanders letters will have told you that the Prince of Conti went from Dunkirk the 6th. Some of our refined politicians say he is gone privately by land; it is certain this Prince has carried a good sum of money with him, and that his competitor has none left. Mons. Bosen was so impatient for the letter from the King to his master that he had not patience to wait for my Lord Villiers coming home, but obliged me to open His Lordship's packet, in which you had sent the letter enclosed. I suppose he thought it best to take the King at his word as to the naming of his master King of Poland.

*Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra*, and one loves mightily to be called King, when one does not know how soon one may cease to be such. Pointi[s] has brought home after all but eight millions French, and above half his equipage are dead and sick." *Copy.* (X. 360.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

##### GENEVA.

[1697, Sept.]—Memorial urging that the Republic of Geneva should be specifically named in the general treaty of peace, as being allied only to the Cantons of Bern and Zürich, and therefore not included among the Allies of the Thirteen Cantons. Referring to the declarations made after the Peace of Vervins in 1599 and the Agreement of Lyon in 1601, in evidence that Geneva is not to be understood as an ally of the Thirteen Cantons. Suggesting further the removal of the French Resident at Geneva, who is there for no other purpose than "to debauch the citizens by his cabals and intrigues, to alienate them from the fealty and obedience due to their sovereign, and to establish Papacy among them, seeing that otherwise it is sufficient to have an Ambassador in Switzerland. It is only a few years since it was thought fit to keep a Resident at Geneva." If France will not consent to his removal, it is to be feared that other Powers may also wish to send Residents thither, and that the presence of so many ministers in one city may cause some embroilment likely to involve the Cantons in war. *French.* (XVII., No. 12.)

##### THE LORDS AMBASSADORS to WILLIAM III.

1697, Sept. 17. [N.S.] Hague.—Enclosing a paper relating to the late Queen, and desiring to know if His Majesty approves of its form.

"The French Ambassadors will oblige themselves by an act at the signing the Treaty to procure a *pleinpouvoir* before the exchange of the ratification to treat distinctly with Your Majesty: so the preamble will stand as is usual in the ordinary forms of treaties. The business of Hudson's Bay being to be referred to commissioners, we think to propose London as the place, but since probably the French may except against it, we presume we may agree to The Hague as a neutral place, unless we have Your Majesty's directions to the contrary.

"The article which contains who shall be comprehended in the treaty is in general terms as usual. The towns of Bremen and Geneva have desired to be inserted by name. We are humbly of opinion that they may be included in the article as it stands now in general terms, except a specification were to be made of princes or states of a more considerable rank." *Copy.* (XVI. 92.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Sept. 17. [N.S.] Hague.—“ I hope we shall satisfy our Hudson’s Bay gentlemen by referring their affair to commissioners. We are drawing up an article to that purpose for the French to agree to to-morrow.”

“ Your town of Bremen and Sir William Trumbull’s of Geneva are not worth specifying in our article any otherwise than in general terms ; if you have any Kingdoms or States *pour faire figure*, pray let us have them : though I think (with Sir Joseph’s leave) there is nothing but compliment and show in all that, and a treaty stands firm enough that comprehends the King and his subjects.

“ Mons. Bosen plagues my heart out for a copy of the King’s letter to his master. Pray, Sir, let Mr. Watkins send it, if you would not have me thought of Conti’s party. You will have the Suabians and Franconians upon you before this letter. It is as easy to square a Circle as to content one.” *Copy.*

*Memorandum.*—“ I went from The Hague the 20th September, 1697, for England, and returned to The Hague the 28.” (X. 362.)

## QUEEN MARY OF MODENA’S DOWRY.

1697, Sept. 17. [N.S.] Loo.—Instructions under the Signet to Pembroke, Villiers, Lexington and Williamson not to give the Royal promise to make good the late Queen’s maintenance and dowry as stipulated by her contract of marriage, (the said maintenance and dowry being recoverable by law), unless they find such a refusal to be a plain obstruction to the conclusion of the treaty : in which case such a promise may be made for the Queen’s life, provided that the French Ambassadors will engage on behalf of their King that the said Queen Mary “ shall not during the time of her enjoying such maintenance or dowry any ways act, abet or contrive any mischief or prejudice ” to King William or his Government ; which engagement and counter-engagement may take the form of a secret article, if the French Ambassadors so insist.

*Signet. Signed, but not countersigned.*

*Also :* Royal approval of the form of declaration concerning the same enclosed in the Ambassadors’ letter of September 17. [N.S.] Dated September 18. [N.S.] *Signet. Signed, but not countersigned.* (XVII., Nos. 38, 39.)

## WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Sept. 19. [N.S.] Loo.—“ This day the Baron Saffig and Mons. Culpis waited on His Majesty by direction from the Deputies of the Empire, and the latter having amongst other things prayed His Majesty to afford his protection, as far as may be, to the Protestants of Strasbourg upon the

cession of that place to the French, and that endeavours may be used by their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors in concert with the Pensioner for the obtaining from the French the free exercise of their religion; or at least that they may be permitted to sell their goods and estates and retire peaceably into other parts of the Empire, His Majesty, being graciously inclined to grant their request, as far as may be feasible, is pleased to order their Excellencies to confer with the Pensioner on this particular." (III. 85.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK. SECRET ARTICLE.

1697, [Sept.] — "Et comme l'intention du Roy très Chrétien a tousjours esté de rendre la paix ferme et solide, Sa Majesté s'engage et promet, pour elle et ses successeurs Roys de France, de ne troubler, ni inquiéter en quelque façon que ce soit, le Roy de la Grande Bretagne dans la possession des royaumes, pays, estats, terres ou gouvernements dont Sa Majesté Britannique jouit présentement, donnant pour cet effet sa parole royale de n'assister directement ou indirectement auquuns des ennemis du dit Roy de la Grande Bretagne, de ne favoriser, en quelque manière que ce soit, les cabales, menées secrettes et rebellions qui pourroient survenir en Angleterre, et par conséquent de n'ayder, sans aucune exception ni réserve, d'armes, des munitions, vivres, vaisseaux, argent ou d'autres choses, par mer ou par terre, personne, qui que ce puisse estre, qui prétendrait troubler le dit Roy de la Grande Bretagne dans la paisible possession des dits royaumes, pays, estats, terres ou gouvernements sous quelque prétexte que ce soit; comme aussy le Roy de la Grande Bretagne promet et s'engage de son costé de même inviolablement pour soy et ses successeurs Roys de la Grande Bretagne à l'égard du Roy très Chrétien, ses royaumes, pays, estats et terres de son obéissance, réciproquement, sans aucune exception ni réserve."

*Endorsed: Original as it came from the Pensioner.* (XVII., No. 18.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

##### EXTRAITS DU PROTOCOLE DE LA MEDIATION.

1697, Sept. 10-20. — "Leurs Excellences Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de Sa Majesté Britannique ont déclaré que le Roy leur Maître a promis de donner la liberté aux Irlandois pris sur des vaisseaux François, dont la liste est icy jointe."

*List of fifty names. Copy.* (XVII., No. 40.)

*Same date.* "Leurs Excellences Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de Sa Majesté très Chrétienne ont déclaré que, s'il se trouve que le Traitté qui a été fait et signé à Breda ne soit point en François, alors ils s'engagent qu'au lieu de celui qu'ils ont signé à présent en François ils en fourniront un autre en Latin avant la ratification.



“ Ils promettent de relâcher les Protestans François qui ont été pris sur des vaisseaux Anglois ; comme aussi de remettre en liberté les quatre ministres d’Orange.”

*Signed* : N. Lillieroot ; *and sealed*. (XVII., No. 46.)

#### QUEEN MARY OF MODENA’S DOWRY.

1697, Sept. 20. [N.S.] Ryswick.—“ Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy d’Angleterre ont déclaré que le Roy leur Maître a promis que la pension annuelle d’environ cinquante mille livres sterlin, ou de telle somme quelle se trouvera établie par Acte du Parlement scellé du grand sceau d’Angleterre en faveur de la Reine Marie d’Este, sera payée à l’avenir conformément au dit acte, et qu’ils consentent que Mons. L’Ambassadeur Médiateur le fasse insérer dans son protocole, et en donne copie authentique à Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de France, en présence desquels, ainsi que de Messieurs les Ambassadeurs des Etats Généraux, la dite déclaration a été faite.” (XVII., No. 45.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

1697, Sept. 20. [N.S.] Ryswick. — “ Minutes of the treaty (original) as signed by their Excellencies : ” *and* “ the Separate Article also signed by their Excellencies ” at the same time. *Latin. Seals and signatures of the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson.*

*Also* : Duplicate of the treaty (original). *Latin. Seals and signatures of the same persons, and of N. A. Harlay-Bonneuil, Verjus de Crécy, F. de Callières, N. Lillieroot.* (XVII., Nos. 47, 48, 49.)

#### THE LORDS AMBASSADORS to WILLIAM III.

1697, Sept. 20–21. [N.S.] “ At 3 in the morning.” Ryswick.—“ Till we can give Your Majesty a more particular account, we presume that we ought not to defer one moment the letting Your Majesty know that we have signed the Treaty with the French. The Spaniards and Dutch have done the same. We wish it may be long and successful to Your Majesty.” *Copy.*

Similar letters from THE SAME to PRINCE VAUDEMONT (*French*), and the LORDS JUSTICES OF ENGLAND. *Copies.* (XVI. 100–102.)

#### TREATY OF RYSWICK.

1697, Sept. 21. [N.S.] Loo.—Declaration by William III. of his approval of the treaty signed by the English and French plenipotentiaries on the previous day, and of his intention that it shall be duly ratified under the Great Seal, and to use his good offices to procure the ratification of the treaties with France signed by the Ambassadors of the King of Spain and of the States General, on condition that the

King of France be pleased to withdraw his troops from the territories of the King of Spain, whether in Flanders or in Catalonia. *French. Signet. Signed, but not countersigned. Copy.*

*Also* : first draft of the above “ as drawn up by the French secretary, and corrected by the Pensioner.” *French.*

*Also* : second draft of the same, with further corrections in the Pensioner’s hand. *French.* (XVII., No. 44.)

#### JAMES VERNON to the LORDS AMBASSADORS..

1697, Sept. 16 [-26]. Whitehall.—“ The Lords Justices command me to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellencies’ letter sent by Mr. Prior, and to acquaint you in their names with the entire satisfaction they receive in the happy conclusion of the Treaty of Peace by Your Excellencies successful endeavours.

“ Their Excellencies have found it necessary immediately to dispatch Mr. Prior, that you may know their thoughts, that it will not only be a gaining of time if the form of the ratification be proposed and engrossed there, and then be sent hither ready signed by His Majesty with his warrant for affixing the Great Seal thereto, but Your Excellencies will likewise be the best judges what that form should be and in what terms drawn up, such as may be most proper to the occasion, and prevent any exceptions that might otherwise be taken, which their Excellencies have likewise laid before His Majesty.” (III. 81.)

#### R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Sept. 17 [-27]. Whitehall.—I am by command of Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer to acquaint you that “ this morning there came a letter to our Board from Mr. Vernon, signifying the pleasure of the Lords Justices that you should have two hundred guineas for the glad tidings of peace which you brought, and our Lords to shew they would not be behindhand with their Excellencies upon such an extraordinary occasion have ordered it to be paid out of secret service money, which you will receive without fees. The cash is a little low, but I believe I shall have it before you can draw any bill on me. I hope this will find you well in Holland.” (VIII. 251.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, Oct. 1. [N.S.] Hague.—“ I arrived in Holland on Saturday, and had yesterday the honour of your letter of the 17th. At my coming hither I found that according (as I think) to Mr. Blathwayt’s method, there was a copy of the treaty sent by the packet that was to carry the letters of this day sennight together with a warrant, that it might be engrossed and have the Broad Seal set to it on your side,



and so be returned for the King to sign it here. The duplicate of it is likewise sent by the royal transport, so that I hope for all these contrary winds one or t'other has reached you some time before you receive this letter. I know not if Mr. Blathwayt has sent a form of ratification with the treaty. I presume he has not. Their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors think the easiest and simplest form the best: if I might add my sentiments I would have that which we used at Breda looked for again, or at least some other which England has already had in treaty with France. I need not put Mr. Ellis in mind the seal must be in a silver box. In some discourse I had the honour to hold with you at Whitehall I told you that the French drew up their part of the treaty (*i.e.*, that instrument or part which they retain signed by both parties) in French, as the part or instrument which we retain signed by both parties is in Latin: they allege custom for this, and give us for precedent, that the same thing was done at Breda; they have declared, however, to the Mediator that if it be not found to be as they aver, they will withdraw the instrument already signed, and furnish another in Latin before the ratification. Sir Joseph Williamson cannot resolve our doubt; I wish any deputy he has left in his Paper Office may be able to do it, and must beg you to give order that we may have light into this business, if possible: which one would think one should not want in a country so politic and knowing as England, in a treaty so very modern as this instanced in. I find we have done nothing more in these Provinces towards the demonstration of a peace than the signing it; there has been no other publication of it than what the *Gazettes* make, and no other joy than that which everybody has in his own family and at his own charge. I believe His Majesty will write to the Lords Regents what is to be done on this occasion; and when and where anything passes here relating to that matter I shall (as my duty requires) most humbly advise you of it. I have sent Dubreuil your present to rejoice his poor spirits, and retain him on our side. I shall see the man in a day or two. Be pleased in the next you honour me with to specify to me the pension you intend him, for in the mass of things I then had confused in my head I do not know if I rightly understood you, so I shall only assure him of your kindness to him without naming the particular sum." *Copy.* (X. 369.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

1697, Oct. 1. [N.S.] Hague.—“Nothing should have made me neglect telling Your Excellency sooner that my Lords Ambassadors signed a treaty with France the 20th, but my having been sent from hence immediately to the Lords Justices of England, and being hurried thence in twenty-four hours’ time to look to the ratification being sent over for the Broad Seal; so that in less than eight days I was at

London and back again here. The Emperor and Empire have till the 5th of November allowed them to come in, and I think are resolved so to do whatever mien they may make to the contrary. Mr. Vernon (as I have desired him) will send Your Excellency a copy of the treaty as by the Lords Justices' order it is to be printed in England; and God be thanked for the conjuncture that lets us see a peace again after the hardships of a war of such duration." *Copy.* (X. 373.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 3. [N.S.] Hague.—“I am commanded to inform you that in the article of our treaty, of which I send you enclosed the copy, the Brandenburg Ambassadors think that *Celsissimum Electorem* is not as much as England has sometime given to their master; they desire His Majesty would consent to have *Serenissimum* inserted in the instrument which is to be ratified, and that a warrant may be despatched into England for that purpose; this, Sir, I am to advise you of, though (to say the truth on't) we do not yet know if the French would consent to the change, though His Majesty did agree to it. As to the thing itself you see, Sir, that the Latin answers to *Son Altesse Electorale* of the French, from whence it was translated, and so it stands in the Dutch treaty; and you know, Sir, better than any man how we give them *Serenissimus*, i.e., in a direction or title joined to *Princeps*; but in the body of an article, where the Elector is named in the third person, I do not see that the epithet is of such weight, and if it had been said plainly *Electorem*, provided one knew of whom it was spoken, it is (in my poor opinion) sufficient: thus we say *Imperatorem* in the Separate Article and *Regem Christianissimum*, but this is only my sentiments and I leave (as I ought to do) the decision of the matter to my superiors. I wish the gentlemen were satisfied since one word can make them so.”

“God send we may get the ratification over before the twenty days be elapsed.” *Copy.* (X. 374.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Oct. 3. [N.S.] Loo.—“It being agreed by the 10th Article of the treaty between us and the French that the peace is to take place at sea within the Channel after twelve days from the signing and publication thereof, as elsewhere according to the several terms prescribed, which twelve days being now expired from the time of signing the said treaty, but it yet remaining doubtful what is meant by the publication of it, His Majesty commands me to mention the same to their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors, that the meaning of those words may be explained as far as may be, and if it be necessary by conference with the French Ambassadors, and that their Excellencies do thereupon give



notice of the agreed sense of this Article in England and elsewhere to prevent the great contests and inconveniences that may happen upon the doubtfulness of it." (III. 90.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 5. [N.S.] Hague.—“ My Lords Ambassadors, in a conference this afternoon at Ryswick with those of France, agreed that the time for the peace taking place at sea within the Channel, etc., should be understood to begin twelve days after the 20th past, *i.e.*, after the signing the treaty, and the same to be understood in proportion for the other seas more distant. Mons. Harlay alleged, that since this explication of the words was agreed on this day only, which is the 15th after the signing, if anything should have happened to be taken since the expiration of the twelve days, (*i.e.*, from Thursday morning till now), it should be supposed to be taken in war: their Excellencies answered, however, that in case anything should be taken from thence to this day, (*i.e.*, in these two days) they expected that means might be used to obtain its restitution, though they did not much insist upon it, since this difference cannot be very considerable, and very probably is not any.

“ Their Excellencies likewise agreed with the French that the prisoners, which were on both sides to have their liberty, should be immediately released without any further notification to be expected or given from either party.

“ The French Embassy have promised to signify these two things to their Court this night. Their Excellencies will likewise let the Lords Justices know on Tuesday what they have done hereupon. All orders upon these points being to come immediately from the King, their Excellencies desire you to lay the substance of this letter before His Majesty, that from his pleasure sent into England directions may be given to the Admiralty, and whatever courts or jurisdiction may be concerned in these matters.

“ You see, Sir, by the enclosed resolution which the States took on Thursday, what they do on this occasion in their marine affairs.

“ The Muscovite Embassy had their audience this morning; they and their train were very magnificent; the Czar was there *incognito*.” *Copy*. (X. 378.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, October 5. [N.S.] Loo.—“ His Majesty is pleased to take notice that the ratification of the . . . treaty which is expected from England may not with any probability arrive here early enough to be exchanged within the time prescribed by the treaty, for which reason His Majesty, being desirous to obviate as much as may be any objections that may be made by the French, or inconvenience that may happen by the want of a ratification, does think fit that an

instrument of ratification be prepared on this side and passed under the signet instead of the Great Seal of England; which the French Ambassadors may be satisfied with at least until the arrival of the other; whereupon His Majesty is pleased to order their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors forthwith to prepare such a form of ratification as their Excellencies shall judge most suitable and fitting, with this difference, that instead of the words *Magno Angliae sigillo communiri jussimus*, or words to that effect, this expression be used, *Sigillo nostro communiri jussimus*; which seal or signet has upon many occasions been taken as sufficient in ratifications, and, as it is hoped, may well enough answer the 17th Article of the said treaty in consideration of His Majesty being on this side, and the tempestuous weather that has happened since the time of signing."

*Postscript.*—"There is no doubt but the Elector of Brandenburg has a right to the title of *Serenissimus* from the King in all Latin instruments." (III. 92.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Oct. 6. [N.S.] Loo.—"We have certain news from Newfoundland that Mons. de Nesmond with a squadron of near twenty men-of-war was not only arrived there, but gone with his ships to the harbour of St. John's, where we have at present eight men-of-war under the command of Captain Norris, besides Colonel Gibson's regiment of foot: and we do further understand (as it is very probable) that the French, not being able to force their entrance into the port, and being informed that our fleet and land men would be soon in want of provisions, were resolved to lie before the place so long as to starve our people by intercepting the convoy of provisions that they hear is going thither. This is the news we have from these parts, and the situation of Newfoundland being such that it may most properly be comprehended within the second term of the 10th Article, viz., of the peace taking place there within six weeks, notwithstanding which it may perhaps so fall out that after the expiration of that term Mons. de Nesmond may not be acquainted with the treaty, His Majesty judges that the French Ambassadors cannot well refuse giving their Excellencies an Act or Declaration under their hands, such a one as passed at the Treaty of Breda, or any other to the same effect, certifying the conclusion of the Peace between the King and His most Christian Majesty, with the commencement of it within the several distances agreed on by the 10th Article of the late treaty, which Act or Declaration His Majesty does think fit their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors should desire from those of France, and upon obtaining the same do send it with a duplicate into England, where orders will be given for one or more vessels, which may likewise have provisions on board, to be dispatched



immediately to Newfoundland, not only thereby to oblige Mons. Nesmond to desist from his enterprise, in case he should happen to stay so long upon that coast, but to carry the necessary provisions to our fleet and land forces, of which the latter will most certainly be in very great want, though the former should be come away. This being a matter of so very great importance to us and no more than we may reasonably demand of the French, though indeed it be not likely that Mons. Nesmond will stay so long in Newfoundland by reason of the bad weather and fogs that are usual there towards the winter, His Majesty would have their Excellencies lose no time in proceeding therein according to the directions above mentioned, it being not requisite that any further mention be made to the French Ambassadors of the occasion of our asking this attestation from them, than that it is in order to the due notifying of the peace and for preventing of further hostilities in those parts.

"I am likewise obliged to you for the Resolution of the States relating to their Marine affairs; which being very advantageous to them, and His Majesty having been pleased to tell me that the French were equally disposed to gratify us in the same particulars, there is no doubt but their Excellencies will be no less successful in our own matters of the same nature, since the obtaining of passes for all ships, or at least for such as are going out in any voyage beyond the Cape St. Vincent, will be very useful to us, as His Majesty will be ready to grant the like to the French upon their request."

*Postscript.*—"It would be much better if a pass or passes could be obtained from the French for the ship or ships that shall carry the news of the Peace to Newfoundland and to other parts of America.

"I have had fresh solicitations from England in reference to the settling a trade with Muscovy." *Signed.* (III. 95.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Oct. 7. [N.S.] Loo.—"His Majesty has given me directions to signify his pleasure to the Lords Justices in England for the release of all prisoners, which are on that side to have their liberty as ours in France are to be dealt with in the same manner according to the agreement made with their Ambassadors. There remains nothing unanswered from hence."

*Postscript.*—"His Majesty would be glad that the Elector of Brandebourg were gratified in the title he desires." *Signed. Copy.* (III. 96.)

1697, Sept. 28 [-Oct 8.] Loo.—Instruments of ratification of the Treaty of Ryswick and the Separate Article. *Latin. Signet. Sign manual. Countersigned* by Blathwayt.

[Full text printed in *Actes et Mémoires des négociations de la Paix de Ryswick*, 2nd edn. vol. iii., pp. 176-189.] (XVII., Nos. 50-51.)

## J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Sept. 28 [-Oct. 8]. Whitehall. — “Mr Secretary, being in the country, directs me to acknowledge yours to him of 1 Oct. [N.S.], wherein you give good advice concerning the ratification of the treaty of peace in the same form as that of Breda was, if the copy had come in any convenient time to our hands: but having not received it till Sunday morning last, all we could do was to despatch it *de bene esse*, as soon as possible. The preamble is as simple, I think, as anything of that kind could be, and as little liable to exceptions; but for precedents, there was no time to consult them, the Lords Justices pressing the despatch of the two instruments, that they might be put under the Great Seal and sent away on Sunday night, as they were by ten at night, one to Harwich, the other to the Downs, where two frigates were ordered to transport the messengers; which, I fear, they have not been able to do, the wind having been for several days at N.E.

“My Lord Ambassador Villiers is likewise pleased to put us in mind of a thing which was omitted on the foresaid consideration of saving all the time that possibly might be; that is, that the powers on both sides should be annexed to the ratification: they were not to be inserted in the ratification, and therefore it was looked upon to be essentially complete without them, and that they might be added after the exchange of the ratifications was made at Ryswick; besides that we have no authentic copy of the French powers. The signatures, whereof His Excellency has also been pleased to send us a plainer copy than that in the treaty, are exactly observed in the ratification as they are in the copy of the treaty; but I take notice that both there and in his Excellency’s copy the French Ambassadors sign in the first place, and the King’s Ambassadors in the next, etc., whereas I should have thought these should have signed first the King’s part, which was to be left with the French.

“I wish my Lord Ambassador Villiers be not misinformed as to the annexing the *pleinpouvoir* of the French Ambassadors to our treaty, that, upon second thoughts, seeming to me to be most proper to be done in their treaty.” (III. 86.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Sept. 28 [-Oct. 8]. Whitehall.—“We hear nothing yet of any orders for recalling our letters of marque. If the ratifications were exchanged, a proclamation ought to issue of course, or otherwise it will not be done till the King’s pleasure is signified.

“I have been enquiring in relation to what you writ in your former letter about treaties being in French or Latin. As to what was done at Breda, I believe you will know it soonest from some in Holland who were at that treaty. I meet with



nobody here who knows anything of it. If you will go to older times, our historiographer Thomas Rymer hath rummaged some of his records of ancient times, for he hath not yet looked into those of the memory of man, and he sends you an extract of all sorts when they treated in Latin, when in French, and when in both languages. An article of a truce in Henry V.'s reign (for those were the treaties in that time) is transcribed at length; there you will find it agreed that each party agreed to sign the treaty both in Latin and French, and this, he says, was frequently repeated afterwards.

"I have in my keeping the original of the American Treaty between England and France which was made in November. 1686, the Ambassador Barillon being plenipotentiary for the French, and the Chancellor Jeffrys, Lord Sunderland, Lord Middleton and Lord Godolphin plenipotentiaries for St. James'. That treaty, I assure you, was drawn up in Latin, and both parties signed and sealed the same instrument." (III. 87.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, [Oct.] 8. [N.S.] Hague.—"In conformity to yours of the 5th and 6th, which I have laid before my Lords Ambassadors, I send you an instrument of ratification as their Excellencies have agreed to have it formed together with the Treaty and their powers: the whole fairly transcribed in order to it being signed by His Majesty and sealed with the Signet, to be exchanged with the ratification of the French in case the other instrument from England may not arrive in time.

"I have left the place and day of signing to be filled up by you or to be returned (in case you would have the whole written in one hand) with a word of instruction of *palatium*, or *aula*, or what you will call Loo or the place where His Majesty may be when he signs.

"Their Excellencies think that the placing their *plein-pouvoir* after the Treaty is as it ought to be, since it is the Treaty which His Majesty ratifies, and the *pleinpouvoirs* were sufficiently ratified when they passed the Great Seal. The French *pleinpouvoirs* are not added, since the doing so would make this instrument differ from that which we expect from England: they may be added to either instrument afterwards if it shall be judged necessary. In the meantime we have the original of the French *pleinpouvoirs*, which seem to make the inserting a copy but superfluous. You will observe that in the 14th Article I have left a space for *Celsissimum* or *Serenissimum*, your letter not determining that point with the validity of an order; if, therefore, as you seem to intimate in your postscript, His Majesty consents to the supplying that blank with *Serenissimum*, their Excellencies desire you would send them a warrant by which they may be enabled to alter the word in the instrument which will come signed and sealed with the Great Seal: for it would

but increase the difficulty if *Serenissimum* should be seen in an instrument which is to be withdrawn for another in which *Celsissimum* would appear after; and their Excellencies cannot make the alteration without they are authorized so to do by such a warrant. All this is to be understood in case the French will consent to the alteration.

“To-morrow my Lords Ambassadors will confer with those of France about the Act or Declaration, which we would have of what is agreed as to the peace taking place in the different parts of the world, and accordingly I shall be able, in my next, to give you an account of it. The French will easily know what we mean, since the circumstances which as well we as Nesmond are in are so far from being a secret that they are in this day’s *Gazette*.

“Their Excellencies will likewise concert the matter of passports with the French. In this they have already declared that they will act with us conformably to what they do with the Dutch: their Excellencies will therefore consult likewise on this affair with the ministers of the States; though their Excellencies, I am commanded to inform you, will not ask for passports for particular ships to go out without His Majesty’s order for their so doing signified by the Secretary of State or by yourself, their Excellencies not presuming to judge if it be necessary or reasonable that such ships should have passports. As to what regards a passport for Sir Lambert Blackwell [envoy to Tuscany], their Excellencies think he cannot have a better pass to go through France (the peace being made) than the commission with which His Majesty honours him: they will, however, mention his going to the French Ambassador to-morrow: the like may be said as to passes for any particular person; the King’s subjects having liberty to go, come or stay in the French dominions by virtue of the 5th Article.” *Copy*. (X. 380.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 9. [N.S.] Hague.—“The Mediator asked the French this morning in the name of my Lords Ambassadors for such an Act or Declaration as you mentioned in yours of the 5th [*sic*], but the French alleged that they could not consent to the giving it; that they had written to the King their Master of the agreement made last Saturday as to the times of the peace taking place, and did no way doubt of his being willing to confirm it by his approbation; but they thought they could not found a public Act upon it till they were assured that he had actually consented to it.

“They have agreed to the giving general passes in blank to be filled up by us for what part of the world and in what number we think proper: accordingly they have written to Court for such passports. These passports, Sir, does in a manner prevent our insisting upon this Act, and even renders



our having it useless. They desire reciprocally like blank passes from His Majesty, in order to which, if you please to draw up the form of a pass such as His Majesty shall approve, and think it proper that a certain number of them should be printed here, I shall take care that it be done, and shall return them back for His Majesty's signing, that we may have them ready on our side as the French will have them on theirs.

"They have consented that we may (as an act of own) insert *Serenissimus* in the Brandenburg Article of the instrument to be ratified, and since you let their Excellencies know by yours to me of the 7th (which I had the honour to receive this morning) that His Majesty will gratify the Elector in this point, it only remains that you send a warrant to enable our making this alteration in the instrument which we expect from England. I begin to despair of its coming in time, unless they have taken care on the other side to send it to some port of Flanders. The Mediator told their Excellencies this morning that the French had made some difficulty of receiving our *pleinpouvoirs*, since the King of England does therein style himself King of France. The Mediator told them that the *pleinpouvoirs* being only added after the ratification, it was properly an act of the King to his own subjects, and was no part of the Treaty: with this they are or seem to be satisfied; but their raising this objection, Sir, makes me believe that they will not consent to His Majesty styling himself King of France in the form of the ratification at the beginning, unless there be a very late and clear precedent for it, according to which you will be pleased to regulate the ratification which you sent us. Their Excellencies have agreed with the French on an Act for the freedom of fishery of all kinds and in all places, as the Dutch had likewise done.

"As soon as this Act is signed, a copy of it shall be sent into England and to yourself. The French have agreed to give Sir Lambert Blackwell a recommendation to the first French frontier town, thinking a passport unnecessary, and not doubting but that the King of England's pass is sufficient." *Copy.* (X. 385-8.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 10. [N.S.] Hague.—"I have this evening received the ratification, and laid your letter of yesterday before their Excellencies, who will according to His Majesty's orders confer with the Pensioner and ministers of the States, and proceed conjointly with them in what regards France's ratifying with Spain before their Excellencies proceed to exchange our ratification. Their Excellencies insert *Serenissimum*, and are satisfied with the way you propose of doing the like in the instrument which is to come from England.

"I can now explain what I wrote to you last night about passports which the French would give. A. is, you see, Sir,

for ships to go and return to and from any place whatever ; B. to go and come to and from France only. The French have positively promised passports according to the form B., and they think they shall have the more general ones according to the form A. Their Excellencies think it necessary that we should be provided with passes to exchange with the French according to the form which they may receive. You will be pleased, therefore, to send us two forms parallel to these (as His Majesty may approve), which shall be printed here, and their Excellencies will return that form which shall be made use of, in order to its being signed by His Majesty." *Copy.* (X. 389.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 1-11. Hague.—“ We are just now returned from Ryswick. The French had the ratification ready engrossed, sealed with their Great Seal in a silver box in ample form, as we had ours signed and sealed with the Signet in the manner you sent it. These instruments are by consent of each party left in the Mediator's hand till we receive ours under the Great Seal from England to exchange with them, and the ratification is reckoned from this day to be good and valid. The French had also the Separate Article engrossed and ratified and sealed in as ample form as the Treaty : they expect we should have the like to exchange with them, though their Excellencies at the signing of the Treaty were given to understand that this article was not to be ratified. Their Excellencies desired, therefore, that you would be pleased to get this article ratified under the Signet as the Treaty was, and that you will despatch for England a copy of it with a warrant that it should be ratified under the Great Seal. Their Excellencies desire that under the Signet to be returned as soon as possible. Both the Treaty and the Separate Article of the French bore date the same day : I know not if you will think it necessary that ours should do so likewise. Before the ratifications were put into the Mediator's hands, the French produced the ratification which they will make with Spain, and they declared in the presence of the Mediator, the English and Dutch Embassy, that they were ready to exchange it with the Spaniards as soon as theirs came from Madrid, with which the Spaniards declared that they were satisfied.”

*Postscript.*—“ The French received our ratification without making any exception to His Majesty's title as King of France. I this moment see the messenger, who tells me the ratification is come from England and forwarded to you.” (X. 391.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Oct. 11. [N.S.] Loo.—With regard to the difficulty likely to arise out of the King's title, His Majesty has



decided that search must be made for authentic precedents, of which the most recent shall settle the matter. Enquiry will therefore be made in all the offices in England. "The French themselves can more readily help us by a sight of the originals which they have in their hands, there having been ratifications of treaties delivered to them as well during the reign of the late King James as of King Charles II.

"There is indeed no dependence upon their printed books; but if you please to examine the last *Recueil des Traités de Paix*, printed by Leers at Rotterdam, *pages* 4, 12 and 26, *Volume* the 5th, you will find the title of France there omitted in our instruments; from whence you will further infer that the *pleinpouvoirs* and the instrument of ratification ought to agree as being both delivered over to the French, as indeed the full powers delivered to them by the Mediator and the form of the ratification sent by their Excellencies do, so that it could not be expected any alteration should be made here." *Signed.* (III. 100.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Oct. 2-12, "near ten at night." Dieren.—"We have this instant received the ratification of the Peace from England. His Majesty has immediately signed it, and commanded me to send it, as I now do, to their Excellencies the Lords Ambassadors, that it may be exchanged as intended." *Signed.* (III. 88.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 4-14. Hague.—"I told you in my last that I thought the difficulty which we apprehended as to His Majesty's styling himself King of France was over, the French having without any objection collationed and put into the Mediator's hand the Treaty with the ratification as you sent it signed by the Signet: but on Saturday when they understood that the instrument under the Great Seal was come from England, they informed my Lords Ambassadors by the Mediator, that they excepted against the style of *Rex Franciæ*, and after some arguing upon that point they came to this, that they would be satisfied, provided we declared that we would change it, if it be found otherwise in the ratification of the Treaty of Breda, and in other treaties made since. Their Excellencies are very willing to oblige themselves to stand by the example of Breda, as they have done likewise in the point of language, but do not think it proper to consent to such loose terms as *and treaties made since* import, for that they do not know but that the style of *Rex Franciæ* may possibly have been omitted in those negligent times when France had but too much influence upon our negotiations. The treaty made with France in 1672 against Holland is in French, and probably the ratification may be

in the same language, and if so, the King may be mentioned *Roy de la Grande Bretagne* with an *et cetera*; nor are we sure that either in the treaty of commerce in 1677 or that of neutrality for America in 1686 the style may have been carefully observed, we only having the body of these treaties by us, but neither the preambles nor ratification, nor do their Excellencies know what secret treaty King James may have made with France, or with what omission, novelty, or irregularity of style: these are the considerations which oblige my Lords Ambassadors to rely upon the precedent of Breda, rather than consent to the clause *and of any treaties made since*, which renders the thing more vague and uncertain. The Mediator has been with the French to-day to try to bring them off, but as yet without any success, and in this state the matter is at present. Their Excellencies have resolved to desire a conference with the French in the presence of the Ambassadors of the States and of the Mediator, of which in my next I shall send you the result."

"On Sunday night we had the ratification under the Great Seal, and this morning my Lord Portland did me the honour to give me yours of the 13th with the Separate Article."

*Postscript*.—"The business of passports is, you see, Sir, at a stand till we can get over this rub." *Copy*. (X. 394.)

#### WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Oct. 15. [N.S.] Dieren.—Enclosing instructions to their Excellencies, by which "you see the medium that is taken between what the French offered and what their Excellencies would accept of. I hope it will happen to be all one, and that a speedy end will be put to the occasion of such difficulties.

"Pray give notice, when the ratifications are exchanged, to all our ministers abroad, as the knowledge of it may be of use to them."

[The instructions referred to are printed in Prior's *History of his own Time* (ed. 1740), vol. i., pp. 35–7.] (III. 105.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 16. [N.S.] Hague.—"My Lords Ambassadors have this morning regulated the difficulty about the title of *Rex Franciæ* with those of France in what manner you see by the Act which I send you enclosed. . . . According to this agreement I went as I was commanded by their Excellencies to collation our Treaty with that under the French Great Seal, with the Secretary of the Mediation and one of the French Embassy. Theirs was right in all except that in the 8th Article concerning Hudson's Bay there was a blank left as well for the place, *in Urbe Londini*, as for the time of meeting, *trium mensium*, as the time of



their finishing *sex mensium*, for which reason I did not exchange it to-night, but left the instrument in the hand of the Mediator, and took back that under the Signet, as that of the French is likewise left, the Secretary returning to have his superior orders, which he is to bring back to-morrow morning. The thing being already agreed between my Lords Ambassadors and the French, I presume most certainly there will be no more difficulty in it.

"I shall obey your order in giving notice to our ministers abroad when the ratifications are exchanged. The French desire passports for the ships of which the enclosed contains the names, and are willing to give us passports for as many until their Excellencies and the French Ambassadors agree about giving passports in general.

"The publication of the Peace will be here and at Paris on Monday next. We are under no obligation as to the time, but it is to be supposed that it should be done as soon as may conveniently. His Majesty will be pleased to write hereupon to the Lords Justices.

"I have told you that my Lords Ambassadors had agreed that the time for hostilities ceasing was twelve days after the signing, that is, after the 20th past, and so on, for places further distant, as specified in the 10th Article. The French Ambassadors have notice from Paris that the King their Master has approved of this agreement, and we expect an authentic Act of this from them before Friday." *Copy.* (X. 401.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

1697, Oct. 17 [N.S.] Hague.—"Je viens de faire l'échange de nos ratifications; j'aurois souhaité de mettre moi-même celle de la France aux pieds de Sa Majesté, mais mes supérieurs en ont autrement ordonné. Je suis heureux si le tout s'est fait à la satisfaction et au plaisir de notre auguste Maître, car les deux choses au monde que j'ambitionne le plus, ce sont de pouvoir toujours travailler pour la gloire du Roi et de témoigner à Milord d'Albemarle que je lui serai toute ma vie redevable des faveurs dont il a eu la bonté de m'honorer." *Copy.* (X. 406.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1697, Oct. 22. [N.S.] Hague.—The messenger Mr. Thomas came hither this afternoon with the Separate Article ratified, and went forward with it immediately for Loo. I hope you have received mine of the 8-18th, by which I told you I had exchanged the ratification of the Treaty. Mr. Blathwayt tells me in a letter of the 17th that he has written His Majesty's pleasure hereupon to their Excellencies the Lords Justices as to its being proclaimed and published. Sir William Trumbull likewise receives by mine of the 18th the original Act by which the Peace takes place immediately

from the day of the signing, which you will judge necessary to be made public. It was not made to prevent the harm that might otherwise arise from the omission of the second date in the 10th Article of the copy I brought over, viz. : *six weeks from the British and Northern Seas to the Cape of St. Vincent*; but it will, however, occasionally do so, for before you had this Act the word *publication* was so ambiguous that it was generally thought to be equal to or to come after the ratification, and I believe few ventured to understand it as their Excellencies my Lords Ambassadors have agreed it by this Act, and now it is so agreed the time is well-nigh elapsed; but I do not plead this to excuse the oversight: the copy was indeed taken at three in the morning, and I hurried away with it before it was duly revised and compared, though I always understood that you would print the treaty from the copy which should come authentically from Loo, and I meant this hasty draught for the curiosity only of my Lords and myself. I am glad the last edition has corrected this error; nobody can be more concerned at its having happened than myself.

“The French expect daily general passports from their Court which we shall be ready to exchange with them; and I shall send you to be distributed to ships as you may judge necessary the Act we think sufficient for all ships in these seas where the Peace is or will very soon be known.”  
*Copy.* (X. 412.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 13–23. Hague.—“When my Lords give the French the passports, they will require an equal number for us; I shall then see what can be done for the Turkey merchants which Mr. Dean Smith solicits for. The French Ambassadors say their general passports are not yet come: till we see exactly the form of them, my Lord Ambassador Williamson is of opinion we cannot send you the form of those we beg His Majesty to sign. Others are not of Sir Joseph’s opinion, but those that will have a maypole [*sic*] shall have one. We shall trouble you once more about this matter of passports, and then I hope we have done.”  
*Copy.* (X. 415.)

#### MEMOIR delivered by MATTHEW PRIOR to the SECRETARY of the RUSSIAN AMBASSADORS.

1697, Oct. 24. [N.S.] Hague.—Referring to the commercial privileges granted in the time of Queen Elizabeth by His Czarish Majesty John Basiliwich and continued by successive Czars to the English nation for more than a century, *donec malignitas temporum et infausta series belli impedivit Anglos quominus fruerentur foederibus istis antiquis*; which privileges, now that amity is restored between the



two nations, it is hoped may be renewed and extended so as to authorize the importation of tobacco into the Czar's dominions. *Latin. Draft.* (XVII., No. 36.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [JAMES] VERNON.

1697, Oct. 25. [N.S.] Hague.—“I hope you have mine of the 13th to take off the fright you were in from that of the post before. So you have seen that we have gotten off gloriously, and nothing more to do than to thank my Lord Chancellor's officers for their trouble, and desire them to put their records up against the next peace. The French passports are not yet come: the exchanging them with ours is all, I think, we have now left to do. The Germans are coming to, because they must: the only difficulty is about the Palatinate, part of which, to which *Madame* lays claim, the French would have sequestered till the right of possession be determined by arbitration. May be, this is not so very unreasonable, but as yet the Germans will not yield to it: a day or two more will bring them a decision. You know their method; they let slip all help that human prudence can dictate, and then lay their acting foolishly upon necessity. I told you in my last the ratification of the Separate Article was gone to Loo; we have it not back again as yet, but shall have it, I believe, to-morrow.” *Copy.* (X. 416.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 26. [N.S.] Hague.—“I am commanded by my Lords Ambassadors to tell you that the Duchess of Nemours would have entered her protest against His Majesty being possessed of the Principality of Orange, but the Mediator refused to receive it, the Peace being signed and ratified. The Separate Article is long coming. Mr. Swinfurt gives you an account how far we are got in our Muscovite negotiation; so you are no further troubled with me at present than to direct me in this form of the passport.” *Copy.* (X. 419.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Oct. 18-28. Loo.—“This is occasioned by a very great emergency that has surprised the King this morning. M. le Baron Goertz, plenipotentiary of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, has acquainted His Majesty with the unreasonable demands of the French relating to the fortress of Rhinfels, the particulars whereof will be explained by him to their Excellencies our Ambassadors, whom His Majesty commands to use their utmost endeavours by the most proper ways and means to bring the French to desist from this pretension, which is not only injurious to the said Landgrave but highly prejudicial to the safety of Germany and to the common cause.” *Signed.* (III 107.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, Oct. 29. [N.S.], 10 at night. Ryswick House.—  
 “My Masters being still within at conference, I can tell you no more of what the French are doing with our Germans than that, I hear, things are drawing towards a conclusion, except the business of Rinfeildt [*sic*], which unluckily intervenes, be of consequence enough to hinder the signing to-morrow. Their Excellencies have His Majesty’s order to interpose as much as possible in the Landgrave’s behalf, but the secret of the business is that the Imperialists are cold enough as to what regards this Prince’s interest, and would risk this place’s falling one day into the French hands, provided they could establish it at present in a Papist’s. Mons. de Vehlen, Ambassador from the Elector Palatine, has had ability enough to compose his master’s differences with the French ministers underhand, whilst we were all engaged above board in sustaining that Prince’s interest: but, God be thanked, we have done our own business, and are much more easily satisfied with this minister’s negotiation in the dark a month after the peace than with La Tour’s a year before it. I hope by next post to give you some satisfactory account of our proceedings, Thursday being the last day for the Germans coming in, which, if they have any sense, they will not let slip.

“The Separate Article under the Broad Seal came from Loo last night; I shall exchange it to-morrow for that of the French, which lies in the Mediator’s hands.

“I shall likewise have French passports by next post, ours being come from Loo, at least twenty of them, with which we may begin to exchange.

“You will pardon the incoherence of a letter written in the middle of a crowd.” *Copy.* (X. 421.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, [Oct.] 30. [N.S.] Hague.—“I am just now commanded to mention to you a point of great consequence: the French in all the reunions they give back will have it stipulated that the Roman Catholic religion shall be kept and preserved as in the state it now is, and that if any prince shall endeavour to change or innovate in this point, he shall not have a benefit of the Peace now to be signed. Their Excellencies are this moment going to Ryswick to interpose as much as possible in this affair.”

*Postscript.*—“I am to add a word to my letter on my own behalf, and I hope you will think I request a thing reasonable. By a letter from you to the Pensioner in His Majesty’s name, dated the 16th of June, 1694, I was recommended to the States as His Majesty’s Secretary, and have ever since been used by them with all kindness: the favour I desire of you is to move His Majesty that you may by his order write a like letter to the Pensioner or President of the week, when



His Majesty pleases that I should leave Holland, that I may have occasion to take my leave and thank them for their favours ; which is but just to go off as I came on, and would let the States see I was not wholly forgotten by my Master, and entitle me to a medal." *Copy.* (X. 425.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

1697, Oct. 31. [N.S.] Hague.—“ My Lord Jersey has just now the news of the Peace being signed this morning between one and two by the Emperor and all the Catholic Princes of the Empire : the Protestants refused to sign, but have time allowed them to come in till the exchange of the ratification, which is six weeks. The French declare that they shall all enjoy the benefit of the Peace, but those that shall not sign in the time prescribed shall be looked upon as enemies to France, and that Brandenburg shall not have the benefit of the inclusive Article in our Treaty.

“ Some time before the Peace was signed the Mediator withdrew leaving a Declaration in the hand of their [*sic*] secretary, that there being some things in this Peace contrary to that of Westphalia, whereof his master was a guarantee, they could not consent to the signing it. This Declaration was delivered in as soon as the parties had signed.” *Copy.* (X. 428.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, Nov. 1. [N.S.] Hague.—“ My Lord Jersey tells me he writes to you, so you will excuse my sending any politics, though this post affords matter enough of observation. Our good friends, the Emperor and the Elector Palatine, could no longer conceal their concern for Catholicism, and seven hundred Protestant churches are sacrificed as a victim to a peace ill made for Germany. The Protestant Princes will come in within the time prescribed, but it will be a long time before they forget the proceedings that obliged them to it, *et adhuc mea vulnera restant*, whenever they shall come to speak in a free Diet, or have power to show the House of Austria their resentment. I am got insensibly into my reflections, though I promised not to trouble you with them.” *Copy.* (X. 430.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

1697, Nov. 5. [N.S.] Hague.—“ My Lord Jersey took his leave of the States on Saturday, and is gone to Zuylesteyn to wait on His Majesty. I have order to take my leave, and I hope I shall wait on you when the King comes over. The yachts are arrived : Sir Clouesly and Admiral Benbow are both here : how good a convoy the King is likely to have in time of peace, and how hard it was for him to get any whilst the war lasted ! We expect the King here on

Thursday, and I believe he will only wait the change of wind, for everything here is ready for his signing.

“The public rejoicing is to be to-morrow : a great firework is preparing for that purpose.” *Copy.* (X. 433.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND.

[1697,] Nov. 5. [N.S.] Hague.—“What a cursed thing, my Lord, is this ! a secretary to be writing till midnight without having time to say one word to those whom he respects most or loves best. No matter ; I shall see you within this fortnight, and in that thought adieu all the melancholy reflections that can be inspired by a huge bundle of papers without any method, or an ambassador without anything but method !

“ ‘Who would ’ (says Dryden) ‘ drink this draught of life  
Blended with bitter woes and tedious strife,  
But that an angel in some lucky hour  
Does healing drops into the goblet pour ?  
When wearied I would spill the baleful cup,  
Some sparkling bubble of delight springs up.  
My Sovereign or my friend was heard to tell  
I served him faithfully, or loved him well :  
Then easy hope deceives my flattered taste,  
One joy atones ten thousand evils past ;  
New scenes of thought I from this model frame,  
Consent to live that I my part may claim  
In Townshend’s friendship or in William’s fame.’

“I bronche [*sic. i.e.,* stumble], i’ faith, and can no more rise in poetry than B . . . in prose. I hope the *Hoop* in Fish Street will give me some spirits, and cure an ill habit of mind contracted by a thick air of conversation. Dr. Sherrard, you know, said I had no need of anti-scorbutics to help my eyes : may be he will think I have no occasion for good company to cure my ideas. I’ll try so good a dose of it by his favour as soon as I get to England as may set me right for a year or two at least. In the meantime I thank you for Dr. English’s letter to me and will not say one word how very much I love you, or which is rarer, how-very much you deserve to be loved, till I see you. *Amo te : fac me ames. Vale !*” *Copy.* (X. 435.)

THE MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Dec. 7 [-17]. [Dublin Castle.]—“I received yours of the 18th past, and you talking of coming over so soon made me return you no answer, Mr. May telling me likewise that he lets you know all that passes.

“We received . . . a letter from my Lord Shrewsbury signifying His Majesty’s pleasure that you should go into France with my Lord Portland (whither I wish you a good journey, I need not a pleasant one) and afterwards that you will come hither.” (III. 110.)



## The EARL OF GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697, Dec. 7-17. Au Château de Dublin.—“Je suis bien fâché que vous vous éloigniez encore de nous ; mais l’occasion m’en console. Le voyage que vous allez faire en France est pour le service du Roy, et ne peut manquer d’être pour vous un sujet de satisfaction. Je vous l’y souhaite toute entière. Vous ne devez pas douter que nous ne vous conservions une place, que nous espérons que vous viendrez bientôt remplir, et qui ne sauroit être remplie plus dignement. Si le retour dépendoit de vous, je vous exhorterois à le hâter ; mais je me contente de souhaiter qu’il ne diffère pas trop longtems le plaisir que je me feray de vous pouvoir dire que je suis sincèrement, etc.” *Signed.*

*Endorsed by Prior.*—“Ld. Gallway, Dec. 7, 1697, by which he consents to my going into France.” (III. 111.)

## The MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697 [-8], Dec. 28 [-Jan. 7.]—I “was very sorry to hear how the sessions began, but am glad to find by yours that the honest country gentlemen, who were the dupes to the Jacobites and violent men, begin to be a little undeceived, and that at least what you name will be kept on foot for our security ; for I own in my poor opinion I cannot think this Peace looks very lasting, though I heartily wish I may be deceived. I have no particular commission to desire of you, but shall be glad to hear how you find matters in France.” (III. 113.)

## H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Jan. 1[-11]. Dublin Castle.—“I account the honour of your friendship no small part of the advantage that has accrued to me by the post I now serve in, and shall always use my best endeavours to preserve it.

“I send you enclosed an account of what the fees of your office have amounted to each month since my being here, as Mr. Padmer, who has been always trusted in that matter, has from time to time made it to me. I do not question but it is very different from some relations you may have had of it, that is less, for I do believe the fees have generally come to much more, for which I can find but two reasons. One is the great reducement that has been made by the present Lords Justices therein, especially the military part, which used to be the most beneficial ; and the other is the strictness of the Government for the appearance of officers at musters, the fees of their dispensation on those occasions having formerly made a considerable part of the profits of the office.

“What I have further to observe to you in this matter is that besides the fees it has been often (I won’t say always) customary to receive money for despatch, as they call it, or a sort of gratification, for the want of which I am pretty sure people’s affairs have been sometimes delayed ; insomuch

that for some time after our arrival scarce any one brought a paper of any consequence without some guineas more or less, which would have come to a great deal in the year. I can affirm I never received a farthing of any one, nor has there to my knowledge been any more received in this office than the allowed fees, of which the enclosed is the account, over and above the clerk's share.

"You will be pleased to make use of what I have said only for your own information, for it would not become me to criminate them that have gone before me, nor can it, I am sure, be your intent." (IV. 1.)

#### THE EARL OF GALWAY TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Jan. 4 [-14]. Dublin Castle.—The assurance you give me that your stay in France ought to be a very short one gives me pleasure, and I pray you to make me find it still shorter by giving me sometimes news of yourself and of affairs. What you told me before you left England points to a success more complete than could be expected. Particularly I thank you for the paper on "A Standing Army," in which this subject is very clearly treated. Whoever is the author, I esteem him and I love him; I pray you to assure him of it, if you know him. *French. Signed.* (IV. 2.)

*Endorsed by Prior* :—"Ans. the 9 Ap. 1698."

#### JAMES VERNON TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1697-8, Jan. 9[-19]. *Endorsed.*]—"I believe my Lord Pembroke spoke to you that it is necessary you take with you the lists of the French Protestants who are prisoners in France. He thinks you have several of them, as well those sent by my Lord Galway as others. My Lord Portland intends to do what he can towards procuring their liberty." (IV. 4.)

#### JAMES VERNON TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Jan. 14[-24]. Whitehall.—"I have your letter from Dover and hope shortly to hear of your arrival at Calais, and how Mr. Berkenhead hath complimented you.

"Though you will not frighten the French with our standing army, yet you may assure them that by our disbanding we have steadfast purposes to preserve the Peace, and if they have not the same, it will be but fair in them to let us know it before we proceed much further. We are not in such haste to disarm but you will have time enough to enquire what they intend on that side." (IV. 5.)

#### JAMES VERNON TO [? the EARL OF PORTLAND].

1697-8, Feb. 1[-11].—"I am commanded to send Your Excellency the enclosed copies of papers that were laid before His Majesty last night at the cabinet council: two



of these are in behalf of poor French Protestants who were taken at sea and in danger of being sent to the galleys. His Majesty would have your Excellency give them what assistance you can towards their being set at liberty : to that end I send you a list of such prisoners as we have in Newgate whom His Majesty is willing to release if the like favour may be shown to these persons and some others under their circumstances. As to Tessier, who was taken on board a Portuguese ship, I have orders to speak to the Portugal Envoy that he should use his endeavours to get him released, since their protection was violated by the seizure.

“ There is likewise a letter from Sir Paul Ricaut concerning a Hamburger who has been seized at Brest in revenge for the putting Captain Vaughan, since condemned for piracy, into our hands. Their circumstances are so different that His Majesty hopes you may prevail to prevent his being otherwise dealt with than as his innocence and case deserves.

“ By the letter from Mr. Methuen, the Envoy at Portugal, Your Excellency will observe that a ship taken from the French hath been stopped there to show them their unreasonableness in not releasing a boat of ours when there was the same justice for it ; however, His Majesty sends his orders to Mr. Methuen that he detain the ship no longer, as being willing rather to give the example how he intends to observe the Treaty ; and though not only the French privateer but the Ambassador himself at Lisbon were failing on their part, yet His Majesty does not doubt but their behaviour will be disowned, and that satisfaction shall be given for the boat belonging to the *Cambridge* which was so unfairly carried off, and His Majesty the rather inclines to believe it, since Sir Joseph Williamson sent over by the last post an order from the Court of France for restoring all English ships that had been taken since the 2nd of October and brought into the ports of Dunkirk and Calais.

“ We have had a very busy week in this office by the multitude of petitioners who sue for leave to stay in England for avoiding the penalty of the late Act, some of which have been refused, but most granted where their circumstances and behaviour and in certain cases the solicitations of others pleaded for them. Those who are denied are getting away as fast as they can, and some are doing so who never asked for leave, as the Earl of Ailesbury, and, as they say, Oglethorp and his wife. This law will cause a great dispersion among them, and few will venture the being taken up. Lord Montgomery went away yesterday ; Lord Ailesbury, who went away the day before, had his lodgings searched somewhere in Kent by some who said they had a warrant for to take up the Lord Montgomery. I suppose it must have been procured by those who were his bail and think they shall be left to answer their recognizance upon his going away.

"We have a report here as if Harrison, the priest, were lately come over, and some say he is in one place, others in another. I believe it may be no difficult thing for Your Excellency to be satisfied whether he be in France or not, otherwise one may have an endless trouble and alarm to look after him to no purpose if he should be at the same time in his convent.

"I asked Mr. Montague lately whether they had taken into consideration the protocol about what was to be paid to the late Queen; he said they had it before them, but knew not well what they could say to it." (IV. 6.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Feb. 2[-12].—"I am sorry you have had so ill a seasoning in that country, and should have been more concerned but that I heard at the same time you were in a way of recovery.

"I am satisfied the messengers must be useless to you if no way be found to help them to money, and I don't know how you can have your letters conveyed without them, unless the packets are left to be opened at discretion. I have the King's orders to write to the Treasury that each of them have 100*l.* given him on account, but they are apt to say it is easier to direct the payment of money than to find it. I suppose Kenge will hardly think of returning unless he gets it.

"I hope the care taken to shew how welcome you are may be improved further than to the dislodging of Berkenhead from Calais. If you leave King James at St. Germain's, all the rest is but compliment. We hear Berkenhead hath cheated the postmaster at Calais at play, and that he is gone from there on that account." (IV. 7.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Feb. 4[-14]. Whitehall.—"I made it my endeavour to have seen you before you went for France, but was not so happy, though I left word with Mrs. Prior where to send for me all the day before you went, intending to have got you to have signed a blank indenture for your plate, without which I cannot get it out of the Jewel Office; and no post being settled between England and France, I knew not how to send till I heard from you.

"I find this cold weather has been a little too sharp for your thin body, and am glad you are (as you write me word) pretty well over it.

"I doubt not but you have heard from Mr. Stepney since you left England." (VIII. 259.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1697-8, Feb. 4 [-14]. Paris.—"When I last wrote to Your Lordship I was really at death's door, but not liking much



the prospect I made all imaginable haste to return, and may, I hope, stay longer in the land of the living. My Lord [Portland] has had two audiences in particular at Versailles, and externally these people are very kind to us; their not hastening to disband in general, and their only reforming the English and Irish troops makes one think they are not so good friends with us as they would have us imagine. The whole nation is so in a military state that it cannot subsist without its continuing so still, the gentlemen are ruined if they cease to be officers, and it is impossible for the common people to be brought in some years or with small difficulty to tillage or manufacture: if I join to this the blind bigotry they have for the Papist religion, and the notion which the people have that King James has lost his crowns merely for religion's sake, I shall conclude that sooner or later we shall be attacked from hence, and that some standing force in England is no very impertinent thing; but what we cannot help we must suffer. Plays, masques, and operas are as much thronged as ever; the people of quality are mighty expensive; the *partisans* and *fermiers* have all the money in their own hands, which they must lend the King, and can make no other use of it. He is getting it as fast as he can into his own coffers, and will then lower the value of it and repay them at leisure, thinking no further at present than to get the money which he needs; and for the rest, as much as one may judge of things by their appearance, poverty and misery are very much, even at Paris. I believe our show day cannot be yet this fortnight; trappings for all our beasts of four and of two legs will not be ready sooner. In the meantime I have little more to do than to make a leg thrice a day for my chocolate, my dinner and my supper, and run about the rest of my time as fast as two lean nags can carry me like Bartholomew Coates to gape or to buy, and pay my respects to rare company, monks, poets, tailors, academicians, nuns, seamstresses, booksellers and players." *Copy.* (XI. 1-3).

#### THE EARL OF DORSET to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1697-8,] Feb. 7[-17].—"This gentleman, the bearer, who earnestly desires to be recommended to your acquaintance, is a man of a good estate, good sense, and excellent principles; and I am sure you will like his conversation better than that of most of your fellow travellers.

"I have escaped the grief and trouble your sickness would have given me by hearing of your recovery at the same time. I desire no other news but the confirmation of this, for the health and happiness of a friend that I love and esteem so much shall always concern me more than any public affairs, and equal at least to my own private ones, for I am and always will be, dear Matt, your affectionate and most humble servant." (IV. 9.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD LEXINGTON.

1698, Feb. 18. [N.S.] Paris.—“I thought I might have waited Your Lordship’s coming to London, and there have told you *viva voce* that nobody could be gladder of your safe return than myself, but higher powers have ordered otherwise, so I send this letter in my stead to you, my good Lord and Master, as a county sends an address to the King, to welcome you from your foreign expeditions, and to tell you I stand by you with my life and fortune. The latter is all in the Treasury and amounts to twelve hundred pounds, when I can get it; and I thought a violent cold some days since might have fairly eased me of the former, but all, I hope, is growing well again. I wish Your Lordship or the fair Secretary would command me to do anything for you here, for by that means I should hear how you do; and this, too, is to usher in a request of my own. Two friends of mine, Mr. Deputy Secretary of Scotland (Pringle) and Doctor English, solicit me to get a third friend of theirs to be governor to your nephew. I can only say that of the two friends I name I take Doctor English to be as competent a judge of the qualifications necessary for a governor as any man alive, and he recommends this gentleman with great assurances of his being worthy the employment. Pringle is a good ingenious man and knows books and things, and he is likewise very earnest that I use my interest with Your Lordship in this gentleman’s behalf, which I would not do but that upon all the character I have heard of this gentleman it will be a service to Your Lordship’s family to take him, so I most humbly beg leave for this boldness.

“There is little stirring here, the King is at his prayers at Versailles, and all the rest of the world at the plays and operas here. The whole kingdom is poor, and all the wealth of it in the hands of *partisans* and *fermiers* here, who have drained the people, and are in their turn to be squeezed by the Government. But considering the state of this monarchy as to its military part, and I am afraid we are a little too hasty in voting down so very precipitately our army. You will pardon this medley of a letter. I write to you as I would talk to you, and I wish I was to do that soon.” *Copy.* (XI. 3-6). ✓

## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1697-8, Feb. 18 [N.S.]. Paris.—“The reason you have not heard sooner from me is that my Lord [Portland] deferred to send an express till he had obtained a second audience of the King of France. He lets His Majesty know the effects of it in His Majesty’s letters. I may venture to say to you that it has not been with all the success we could have wished, and I believe we shall wait His Majesty’s answer to the despatches we now send before we proceed to have any other audiences public or private. King James’s two troops of guards are broke, which is all the news I know.”



"I think of all [the] people mentioned in our proclamations we have only the Duke of Berwick, Berkeley, Harrison the priest, Goodman and Berkenhead. I wish I were furnished with the trials or other authentic accusations of these people, that upon mentioning any of them I may be sure of what we have against them, the greatest exactness being requisite on our side as to matter of proof, when we complain of these people being harboured here." *Copy.* (XI. 6.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to CHARLES MONTAGUE.

[1697-8, Feb. 18. N.S. Paris.]—"It is a shame that I have not writ to you, but I have been dying, but as matters stand at present with me, I think I may hold out some years longer, at least I am trying how far patience and posset drink will contribute towards it. I promised to give you some account of the state of things here, and I think it may be done in one word, that the whole money of this nation is at Paris in the hands of the *partisans* and *fermiers*, from whom it must necessarily come into the King's, since they can dispose of their money no otherwise whilst the *louis d'or* is at 14 *livres*; and he will keep it so till he has got all the money he can, frightening the people every week with the report of its falling, so that it is better for particular men to trust the Government and make what advantage they can of their money, than let it lie dead by them (for all traffic and merchandise is quite lost), whilst they fear they may lose one or two, or indeed three *livres* to bring it to the ancient standard, in 14. The Court, too, having all places and advantages to bestow, and everybody being noted as, according to their condition, they bring in their money, and bailiages and intendantships bestowed, whereby those who lend to the King are enabled to recover themselves by robbing the people, every man is obliged to swim with the stream and contribute to ruin the public in his own defence. This in their good humour the most sensible of them do not stick to confess; and even some Maréchals of France, whom I have had the honour to be with, have said openly enough how happy a people we were who were governed by established laws and taxed by our own consent.

"The common people of this nation have a strange veneration for their King: it is certain he might have the last penny of them, as well by their inclinations as his power *pour la gloire*: but the people of quality hate him to hell, and (as the French do things always to excess) there is nothing so extravagant as their expressions in this kind in an *auberge* overnight, though they dare as well be hanged as not rise at five the next morning to be at Versailles by eight.

"The monarch as to his health is lusty enough, his upper teeth are out, so he speaks a little like old Manard, and picks and shows his under teeth [with] a good deal of affectation, being the vainest creature alive even as to the least things.

His house at Versailles is something the foolishest in the world; he is strutting in every panel and galloping over one's head in every ceiling, and if he turns to spit he must see himself in person or his Vicegerent the Sun with *sufficit orbi*, or *nec pluribus impar*. I verily believe that there are of him statues, busts, bas-reliefs and pictures above two hundred in the house and gardens.

"My Lord Ambassador has not had yet his public audience, he has had two in particular, and I hope the effect of them will be to have the good folks at St. Germain removed a little further, but we make a secret of this, for it were better to have it thought that we never attempted it than that we miscarried in the attaining it." *Copy*. (XI. 16-19.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

[1697-8, Feb. 22. N.S. Paris].—"I send you enclosed a list of what goods Count Tallard will bring with him into England. . . . His Excellency [Portland] desires your assistance in recommending it to the officers of the Treasury and Customs, whom it may concern, that Count Tallard may have all imaginable civility shown him on this occasion, as well as to the opening of his goods as to the customs to be paid for their entry, His Excellency having been treated here in every thing of that nature most obligingly, and it being convenient that we in England should be as little behind-hand as we can in point of good manners."

"As to our own affairs, my Lord [Portland] gives a particular account of them to His Majesty. We were yesterday at Meudon, where the Court is at present. They are very civil to us; the King talked a good while to my Lord as soon as he came out of his closet and saw him; he dined with the Monseigneurs, Monsieur, and the Duke de Chartres. My Lord stayed a part of his dinner, and then dined with the Marshal de Villeroy and Marshal de Boufflers."

"Pray let me know if you receive people indifferently into England from France, or if any straggling people that do not come under your proclamation must have my Lord Ambassador's passport." *Copy*. (XI. 12-14.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Feb. 13 [-23]. Whitehall.—"I send you what I can recollect at present in relation to the assassination, and for your fuller information I send you the several trials, out of which you may collect all that was given in evidence when those rogues were convicted; and I have added as many of their dying speeches as I could recover in so short a time; whereby you will perceive I don't know whether you can so easily satisfy others that the fact was not only owned but gloried in." (IV. 10.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1697-8, Feb. 28. N.S. Paris.—“We have three posts from England by the same messenger. . . . I am mighty glad you have found the secret of making the messengers useful to us. I confess they are very far from being so, whilst not a man of them would stir (or could) from hence for our letters at Calais till he was equipped with 12 or 14 *louis*. . . . If the business is no better done for the future than hitherto it has been, I protest I will send them home again.

“I have wrote to Mons. Pigault about this affair ; in short, if the four messengers will do their duty well, we shall always have one ready at Calais to bring our letters from thence, which is certainly necessary ; and this I think the only way by which we should receive our letters, considering that these people make no scruple of opening any letters whatsoever that come into their hands.”

*Postscript*.—“There is a talk that the King of France has a mind to live at St. Germain, it being his native air and more proper for him than Versailles. This may be a fair pretext of sending the present inhabitants of St. Germain further. Things are very low with them, forty of their Irish friends that arrived here lately did not as much as see King James, but had each four *livres* only distributed to him, and leave to go seek their fortune where she might be kinder. Lord Melford is out of the Bedchamber, and his party entirely in disgrace ; Lord Middleton is the hero in the farce at present.

“I am plagued to death with messages from my Lord Stafford, so would beg you to advise me how his circumstances stand, for I think he has been outlawed. He pretends to have lived here this eighteen years without any design than that of preserving his health, that he had a passport from His Majesty and is not comprehended in the proclamation. . . . Your orders will instruct me how I am to answer his solicitations, for His Lordship I neither can nor will see. His Excellency [Portland] is equally vexed with him as I am. Goodman was imprisoned for talking too loosely of His Most Christian Majesty for having deserted his ally King James and made the Peace. This, I hear, was the language of St. Germain till King James cautioned them all to forbear it.” *Copy*. (XI. 15 and 20.)

## RICHARD POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Feb. 19 [-March 1]. Whitehall.—“I doubt not but you have heard how Mr. Chancellor [Montagu] has been attacked in the House of Commons, and that he came off to our great satisfaction with much honour. Yesterday the House of Commons were in a committee upon the Bill against Mr. Duncomb, and have laid a fine on him of two-thirds of his real and personal estate.” (VIII. 263.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

[1697-8, March 1. [N.S.]. Paris.—“ Le Roy a beaucoup de santé pour un homme de soixante ans, et plus de vanité qu’une fille de seize. On n’a qu’à voir sa maison pour en mépriser souverainement le maître : bas-relief, fresco, tableaux, tout représente Louis le Grand, et cela d’une manière si grossière que le Czar y trouveroit à redire. Il ne sçauroit cracher dans aucun coin de ses appartements sans voir sa propre figure ou celle de son lieutenant le Soleil, et sans se trouver Héros et Demidieu en peinture. Le Dauphin est à peu près notre Prince George, hormis que l’un ne baise que la Princesse, et l’autre toutes les filles de l’Opéra sans distinction. Monsieur est une petite marionnette d’une voix cassée, qui cause beaucoup et ne dit rien. Toute la Cour est sombre et triste ; la bigoterie et le ménage y règne à un point que les filles à genoux disent leur Paternostre dans les galeries comme dans un couvent, et les gardes du corps, mettant leurs armes à part, nouent des franges comme les filles en Angleterre.

“ Il est sur ma foy impossible de vous exprimer, my Lord, la vénération qu’on a icy pour notre Roy et la haute estime qu’on fait de sa capacité. Ce qu’on dit sur ce chapitre, malgré toute la contrainte [où] on en est, fait un meilleur portrait d’un véritable roy que ce qui est peint pour tout Versailles et Meudon ; et les véritables témoignages qu’on donne de sa grandeur à peu près malgré eux font un panégyrique de Sa Majesté plus parfait que n’ont fait tous les poètes d’Angleterre.

“ Le Roy Jacques et sa femme étoient dans cette ville icy il y a huit jours. Ils y partirent le même soir, après avoir fait leurs dévotions et leurs visites à Madame. Sur la mort de l’Electeur de Hanovre on dit qu’ils sont fort tristes et qu’ils commencent à parler assez durement du Roy de France, ce qui pourroit plus contribuer à leur éloignement de St. Germain que toutes nos remontrances.” *Copy.* (XI. 23-24).

————— to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

169[7]-8, March 1. [N.S.] Livorne.—“ Il y a quelque machination tramée à Rome par des gens qui sous prétexte de voyager poussent leur desseins avec succès : n’y ayant personne dans ce païs qui y veille, vu que ceux qui le devroient faire sont fort sujets à caution de ce côté là, les jeunes gens qui viennent icy et qui s’y établissent, se corrompent tant dans leur religion que dans la fidélité envers le Roy, et cela par les intrigues de cette maudite race de moines Anglois et Irlandois qui sont icy, à Rome, et à Venise. Ce sont des choses dont les conséquences sont très dangereuses, si l’on n’y prend garde. Le monstre en question partit il y a un mois pour Rome, où il doit aller prendre ses dernières instructions, pour de là s’aboucher avec les zélés qui sont à Venise, et puis passer en France, d’où ils s’embarqueront pour Douvres. Je le say pour le luy avoir ouï dire dans son monastère la veille



de son départ : il ne me soupçonnoit pas, ne sachant pas que j'entendois l'Anglois. Ils sont une bonne troupe pour le voyage, mais ils passeront les uns après les autres à Douvres, pour ne pas donner de l'ombrage.

“ Je vous ferois bien le portrait du pèlerin : mais comme je ne l'ay vu qu'en habit de moine, il sera méconnoissable par son déguisement. Mais ce qu'il ne peut changer, c'est sa taille et sa voix. Il est de taille médiocre et déliée ; le poil et les yeux bruns et roulants ; la parole un peu bégayante ; la voix claire parlant bon François et Italien. J'espère que Dieu les fera échouer dans tous leurs desseins et entreprises, vous confirmant le contenu des précédents sur ce sujet, qui furent rendues à my Lord Portland.” *Copy.* (XX. 51.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Feb. 21 [- March 3]. Whitehall.—“ I do not well know what you mean by straggling people coming from France that are not within the late Act of Parliament. You may be sure that all due regard will be had to my Lord Ambassador's pass ; but if any come over who are within the reach of the law, nothing can in strictness exempt them from the penalties of it but their obtaining His Majesty's licence under the Privy Seal. I send you a list of those to whom licences have been refused, and if any of those apply to you, you will hold your hand till His Majesty's pleasure be known whether he will allow of their coming over.” (IV. 11.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

169[7-]8, March 3. N.S. Paris.—“ I have the favour of yours of the 13th February together with the trials and accounts of the merits of our rogues supposed here, of which I shall make use as occasion may require, though as yet I do not see the least glimpse of this Court being in a disposition to hear us on this head.

“ I was yesterday at Marly to make my Lord's compliments to the Princes and Princesses of the Blood, and to ask their coaches for the entry designed to be on Sunday ; yet while these people receive and caress us, they do the same to King James. He and his Queen were at Marly the night before ; they supped with the Court and stayed there till almost midnight. The Princes of the Blood are at the bottom of their hearts in their interest. Madame de Maintenon, who is our good friend, is indisposed.

“ I have likewise yours of the 21st, and will explain what I mean by straggling people. I mean Englishmen, who have been in a way of trade or service of private people here, and were actually in the kingdom before the beginning of the war, and have stayed here ever since, who now, being desirous to return home, ask a pass of my Lord, if such people and others, whom the proclamation does not forbid to return

into England, may have my Lord's passport in case they have a mind to come to you.

"I have written to you before concerning our messengers, and must repeat again that I have reason to be dissatisfied with the service of most of them. In general they have no money, and whenever we are to send away a messenger, my Lord must give him fourteen or sixteen *louis d'ors*. Cange, I have already informed Your Honour, went from hence for England the 5th of February, promising to return with the very first letters you should send from thence; he returned only the 2nd of March (last Sunday), and his staying in England thus long was the occasion of the packets lying at Calais: he brought us the letters of the 13th V.S., by which you see he was not over hasty in coming.

"Toms, the last expedition he made, went from hence the 19th February to Calais, and returned the 25th February, being, as you see, six days in the ways.

"Allen was sent from hence the 22nd with a written order of my own hand to make all expedition to Calais and return from thence with the letters he should find there, the same order repeated to him verbally by me before witnesses; yet he goes into England and is there I suppose till this time.

"Brown, the extraordinary messenger, does his duty, but for the three others it would be well for the King's service if the three hundred pounds were given to three others, who might be sent over to us and do their business better, for these three are not worth so many farthings.

"*Nemo miser nisi comparatus*: it is evident what people these messengers are, since a young fellow, whom my Lord sent from hence the 1st of March at eleven at night, returned from Calais the 5th at two afternoon. You will, I hope, endeavour to have this thing remedied.

"Since my hand is in at complaints, I must tell you that as to the designed entry to-morrow, some of our people squabble for places very frowardly and give this trouble about a trifle.

"We have no new letters worth Jimmy's transcribing, so he only copies bills of ranking our gentlemen and letters to-night."

*Postscript*.—"My Lord gives His Majesty an account that this Court would have obliged us to give place to the Duchess de Verneuil\* as a Princess of the Blood, but that His Excellency persisting in it that he would rather desist from making his entry than yield, they have given up the point, contenting themselves to propose it as a rule that shall be observed for the future; so we are to squabble it out the next embassy we send." *Copy*. (XI. 25.)

\* Cf. *Letters of William III. and Louis XIV.* ed., Grimblot, i. 206.

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Feb. 25 [-March 7]. Whitehall.—"I think you have done very well to refuse Pigault's offers. We shall all



be taught soon enough what French civility tends to ; one can't put a letter into their hands but they will be thrusting their nose and their eyes into it.

"I wish your news prove true that the French King begins to take a fancy to St. Germain's air. They take care to have it understood otherwise, but I take it for granted, whenever King James removes, it shall be upon any other pretence rather than our soliciting it.

"I can't think Goodman was taken up for the reasons you mention. If such an inconsiderable fellow had been taken notice of for speaking ill of the King of France, they would have laid him up where he should not have come out so soon ; but if he was seized as we suspect for the preservation of Lord Ailesbury and Lord Montgomery, they being retired to places of safety, the reasons were ceased for detaining the evidence against them.

"I can't yet find anyone to inform me of my Lord Stafford's case, but I take it for granted he is outlawed. I find three of that name on my list, viz. : Henry Howard, Esquire, Earl of Stafford, in the kingdom of Ireland [*sic*], and John and Francis Stafford, who, I suppose, are his brothers and have taken their mother's name. I hope you will take care that he have no pass, and if he comes hither on his own accord, he is to expect the treatment my Lord Clancarty hath had." (IV. 12.)

#### THE MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, Feb. 28[-March 10]. Dublin Castle.—"I received the favour of yours of the 11-21 instant, and am concerned that you had so ill a welcome to Paris as sickness, which I am glad you have got over so well.

"I cannot but be glad at the poverty you say you think is in France (notwithstanding the appearance at Paris is quite otherways), for that will keep them fast to their treaties, whatever other designs they may have. I never doubted their exterior civility to you, and I hope they will be real when you come to essentials, for I fancy the French want but a good excuse to get rid of King James ; the breaking of his guards is a little ominous.

"I don't doubt but you heard as soon as we did how Mr. 'Mountigue' was attacked, and that he came off with flying colours.

"Here is no news to send you from hence but that five regiments came from Flanders the beginning of January, and eight more are ordered, of which four are arrived and the rest are expected every day, and two regiments of horse and one of dragoons are likewise coming hither ; and to make room for these we have received orders for the breaking of nine regiments of foot, and one of horse, and the only one that is here, which was Brigadier Ousley's. I hope they will give these officers half pay as well as those that are broke in

England, else it would be very hard, they being broke to preserve other regiments who would have been entitled to that pay." (IV. 13.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, March 2[-12]. Whitehall.—"I have acquainted His Majesty with what you write about persons that desire passports. The King thinks they should be given only to trading people who may be of some use when they come hither, but for other vagabonds, who are fit only to be carriers of messages and intelligence, they may as well stay where they are.

"I am sorry our gentlemen are more troublesome than serviceable whenever they come to public assemblies. I suppose you saw something of the same humour in them at the Congress." (IV. 14.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, March 3 [-13]. Whitehall.—"Exchequer bills are now seven pounds per cent. discount, which is a great loss to you, nor can I tell how you will be remedied but by lengthening an article in your extraordinaries.

"Madam Prior sent me word you had drawn a bill for 40*l.* on her, payable this month, which she had accepted. She pretends she wants money, and would have me to pay it. I sent her word I had no money of yours in my hands, only some few exchequer bills which would not be taken for bills of exchange; nor had I received any directions from you relating to it.

"I am glad to hear your health is so well returned that you begin to look after the ladies. I had a summons last week from Crown Court, where I found better entertainment than the last time when I waited on you. The lady shewed me a letter from our friend Mr. Stepney, which he had given my Lord Lexington, who came with Count Freiz (as she says) to her house." (VIII. 267-8.)

THE EARL OF DORSET to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1697-8,] March 6[-16. London.]—"The messenger is just parting, and will not give me time to chide you for not sending me a more particular account of your health. I am no more a courtier, and therefore I hope you will believe I deal plainly and truly when I assure you that your welfare and happiness in all kinds is and always shall be one of my chiefest concerns. I could almost wish you out of all public affairs that I might enjoy your good company oftener, and share with you in that ease and lazy quiet which I propose to myself in this later part of my life either at home or in some warmer climate.

"If there be any good cuts of the pictures in the King's closet or of the buildings at Marly, pray make up a box of them and send me punctual directions how to return you the



money for them, or any other baubles that I shall desire you to buy for me.

"There is a design here afoot to make Gresham College less ridiculous and more useful than it has been; therefore pray let me know exactly what the new regulations are in the Royal Academy *des Beaux Esprits* at Paris." (IV. 15.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

[1697-8, *circa* March 16. N.S. Paris.]—"Before this comes to your hands you will hear of Count Tallard, who stayed some days at Calais, not venturing to embark because of the ill weather and contrary winds that have blown there.

"The Jacobites are rare fellows, yet my Lord Portland and the Maréchal de Boufflers are as great friends as is possible for two men in their characters to be.

"There is two hundred men about St. Germain's, and as many about this town of King James' Guards, which I have told you were lately broke; they are starving and swearing against the King of France and their old master.

"They have heard at St. Germain's what my Lord has endeavoured towards their being removed: the Duke of Berwick and his myrmidons threaten us with sword and fire, which, I think, is as wisely thought and is as likely to do them good as the usual methods they have. Mr. Aglionby is at Calais regulating the posts. I have sent him what I had by me relating to that affair.

"Mr. Stepney told me before my leaving England that his Board had laid a state of our trade with this kingdom before His Majesty. My Lord desires a copy of that paper may be sent to us."

*Postscript.*—"Count de Grammont having given my Lord the enclosed case of his daughter, the Lady Stafford, His Excellency desires to know what may be done in it. I do not send you the copy of two Memoirs we gave in yesterday to Mr. Pomponne, one for release of prisoners, the other of ships, His Excellency having enclosed them in his packet to the King. You will, I presume, have them from His Majesty." *Copy.* (XI. 32.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

[1697-8, *circa* March 19. N.S. Paris.]—"Depuis que je me suis donné l'honneur de vous écrire, nous avons fait tous les tours de passe-passe d'ambassadeur, et rendu visite à tout le monde depuis Louis le Grand en personne jusqu'au représentatif de notre bon allié le Duc de Savoie. L'entrée et l'audience sont si bien mis en œuvre dans la Gazette que les politiques en doivent être parfaitement contents. Vous me dispenserez, my Lord, si je vous épargne le récit. Les badauds trouvent nos chevaux beaux et notre équipage fort leste et nombreuse, mais ils objectent aux carrosses qu'ils ne sont pas assez magnifiques pour l'occasion, et peut-être ils ont raison là.

“ L'autre jour que my Lord étoit à St. Clou[d], Monsieur le fit voir sa belle maison, et le laissa après avec Madame, s'excusant de ce qu'il étoit obligé de sortir : il l'étoit en effet, car un moment après il monta en carrosse pour rendre visite à la Reine Jaquette à Chalieux [Chaillot], maison religieuse proche de Paris, où elle faisoit alors ses dévotions. Enfin cette Cour ne se démentit point ; et quand les François deviennent gens de bien, je croiray que leur église a le véritable pouvoir de faire des miracles.

“ Je suis informé que les préparatifs à Toulon sont fort considérables, les troupes qu'ils gardent sur pied fort nombreuses ; et la santé du Roy d'Espagne presque désespérée . . . tout cela bien considéré, je vous laisse à penser, my Lord, si la paix sera de longue durée. J'espère que nous ne nous endormons point. J'ay écrit sur ce sujet aux plus puissants de mes amis en Angleterre.

“ Il est certain que la France est bien honteuse de la Paix qu'elle vient de faire : les prêtres et les bigauts nous haïssent au dernier point, et c'est assurément avec beaucoup de plaisir que je voy que l'habileté des ministres n'est pas si grande que la malice du peuple. Pontchartrain est universellement décrié comme qui l'entend les finances le moins et qui ruinera le plustôt. Torsi n'a point de génie : tout son mérite est d'être né Colbert, et d'avoir épousé la fille de Pomponne. Ce dernier a la réputation d'honnête homme, et il est reconnu pour le premier ministre après la Maintenon (cela s'entend toujours). C'est prodigieux que le pouvoir de cette vieille gouvernante sur l'esprit de son pupil royal de soixante. Il n'ose rien faire sans elle, ni luy refuser tout ce qu'elle veut. Il y a quelques jours qu'un petit employ fut donné par l'intercession de Mons. de Torsi à un de ses amis : l'ordre étoit dépêché, et l'affaire comme faite : un autre s'adressa plus heureusement à la Maintenon : elle envoya sur le champ un valet de chambre seulement au secrétaire, et dans un quart d'heure tout estoit changé : la première commission estoit anéantie et une autre présentée au Roy pour être signée en faveur du dernier suppliant.

“ Je ne sçay, my Lord, si vous avez vu le lamponne inclus. On s'attendroit à quelque chose de meilleur sur un si bon sujet, mais je ne sçaurois dire par quelle fatalité l'esprit est assez rare à présent en France, et dans une infinité de livres de vers et de lettres qui courent Paris, il n'y a guère qui vaillent la lecture : ce quadrain doit être excepté du nombre :—

‘ Faire un Electeur de Cologne,

Rétablir Jacques détrôné,

Donner un roy à la Pologne,

Sont les hauts faits de Dieudonné.’ ” *Copy.* (XI. 34-37.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to DR. [WILLIAM] AGLIONBY, at Calais.

169[7-]8, March 24. [N.S.] Paris.—“ I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 10-20 ; I am so too of another



of a former date, and should have told you so, but that you said you were running from Calais without adding whither, and it is not every man's talent, you know, to shoot flying. Now I know where you are perched I do not defer telling you I am yours, I think so I mean, for in my gallooned coats and the hurry that attends my noble post I hardly know myself.

"We go to Versailles to-morrow morning—*nota bene*, that I write this at midnight. I have asked for the paper you require, but do not find any such printed. Mr. Robeton, my Lord's Secretary for French Affairs, will give you a more exact account of that commission before the post goes, since (as I said) I am obliged to wait on my Master to Court.

"Your application of the passage in Horace is so pretty that one would almost die for it, yet I am so dull but to think your *occidit* a damn'd verb, and am, I think, like to live a good deal longer, notwithstanding all the fine things you can say of me in a winding-sheet. *A living dog is better than a dead lion* is, I think, the very wisest saying of the wisest fellow that ever lived.

"One word, as the parsons say, and so conclude. It was what I once writ in my Mézeray when I was reading that book, and splenetic and ill:—

"Yet let me live and I would lie,

And growl, and whine, and scratch and cry.

On dunghills lousy and besh . . . n,

Rather than decently to die,

To have been either Mézeray,

Or any monarch he has written." *Copy.* (XI. 30.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1697-8, March 23[-April 2]. Whitehall.—"I have your letters of the 26th and 29th to acknowledge. . . . I wish you had better news to send us from Spain."

"I have not seen Mr. Attorney to know his opinion upon Count Grammont's case, but it seems to me that, the son-in-law being outlawed, he may as well jointure his lady in Utopia as in England, and if that be his case, I know no relief she can have but by the King's bounty." (IV. 16.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF MANCHESTER.

169[7]-8, April 4. [N.S.] Paris.—"I hear from the Venetian Ambassador here how you are esteemed among the best there, which one loves to hear confirmed by strangers, however sure one was of it before.

"We have played all our tricks except the great one of getting King James a little further, which I do not know if we shall accomplish. However, we have the remedy in our own hands, and if these people will not give us the satisfaction of knowing, or at least of thinking they are far enough from us not to do us any harm, I see no reason why we should give them fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, which may be as well employed in arming against them.

"Mr. Stanhope sends us word that it is impossible the King of Spain should live long, having lost his forces and the small share of sense which he had before his illness. The Court of France is far from being asleep on this occasion; I hope we shall not be so neither. I do not write on this head more amply because these people have a very familiar way of breaking open our letters, as possibly Your Excellency may see they have these, if you take the pains to look upon the seals.

"My Lord Ambassador is gone this morning out of town for a day or two, upon a voyage of pleasure, as we give it out; but it is really to see Prince Vaudemont, who comes within 30 leagues of this town on his way to Milan.

"This Court is so melancholy and bigot that the news of it is hardly worth sending. That which makes most noise in it, and which would make more in any other court of Christendom, is the marriage of Madam Maintenon's niece with the eldest son of the Duke de Noailles. Madam Maintenon received the compliments of the Princesses and ladies on this occasion in a very extraordinary manner. She was in her bed; the Duchess of Burgundy came into her chamber, had a chair set for her, but did not sit; all which mummary was concerted beforehand; and consequently the other ladies could not sit whilst the Duchess stood. Thus, my Lord, this woman is a *je ne sçay quoy*, which everybody reasons of as he thinks good, and of whom nobody can determine what character she really has." *Copy.* (XI. 39-41.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [DR. WILLIAM] AGLIONBY.

1698, April 9. N.S. Paris.—"My Lord understands it that our putting down the Corunna packets was the condition we were to yield to in case the French came to reasonable terms; and if they do so, we cannot well insist upon their being kept up."

*Postscript.*—"I have chid your messenger. I envy his dining with you, and should have used you better, because I know you better. I would send you the first fable in Æsop, *Gallus gallinaceus*, in verse upon this subject, if I had time." *Copy.* (XI. 42.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, April 9. N.S. Paris.—Informing him that Lord Portland went on the 4th to Notre Dame de Liesse to see Prince Vaudemont, and returned yesternight.

"Young Grimes [Graham], Rene's [Reginald's] son,"\* intends to go to England, although Prior has refused to give him a passport as he has paid a visit to St. Germain. He went from England to Holland at the time of the late treaty with a letter of recommendation from Sir William Trumbull, who is a neighbour of his father.

\* Cf. Buccleuch MSS (Hist. MSS. Comm.) II., I. 163.



Sir Francis Leicester and Mr. Kenyon, a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, are at Paris. Both are Jacobites, and have been given to understand that passports for England, if applied for by them, will be refused.

Hugh Hagan has informed Prior and Portland of "a dangerous design a carrying on," and will be sent at once to England. "We cannot be too wary of looking who comes from hence: the party at St. Germain were never in so good humour." *Copy.* (XI. 43-45.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to CHARLES MONTAGUE.

1698, April 10. N.S. Paris.—"Our visits of ceremony are over, and my cough is going off. One would not die in this country under the circumstances of debt and heresy; the last indeed is purely my own concern, and I shall take care to adjust it, but the first regards you, and all the good resolutions I can take will signify very little except Mr. Powys be enabled to furnish the first quarter now expired or some of my arrears in ready money or equivalent; for in short the three hundred advance-money is no more, and my all is in the Treasury. I care for no more than will keep me till I come home from France: *Cætera Divis*; I will fare as other people do, and never presume upon the friendship with which you honour me to plague you with complaints and petitions.

"You will judge with what satisfaction I hear of the glorious figure my Master makes in the House of Commons.

"*Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules.*—I have a good mind to translate an ode to you of Virtue, Fame and Demigods, for I will swear you carry it very high. Is it not enough to discourage injustice and extortion privately, but that you must strike at it openly in the face of all the world and in the person of its chief Dagon? and could you not be satisfied to be esteemed an honest man and a good patron without having it attested by a whole nation and a kind of law made to tell it to posterity? Jesu! what strides you take, and with what pleasure do I talk of Mons. de Montague to the Torcis and Pontchartrains here!

"These people are all the same, civil in appearance and hating us to hell at the bottom of their heart: they assure us one day of the continuance of their friendship, and tell King James next they will never forsake him or let him go further off than St. Germain. They have a great eye to their naval preparations, as well at Toulon as at Brest. There will be a review made at Compiègne this summer of about 40 battalions of foot and 130 squadrons of horse and dragoons.

"They are constantly informed of the King of Spain's estate by extraordinary couriers, and, according to the best accounts we have, that Prince cannot live many months.

"Madam Maintenon is our friend and will keep the Peace, if possible, as she made it, not out of any kindness she has

to us, but from a notion that the King's engaging in business impairs his health. 'Tis incredible the power that woman has; everything goes through her hands, and Diana made much a less figure at Ephesus. Her niece had t'other day in money and jewels with the Duke de Noailles' son a better fortune than a daughter of France had formerly; and the aunt received the visits of the Court upon it in bed, it being concerted that the Duchess of Burgundy should have a chair set her and refuse to sit, excusing herself upon the shortness of her visit, and that, the Duchess not sitting, the other ladies and princesses could not pretend to it." *Copy.* (XI. 47-49.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, April 16. [N.S.] Paris.—Further news of the supposed plot. Has been informed "that the Irish at St. Germain's were never in so good hopes as now; that one Graham" has "said that King James would soon be restored again; and that four persons are going for England from St. Germain's by the way of Holland, one of which is Mackarty, who was a lieutenant under Parker, has a blemish upon his eye, and is called from that Blind Mackarty." *Copy.* (XI. 49.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ALEXANDER] STANHOPE.

1698, April 17. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have been so long in the Northern Province as almost to forget there was a south, and whilst I was at The Hague and heard from Stockholm or Copenhagen how the King of Sweden or Denmark did, I left the King of Spain to shift for himself, and only enquired of our friends at Brussels what news they had from you concerning him; but now, Sir, that I have changed my side I must beg you would be pleased to adopt me for a correspondent, at least as long as I am here; and that your letters for England may pass quicker by this way than by that of Holland. I make no excuse for my silence whilst Mr. [James] Stanhope was here, for he promised to keep up the correspondence and to assure you of my great respects, and though he be so good a soldier that writing may not be thought properly his talent, I am sure I would never desire a better second for the pen than he is.

"You will doubtless have heard from other hands, or else I would not trouble you with it, of a misunderstanding which happened between my Lord Ambassador and him. I am sorry he resented anything ill after having been treated with all kindness from my Lord. But he is of age, let him answer for himself, and I have business enough of my own not to meddle with anybody's else, though I have a friendship for Mr. Stanhope which makes me wish that whole matter had been otherwise." *Copy.* (XI. 51.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, April 17. N.S. Paris.—Stating that Hogan on his way to England met three persons at Boulogne from whom he believes that he can extract the whole secret of the plot. He is therefore directed to go to England with all speed and visit Vernon “by night, and with all imaginable secrecy, to keep company with these persons till he knows the bottom of their design, and is sure of his affair, and to take” Vernon’s “direction for the rest.” *Copy.* (XI. 54.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, April 7[–17]. Whitehall.—“I received your letter of the 10th inst., which I sent that night to Newmarket, the King being gone thither. Mr. Yard will let me know what directions His Majesty shall please to give as to passports, but those concerned should be informed that, if they are liable to the law and have been in France since December, [16]88, without leave, a passport will not exempt them from prosecution, but the Act requires they should have a licence under the Privy Seal to return; and I do not doubt but such as His Excellency shall think fit to recommend will obtain it. I think there ought to be the least scruple about artificers and manufacturers, if they have not given any notorious marks of their disaffection, but are like to betake themselves peaceably to their callings.”

“I send you . . . Sir Charles Hedges’ report upon the petition of the poor ransomers, which hath been laid before His Majesty at the Cabinet Council. . . . It would be much the best and speediest way if the French would release them upon the reasons Sir Charles gives of their having taken them as hostages contrary to the French King’s *ordonnances*, but those, I am afraid, they will interpret for themselves and in favour of their own rogues. . . . Sir John Lowther, of Whitehaven, hath taken a copy of what relates to his town, and he will write to his merchants to use more conscience. Sir James Ogilvie, the Scottish secretary, thinks it is in their power to relieve the Glasgow man. I still lack to find some just and charitable people at Liverpool and in Wales, and do not yet despair of it.” (IV. 17.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, April 10[–20]. Whitehall.—“I have desired my Lord Duke to let me know His Majesty’s pleasure about Lord Iveagh.

“I have not yet seen Hogan, whom you mention. When he comes to me, we will make the surest work we can of seizing his companions. We have had a great many alarms of late of designs against the King: I wish we could lay hold on some that have been tampering that way, we would so drive it through all the parts of the discovery, that I hope

we should make the Jacobites repent their meddling and spoil their uppishness.” [sic] (IV. 18.)

THE POSTMASTERS GENERAL to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, April 11[–21]. General Post Office.—Informing him that they have sent Mr. Aglionby to Calais to treat with Mons. Pajot, Farmer-General of the Post Office of France, for the re-establishment of the correspondence between the two kingdoms; and that Pajot will consent to a treaty on the basis of the old treaty, provided that the service of packets to Coruña be discontinued; otherwise he insists on a renewal of the high tariff made in the treaty of 1676. He pretends that the Coruña service is an innovation, and prejudicial to his own interest as preventing letters to Spain and Portugal from passing through France, whereas the intention was “only that each Office should endeavour to hinder and prevent the setting up of any private boats, or other ways of conveyance of letters, to the prejudice of either Office. . . . This Office did pay *communibus annis* to the Post Office of France 39,000 *livres*, so that Mons. Pajot cannot complain but that he gains very well by the English letters,” and they do not think he will be any loser by the Coruña service, “for the merchants will generally write through France as being a more certain conveyance, and if any of them shall write by Coruña, we believe even they will send duplicates overland.”

Portland is further urged to endeavour to obtain a renewal of the privilege formerly enjoyed by the packet-boats of entering Calais free from the duty of tonnage: and to communicate his answer from the Court of France to Mr. Aglionby, who cannot otherwise proceed with the treaty. *Signed*: R. Cotton. Tho. Frankland. (XX. 38.)

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, April 14[–24]. Newmarket. — “The King being pleased at my Lord Portland’s desire to recall him from his extraordinary embassy in France, His Majesty commands me to let you know that ’tis his pleasure you continue there as Secretary of the Embassy till you receive His Majesty’s further orders.” *Signed*. (IV. 19.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF DORSET.

1698, April 24. [N.S.] Paris.—“I cannot positively determine if my not having writ sooner to Your Lordship be a sin, but I vow I am as penitent for it as if it were. I have been so ill that I thought myself going out of the world, but this is but a bad excuse for not writing to him who gave me the means of coming into it with any credit; and to say I have had business is only to confess I have written to a hundred indifferent people, and not done so to the beloved patron for



whom I have the most inviolable esteem and respect. As to the public, the King of Spain's illness and the measures this Court will take upon his death makes all the discourse here, the preparations as well at Toulon as at Brest show these people have a watchful eye in case the thing happen, though I believe they wish as heartily as we that he may live some time longer. The King particularly has no mind to enter into a new war, and Madame Maintenon (our good friend) increases that pacific humour in him by telling him that all business is destructive to his health. He is so attentive to this doctrine that he has said, if the King of Spain dies, he leaves the succession to be determined by the Council, whose determination he will not oppose by way of arms, except they give it to the Emperor's second son. In the meantime Madam Maintenon governs him as absolutely as Roxalana did Solyman. He lives at Marly like an Eastern monarch, making waterworks and planting melons, and leaves his bashas to ruin the land, provided they are constant in bringing in their tribute.

"Our neighbours at St. Germain's speak mighty confidently of returning home to England; it seems as if they had some new villainy forging. We have had some advice of that kind, imperfect, some false, but such after all as makes us extremely apprehensive of everything. The Melfordians and Middletonians, who are the Whigs and Tories of that Court, are always fighting. One Beaujer, one of the former faction, killed Crosby (who was tried some time since in England for high treason) in a drunken quarrel the other day in this town, and though these people all together make little more than a private family, they have as much faction and folly amongst them as we can have in England for the heart of us.

"I am much better in health, or if I were dying, the satisfaction of so kind a letter from my Lord Dorset would more revive me than all the drugs they could give me. I am much obliged to Doctor Lister; he took extraordinary care of me as of one whom he knew Your Lordship had favoured and protected; and as matters stand at present, I hope I may go on some years longer to show the great obedience I owe your commands, and the entire veneration and (if I may dare to say so) the perfect friendship I have for Your Lordship and your family."

*Postscript.*—"The prints say poor Sir Fleetwood is worse, for which I am extremely sorry." *Copy.* (XI. 62-64.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

1698, April 24. N.S. Paris.—"J'espère que vous serez en bonne santé de retour de Newmarket, que votre cheval y auroit gagné le cours, et que vous ayez été heureux au jeu : a t'on pu pousser ses vœux plus loin pour un homme, pendant qu'il étoit en ces quartiers là ?

“ Dans ma dernière lettre je pris la liberté de vous entretenir d'un certain Hogan : j'ay averti le Secrétaire d'Etat de ce. J'en ay sçu depuis, que l'homme nous a dit avoir trouvé à Boulogne les gens dont il s'agit, et qu'il y est allé se joindre à eux et les tenir compagnie en Angleterre. Depuis ce tems là il nous vint un autre qui prétendoit découvrir quelque chose de pareil, mais tout ce qu'il fit ce dernier, c'étoit d'excroquer my Lord de 60 pistoles, et de disparaître fort adroitement. Si la conspiration de Hogan ne nous menace de rien qui soit plus atroce, je seray fort content de vous avoir écrit une impertinence : et pourvu seulement que la personne sacrée du Roy soit en sureté, que le Privy puisse souffri[r] et que nous soyons un peu duppés, il m'importe peu. Ce qu'il y a de certain est que ceux de Saint Germain paroissent joyeux plus qu'à l'ordinaire ; ils ont à leur commandement assez de gens désespérées et prêtes à tout faire, et par mille marques et mots qu'ils laissent échapper ils font entrevoir comme s'ils eussent quelque chose sur le tapis dont on ne comprend pas le mystère, de sorte qu'on doute et qu'on craint sans sçavoir pourquoy : vous connoissez trop bien mon cœur, my Lord, pour croire que je ferois ma cour en affectant de paroître le zélé, mais sérieusement il y a plus du Diable dans l'âme de ces gens, qu'on ne croiroit, et on ne peut pas trop dire que c'est à vous, my Lord, qui êtes auprès de Sa Majesté, et qui êtes au degré même de son amitié, de luy faire souvenir qu'elle doit garder avec soin la vie sur laquelle dépendent celles de tant de milliers.

“ Je suis averti que Parker, Berkely, Byerly, Birkenhead et quelques autres de ces infâmes hommes sont icy incognito. Un nommé Beuger, escuyer et favori du Duc de Berwick, tua l'autre jour Crosby qui étoit accusé il y a quelque tems en Angleterre du crime de haute trahison ; c'étoit une querelle du parti ; Crosby étoit Middletonian, l'autre Melfordian ; c'est à peu près notre Whig et Tory. Assez de la tuerie, je passe à d'autre chose.

“ Mademoiselle Florence de l'Opéra (on ne disgracie trop la famille en la nommant) eut la bonté d'accoucher l'autre jour d'une fille. Le Duc de Chartres est amoureux de cette fille depuis environ deux ans. Monsieur et Madame témoignent vouloir prendre soin de l'enfant, et on ne doute guère qu'avec le tems il soit légitimé et mis au rang des Princes du Sang : belle visite à faire à quelque successeur de son Excellence ! ” *Copy.* (XI. 65-67).

MATTHEW PRIOR to CHARLES MONTAGUE.

1698, April 25. [N.S.] Paris.—“ Since I did myself the honour to write to you, Mr. Herbert arrived here and gave me your letter ; he could not bring a better to entitle him to all the civilities I can possibly show him, though as yet I have scarce begun to show him any, having been taken up



with foolish princes as to their visits, and squabbling if one is to go over the threshold with them, or stand just on this side of it.

"I have done what I never dared do in my life before, that is, sent you a dunning letter ; I leave the success of it to Mr. Powys and should not have mentioned it but to ask your pardon for having written it. I believe our stay in France will be longer than we thought, which is the reason of my continuing in the doleful tune of :—' Good Your Honour, for God's sake, enable Mr. Powys to help me, for in my present circumstances I could not play at loo for sixpence a dozen, or shall be able to bring home Mrs. Barton the newest fashioned baby ! '

"As to serious affairs, this Court will be ready in case the King of Spain should die, though I think they are very far from wishing it should happen soon. The King of France pretends he will leave it absolutely to the determination of the Council of Spain, except that determination gives the crown to the second son of the Emperor, in which case he will have recourse to arms.

"Our friends at St. Germain's are in great hopes (God knows upon what those hopes are founded) of seeing better days yet : they count upon a great many friends in England, and are satisfied that, our armies broke, we shall not be in a condition of resisting such a body of men as they are sure the King of France will send them to land upon us. The Middletonians and the Melfordians, who are the Whigs and Tories, fall out every day : one Beaujour, Major to the Duke of Berwick, killed Crosby t'other day, the man who was tried some time since in England for treason.

"All the nest of rogues are here, Barkeley, Parker, Bryerly, Birkinhead ; they threaten nothing but blood and slaughter, but of this I write to Mr. Secretary. I will trouble you no longer on this head, lest you may think my poverty has brought me into ill company, and that I date my letter from the Irish house where these people meet." *Copy.* (XI. 60.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, April 25. N.S. Paris.—"The King of France was yesterday hawking upon the plains by St. Germain's with King James and him they call the Prince of Wales. Some of our young gentlemen had the curiosity to go out to see them.

"My Lord James Cavendish met the Duke of Berwick, Mr. FitzJames, whom they call the Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord Middleton in a visit yesterday at the Count de Grammont's : and for all our good treatment wherever we come, I do not find but that the t'other party is received with equal civility."

"Sir Charles Hedges' report upon the case of the poor ransomers is admirable, if His Majesty's power in France

were as valid as his title to that kingdom, we think, is : but as matters stand, it is fitter for a flourish in a book than for practice in reality : for who shall interpret if these people were taken out of their ships upon stress of weather or not ? Who shall teach the French the unreasonableness of their taking ransomers, whilst they are to be convinced it is so because we lose by it ? or at last who shall stand juratory caution for those people when their owners have abandoned them ? I hope your method may succeed, and these poor people may find relief by the care the gentlemen you name will take to find out and oblige these owners to the common duties of humanity : for really an English Ambassador would make but a very bad plea from any topics I have yet seen from Doctors' Commons.

"Mr. Stock, from Dover, writes me word that they carry people before the magistracy there, if they land from France without passports ; indeed too much care in that kind cannot be taken, and I could wish . . . that I had direction from Mr. Yard if every Englishman that goes from France, be he good, bad, or indifferent, shall be obliged to have my Lord's passport, that we may act accordingly ; and though His Excellency may not stay long, that he may give a fixed rule to his successor.

"My Lord tells me he mentions to you the affair of Davis : if there be no real design against His Majesty, I wish Hogan may deal with us in like manner." *Copy.* (XI. 68-70.)

#### ARTHUR PODMORE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, April 16[-26]. Dublin.—"Since you are pleased to give me leave to trouble you, it may not be improper to give you this account, that the profits of your office from the entrance of the present Lords Justices to the 31st of March last . . . amount to no more than £66*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, which is in the hands of Mr. May, and perhaps will be thought much short of what might be expected in almost a year's time, and what in common opinion the place is esteemed to be worth ; but considering that the Government has not power to give commissions to the army, which was the greatest advantage to the Chief Secretary in times past, that much of the office business is diverted and many of the fees reduced from what they were, it will not seem strange that no more has been made in so long a time. There has been no neglect of attendance or want of care that might occasion the least decrease." (IV. 20.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

1698, April 23 [-May 3]. Paris.—"Je dois rester icy après my Lord Portland jusques à l'arrivée d'un autre ministre. C'est un grand honneur, je l'avoue, d'estre icy, si ce n'étoit que pour vingt-quatre heures, de la part de Sa Majesté ; mais



quand ce successeur seroit nommé demain au matin, il ne pourra venir en moins de trois mois. En attendant votre ministre par interim fera très mauvaise figure, si l'intercession de my Lord Albemarle ne lui procure quelque augmentation à son 40s. par jour. Jusques icy j'ay fait une dépense honnête en égard à la dignité de la commission du Roy, mais il me sera impossible d'en user de même quand je ne pourrai plus recourir à la table de Milord Portland, et il ne sera pas comme il faut de chercher mon dîner à l'auberge, ni d'aller à pied aux ministres : et il ne sera ni pour l'honneur du Roy ni pour ma propre satisfaction de faire voir à tout le monde icy que cette grande ambassade de 80 lacqués s'est dégénérée tout d'un coup dans un Secrétariat qui à peine en pouvoit soutenir deux. Je ne plaide pas icy ma propre cause, my Lord, car cecy ne sera pas pour long tems, et je suis assez philosophe de me contenter de fort peu, mais la grandeur du Roy, et les habitudes que j'ay contractées icy demandent que je sois un peu en état de déclarer que je n'étois pas secrétaire de Milord Portland mais de son maître. Voicy l'affaire, my Lord. Vous vous intéresserez si vous le jugez raisonnable. Stepney à Dresden avoit 4l. par jour sans le caractère d'envoyé ; il en a cinq à l'heure qu'il est en Prusse. Cresset et d'Hervert en ont autant à Zell et en Suisse. Je ne dis plus mot. Je suis tout à Sa Majesté, et croyray toujours cela plus éligible qu'elle ordonne plus facilement. My Lord Portland est convaincu de l'impossibilité de faire la chose bien sur le pied où elle est : il me promet même d'en écrire au Roy, d'en parler, de le faire, et tout ce qu'on voudra, mais on oublie quelque fois les choses où on n'est pas visiblement intéressé.

“ Nous revinmes hier de Versailles, et fîmes l'autre jour dans les jardins avec le Roy, qui promena my Lord par tout. Si c'étoit un compliment fait à my Lord par Sa Majesté ou une ostentation de sa propre grandeur, qu'importe il ? Elle fit sçavoir à son Excellence qu'elle avoit inventé et ordonné tout, qu'elle en avoit dressé les plans, mis en diverses rencontres les architectes à la raison, et à force de dire cecy souvent sans avoir été contredit, à la fin je pense qu'elle commence à le croire. Monsieur étoit obligé de confirmer tout ce que son grand frère disoit, et une demi-douzaine de cordons-bleu y faisoit le chorus, et faisoit remarquer à nous autres combien *gracieux* étoit leur Roy chaque fois qu'il fit à quelqu'un de nous autres la moindre inclination de tête. *Gracieux*, par parenthèse, est le mot à la mode : un homme est *gracieux*, c'est à dire honnête ; une femme est *gracieuse*, belle ; on chante, on mange et on joue *gracieusement*.

“ Messieurs d'Odycke et de Heemskerk ont dîné aujourd'hui avec my Lord : Droft et Olderson sont venus comme jeunes gens pour l'honneur de l'ambassade.

“ My Lord Anglesey est icy. Je tasche de le gagner autant qu'il m'est possible aux intérêts de la patrie, qui sont ceux

du Roy. Il revient beaucoup de ces sentiments Jacobites où il estoit : il sera bon aussi qu'il trouve une réception favorable à son retour à la Cour, car il a de bon sens et sera capable de faire ou du bien ou du mal. Je l'ai prévenu, my Lord, mais selon la vérité, en ce qui regarde votre caractère et personne. C'est aujourd'hui le jour de Saint George, nous avons tous nos croix rouges aux chapeaux ; et quand je boiray le soir à la santé du souverain de cet Ordre, vous permettrez que j'y ajoute la vostre, et d'espérer de vous voir bientôt revêtu de cet habit à la Chapelle de Windsor." *Copy.* (XI. 73-76.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, April 27[—May 7]. Whitehall.—Requesting him to send the originals or at any rate copies of the protocols and ratification exchanged at Ryswick.

"Sir Joseph Williamson hath something of the old chicane running still in his head, and he is not yet satisfied that the French ambassadors dealt ingenuously with you when they maintained that the original treaty offered by them and signed by both parties at Breda was in French. That being in their own custody, he thinks it may be no difficulty to get a sight of it, and that it would be of use for reviving or putting an end to this dispute hereafter. I do not believe they will show that instrument to you directly, especially if it be in another language than what their ambassadors affirmed, but I do not doubt you will find other ways to be satisfied in the point.

"If there be any of the protocols still wanting that you think may be of use to us, Sir Joseph says he can yet procure them, Mons. Lillierode being stopped for some time longer at The Hague." (IV. 23.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, May 17. [N.S.] Paris.—"My Lord will have his audience of *congé* on Tuesday next : how long he will stay *incognito* after I cannot tell, but the King has, I hear, invited him to see Marly the 4th of June, and I believe he may be here long enough for him to accept the invitation. My Lord Manchester arrived here on Sunday last the 11th, and went on Thursday with my Lord to Versailles ; the King received him very kindly and talked very freely with him, desiring him when he took his leave to make his compliments to the King his Master, which the courtiers who magnify everything here look upon as extraordinary, my Lord Manchester not having credentials to this King, and consequently to be looked upon only as a stranger here. We are receiving and returning visits of ceremony, from which we are to get out to-day only, and to begin those of parting, which is playing the same tricks over again, after Tuesday, and these, whatever my Lord resolves, will not be over so soon as is talked of.



"For all the civilities we receive here, they hate us heartily. I heard an oration pronounced on Thursday at the Sorbonne by the Rector of the University which was rather a panegyric upon King James [than upon the King of France; so bigoted these people are and so well affectioned to a Prince whom *[sic]* they think has suffered for the good old cause: there were some unmannerly expressions in it of our King, but such as by making him the chief of the united Princes of Europe, the head of the councils and armies of the heretics, etc., did His Majesty more honour than he really intended him.

"You shall have by my Lord Portland an entire journal of our embassy, or else it would be hard, for we have two or three secretaries to compose it: and I shall likewise return you by His Excellency the copies of the protocols of Ryswick as complete as I could get them, though I own the having them to my Lord Jersey chiefly: Sir Joseph, I have told you, always managing his papers like his gold, he may, and doubtless has them more perfect, but I doubt if you will ever see them except you make him open his books as you do the East India Company by an order from the House of Commons.

"If in the meantime you would have recourse to my papers, my Lord Jersey will let you see his, His Excellency (one may now call him) having copies of everything.

"I am pumping Callières to get a sight (among other papers) of the original Treaty of Breda.

"I have not heard one word from Hogan."

*Postscript.*—"My Lord this moment tells me of the manner of Count Tallard's receiving you. In all our visits to the Ministers, the Duke de Beauvillier, Mons. de Pomponne, Mons. de Pontchartrain, etc., these gentlemen received my Lord in the vestibule or *salle* near the steps, and almost as soon as my Lord was out of his coach, gave His Excellency the hand, the door, and the *fauteuil*, the gentlemen going out as soon as my Lord and the Ministers were seated, the Minister reconducting my Lord to his coach and staying to see it go. My Lord did the very same thing to these Ministers when they returned the visits, the ceremonial being on both sides upon an equal level. His Excellency writes to you himself upon this subject, and I hope this advertisement comes soon enough for you to give the *lex talionis* to the French Ambassador." *Copy.* (XI. 80-83.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, May 8[-18]. Whitehall.—"I have moved His Majesty about the augmentation of your allowance, which he is willing to do, but would not have it by a new privy seal, which is to make a precedent for others to pretend to it whom he may not have the same reason to gratify. If you can think of any other way you will let me know it, and in the meantime I will advise with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it.

"I have heard nothing of your Hogan. Pray take as much care as you can that we be as little bubbled by these people as is possible. My son will desire your advice and assistance concerning one of them whom I engaged with as hoping he might be useful. You will be the best judge what he can perform, and consequently what he will deserve, and I shall do all that is fitting on my part." (IV. 26.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to CHARLES MONTAGUE.

[1698, May 21. N.S. Paris.]—"Of all my correspondents you are certainly the best, for you never write to me, yet *do* always what I beg of you. I am extremely obliged to you for the two last hundred pounds, which, I hope, will serve till I know what they will do with me. You will see that, my dear Master, sooner than I. They order me to stay here till another ambassador comes, and my Lord Portland has written in my behalf to the King to have the 40s. augmented. This other ambassador being my Lord Jersey, I believe I may stay much longer than is thought, which is an admirable reason why I insist much more earnestly than otherwise I should have done upon this augmentation; but I would press nothing; the King has been extremely kind to me, and I will endeavour to serve in that manner he pleases, and think that best he orders most easily. For the rest—*Omne solum forti patria est*. 'Ρωξάνη efficiet quo diutius hic morer, ut videant Galli partes ejus domi minime casuras, illumque potestatem habuisse uxoris fratrem successorem suum relinquendi suumque secretarium illi donandi; (for you cannot think what a *faux* brave the old courtisane is;) Στάτεια ε contra idem conabitur propter amicitiam Domino 'Ιερσείω\* amico suo, qui idem velit, uti (credo) amicus meus. Let them jumble up my fortune as they please; I only tell you the thoughts I have of it, and I am sure you will contribute to what you imagine best for me. There is a fate in things which overcomes all human forecast, and Providence may turn up for us what we never thought of for ourselves.

"We took our leave yesterday of this Court, from whom we had a great many compliments and a damned dinner. My Lord talks of going for England within three weeks at farthest. Things continue here in the old train; they are very obliging to us one day and the same to King James the next. This King seems to think of nothing at present but his aqueducts. The apprehension of the King of Spain's death is a little over: the fleet which we talked of that France was setting out comes to no more than about twelve ships in all from Brest, Port Louis and Toulon to take Sally men in the Mediterranean; these infidels (as we call them here) having used the French of late but scurvily. I ought to have spoke of my Lord Manchester's being here in the

\* Lord Jersey. 'Ρωξάνη is evidently a friend of Portland, who was Jersey's brother-in-law.



beginning of my letter, but that my doing so would have obliged me to mention our poor Mr. [Heneage] Mountagu's death.\* I am not such a philosopher but that I am extremely afflicted at it, but what shall we say? We were born: nature and necessity are too strong for us: *et levius fit patientia Quicquid corrigere est nefas.*

"Dear Horace! I have a sentence of him upon most occasions, but I find nothing in him applicable to staying at Paris upon 40s. a day, where one's coach costs one *louis* and one's lodgings another, before I or mine have eat or drank."

*Postscript.*—"Send me word what books you have about the Louvre edition, that I may get you the rest." *Copy.* (XI. 83-85.)

#### JOHN ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, May 12[-22]. Whitehall.—With reference to some papers sent over to the Ambassador in Paris about the *Mary* sloop, Thomas Humble, commander, taken into St. Malo by a French privateer after the term for cessation of hostilities was expired; he desires Prior not to "let this affair cool for want of motion," and that he will "look upon it as one wherein the honour of the nation is as much concerned as the advantage of that particular merchant who owns the ship." (IV. 27.)

#### LORD GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, May 12 [-22]. Dublin Castle.—Desires Prior to find out in the most secret and exact manner that he can if John Trant, eldest son of Sir Patrick Trant recently deceased, carried arms as a cadet or otherwise in the service of France or of King James, in the La Hogue expedition or on any other occasion. Will be obliged to be informed of every particular that can be discovered in the matter. Since his father's death Trant has taken the title of Sir John. *French. Signed.* (IV. 28.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, May 16[-26]. Whitehall.—"I have spoken to Mr. Montague about the increase of your allowance. He thinks the best way will be that the King order you the money to be paid quarterly or half-yearly without making any bills for it; and if you approve of this, when the six months are ended I'll get a direction to the Treasury to pay you 350*l.* without account.

"I know not how long my Lord Ambassador will stay at Paris. If he be come away before this packet arrives, you will open the letter I send to him, it containing some matters that concern only the residing minister.

\* Cf. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, p. 27.

"I hope you have writ to one of the commanders of the yachts at Calais to bring over my Lord Manchester to Dover ; the Admiralty have sent them orders to the same purpose. My Lord Portland, I hope, will have no disappointment by it, since the yacht is immediately to return." (IV. 29.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JOHN ELLIS.

1698, May 27. [N.S.] Paris.—Giving news as to the case of the *Mary* sloop. "Cooper's case will be tried in a week's time by a Marine Court here. . . . As to the privateer, they utterly disown his having any commission from France : they have asked King James and found he has given no commission whatsoever this two years ; and they have promised to send to their ports with order to arrest the pirate whenever he may come in, particularly to St. Malo's, of which place he most probably is, and to Bordeaux, of which he says he is." *Copy*. (XI. 86.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

[1698, June 3. N.S. Paris.]—Informing him of his discussions with Pontchartrain about the ships *Richard*, *Mary*, *l'Amérique* and *Shrewsbury*.

"I had one conversation with Brocard, and Jimmy told me after that the man was desirous of money, and that you had ordered him 50 pistoles. I did not find that Brocard in anything he had then said deserved it, so I advised Jimmy to give him twenty as all that he could well spare then, being upon his journey, and that Brocard might come to me, who would readily give him what you might order. I have not seen the man since. He said he was going to St. Germain's and would communicate to me at his return something of consequence ; though, methinks, he who said nothing when he went will not know a great deal at his return ; and he that makes *la guerre à l'œil* is, as they say in this country, no very good soldier." *Copy*. (XI. 88–91.)

PONTCHARTRAIN to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, June 4. [N.S.] Versailles.—The French King has been pleased to grant their liberty to the convicts on whose behalf Portland had solicited his favour, and orders have been sent to Marseilles to that effect : Campion will also be released from the Château d'If. Instructions have also been sent to the Governor of the French Islands in America to search for two men sent thither 1686, and to allow them to return to France. With regard to the five English prisoners at Dunkirk, His Majesty does not think it just to deprive the privateers of their ransom, and will give no consideration to the dictates of charity so long as certain Frenchmen are kept as hostages in England. *French. Signed*.



*Enclosing* Portland's memorial on behalf of twenty-three prisoners, with the replies of the French King. *French.* (XX. 149.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, May 25[–June 4]. Whitehall.—“I hope you will send us a list of all the prisoners that have been released on that side, and let me know whether any yet remains. You mention two ships to Mr. Ellis whose cases are ordered to be adjudged. I shall be glad to see a good determination made, and if you have demanded other ships which have not been released, you will let us know the reasons for it, that we may at least be furnished with expostulations for the French Ambassador, who would make me believe they carry their concessions almost beyond what is asked.” (IV. 31.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, May 29[–June 8]. Whitehall.—“I am glad Brocard hath been with you. It is now time to see some effects of his undertaking; hitherto no great matter hath appeared, and yet I found he put a great value upon himself by his demands. I am very desirous to encourage him as far as he shall deserve it; and on the other side I should be very loath to pass for his dupe. On which account I am obliged to you that you have managed for me, and stinted my son in the sum he would have given him. When he gives you greater satisfaction, you will let him have the remainder, or a bigger sum. If it be necessary, I have a small allowance from the King for those purposes, and I desire only to know how to lay it out as may be best for his service. If this man doth not answer expectation, it is best to be plain with him, and let him know it. He hath bragged to me of his interest and the opportunities he had to be informed of all that passed. If we do not see the performances of it, we must doubt either of his abilities or good will. In some late letters I writ to Jemmy, I told him some particulars I would have him tried in; I do not doubt but you have seen the letters, and will put him to the test in those points or what other you think more proper.

“I leave you to act as you judge most advisable in this matter, and I will take care of your additional allowance, which I think will meet with no difficulty, Mr. Montague being so much your friend.” (IV. 32.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, June 9. [N.S.] Paris.—*Enclosing* papers as to claims in regard to release of prisoners, and other matters. “You must set a good example in England . . . if you would have a great many poor people freed that lie for hostages here, from whom I have daily such imperfect letters as these poor wretches can write, which show that they are abandoned by their owners in England, and mourn in captivity here. We shall soon see if the orders they promised to give will be

general: but by these memorials you will see that things do not go so currently as Comte Tallard would have you think; nor ought we to be too hasty in kindness with these people, excepting only in exterior civilities. The same law that governed the Jews is very proper for the French, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

"I have heard no more from Hogan. I grant you he is not a good clerk, but fear more from such sort of fellows than from wiser heads; and a hand may strike a dagger or shoot a pistol that cannot set its mark or make the two first letters of its name."

"They continue to say that the pirate was taken and hanged at Dublin: *accipio responsum*; but how do they know this without having had correspondence with him or his followers, or are they sooner informed from Dublin than we?"

"I said in my last that I am perfectly satisfied with what you have determined as to my allowance, as I hope you are of the great sense I have of your favours." *Copy.* (XI. 92-95.)

#### MEMORANDUM as to DAVIS.

1698, June [1-11].—"Mr. Hussy brought Colonel Burk to me, who said he had already told His Excellency what he had discovered of the fellow who called himself Davis, and of whom mention is made in my letter above April 11-21:\* the Colonel says that this fellow Davis, though that be not his right name, quarrelling with some of his accomplices here in Paris was by them desperately wounded, and being, as he thought, near death, discovered to a priest that he, together with those accomplices with whom he had the misfortune to fall out, had been set on to feign the story which he had told to my Lord, and that the real design was to extorque from His Lordship money and a passport, and with the passport to go into England, where he (Davis) should swear that my Lord had given him money to accuse several persons of quality for holding correspondence with King James, and accordingly should produce the passport as having been given him by my Lord to facilitate his voyage into England for this purpose. Colonel Burk likewise added to me that Davis had said that there was a captain who had been with my Lord here in France who was in this damnable design, but the Colonel would not tell his name or say more of him than that he was in England, he thought, at present." *In Prior's hand.* (XI. 95.)

#### VERNON'S CONFERENCE with the FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

1698, June 1[-11].—"The French Ambassador renewed his demands about the 100*l.* taken from the master of a French vessel at Plymouth.

\* See the letter of April 25, N.S., 1698, p. 211, *supra. ad fin.*



"I told him I understood by Mr. Montague that they had given directions for restoring the money, the King having ordered it though it was confiscable, as being contrary to law to carry such a sum out of the kingdom.

"I took notice to the Ambassador how ready His Majesty was to give back to the French what was forfeited upon the Ambassador desiring it, and to show besides how frankly His Majesty dealt with them, he did not so much as think fit to demand of them a sum of 70*l.* that a master of a vessel lately released in Portugal by His Majesty's order (even before it was reclaimed) owned to be due and promised the payment of it, but went away without doing it. The French Ambassador at Lisbon being acquainted with it took little care to oblige him to be just, though he knew the money was owing for the care that was taken of the ship and for maintaining seven of their own seamen.

"The Ambassador desired a memorial of it; and said he would write into France to have the master seized, and that speedy justice should be done. I answered that I did not tell it him by way of complaint: His Majesty had reimbursed the English envoy who laid down the money, and I only mentioned it occasionally that he might see in what manner the King dealt towards them in such things as depended immediately on himself, though perhaps in other matters, that must necessarily be decided by the laws, he could not alter the forms established.

"The Ambassador mentioned again the ship that was plundered at Penzance, that I promised the Vice-Admiral should write into Cornwall to get reparation made them, or otherwise that the offenders should be prosecuted at law, and His Majesty would give the directions for it. I told him I had performed my part, that the Vice-Admiral had writ, but the criminals stood it out and were not like to make a voluntary satisfaction. I had likewise spoke to the Judge of the Admiralty, who hath the cognizance of those offences, and he told me the way I should proceed, in which I intended to have followed, till one who solicits for that ship showed me a letter from their agent in Cornwall, giving an account that they had arrested two of the men that plundered the ship and put them in prison. I told him I was well satisfied with what they had done, but as they had now brought the business into the common law, it must remain there, and all I could do was to recommend it to my Lord Chief Justice Holt, who went that circuit, which I have since done.

"As for the ship seized in the Isle of Wight that was caught smuggling, the Ambassador is very willing that prosecution should go on, and he now finds fault with the master and owner of the ship for telling him things backward and forward.

"He had formerly mentioned a small privateer, the *Levette*, taken by an English ship since the Peace, and cast

away near Sandwich, which he represented as maliciously done and therefore demanded satisfaction. I told him the Judge of the Admiralty had examined that matter and found the fact to be otherwise; but if they found themselves aggrieved, the Judge said the law would decide it. The Ambassador now desists from that demand.

"He mentioned something of a ship brought into Rye since the Peace, but gave a very imperfect account of it. I told him I thought it was some old business that had been long since determined. He said he would inform himself more fully of it.

"He spoke about Jennings; he knew the King's order was issued for his release, but the gaoler kept him for his fees and money due for diet and lodging. I said I had nothing to do with his debts, and wondered his father, who had solicited his liberty and knew it was granted, should not send him wherewithal to bring him over. However, I, having been acquainted with the stop put, had sent to the gaoler to be very moderate and easy in it, and I understand he will be so.

"As to Captain Macdonnell, whose liberty he demanded, I told him the King had not yet signed the warrant, but I thought he would do it.

"He said he had not yet the names of the four Irish prisoners who have their wives at St. Malo's: I thought that strange after having demanded them so long since. I told him that I heard of persons in Newgate who solicited him, and took it ill they were not put into his list, but he took little notice of it.

"He spoke of six Frenchmen that were kept in prison here on account of a false commission, they having one only endorsed by the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Dunkirk. I told him they were condemned as pirates for want of a sufficient commission, but, however, I would lay it before the King, and if those we demanded were released from the galleys, I thought the King might be inclined to pardon these men and send them away.

"He spoke of one Chevalier Blancard who was lately taken up by a messenger, and desired to know whether it was for any crime of State. This is a person whom the French Ministers are scandalised at: he is come hither under pretence of turning Protestant, but they find him addicted to all manner of debauchery; they suspect him of treasonable designs, but I do not see any proof they have. I told the Ambassador some of the crimes he was accused of were too gross to mention. He said those might be matters fitter for putting him into the hands of a confessor than into the clutches of the law.

"He magnified the dispatch they gave to everything in France, and would have put the contrary upon us, but that I could not yield by what appeared hitherto." (IV. 34.)



## JAMES VERNON to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, June 3[-13]. Whitehall.—“ His Majesty hath ordered Captain Macdonnell’s warrant to be delivered out, so that he will have his liberty as well as Jennings. If we had had any account of the pirate’s being executed at Dublin or elsewhere, I should not have failed to give Your Excellency notice of it, but by what they report concerning him I find the ship is returned into France with the greatest part of the crew, and some of them being left behind they conclude they are taken and hanged ; and that would have been their fate if there had not been a great remissness in those who once had them in their hands. The case, I hear, is thus : the pirate having taken a merchant-ship in the Irish seas, they put six of their own men into her, who, being separated from the pirate by stress of weather, were run ashore in Scotland near Kirkcudbright, where they were all secured. I gave notice of it to Sir James Ogilvie, who writ into Scotland about it. He could at first hear no account of them, for either the Scots had let them go or they had broke prison, and they intended to suppress the knowledge of it, lest they should be brought to answer it ; but since Sir James hath been informed of their negligence or corruption, and intends to have them prosecuted. In the meantime the rascals are escaped ; there was but one of them who would own his name, and he called himself Macartny. If the story they tell in France of the captain’s being hanged could be traced to the first authors, it would appear that it comes from the pirates themselves, and if they will hang them they may, but nobody else hath it in their [*sic*] power.

“ I send Your Excellency an account of a conference I have had with the French Ambassador, by which you will see what readiness there is here to gratify him in all his demands ; and yet he can hardly forbear telling us that we are dilatory, if not evasive. One thing I must add which I did not know of then, that the six French he solicited for, who had a faulty commission from the Vice-Admiralty of Dunkirk, were discharged at an Admiralty Sessions which hath been lately held.

“ The King hath stayed in town all this week, and I do not hear when he thinks of going to Windsor. The Swedish Ambassador is desirous to have his audience of *congé*, which he will have at Kensington on Tuesday next ; he desires it only in private.

“ His Majesty stays here to press on the businesses now depending in Parliament which seem to require looking after. The East India Company have raised a great clamour that a notorious injustice hath been done them by the project of subscriptions, insomuch that the first proposer is almost made uneasy with it. This hath brought on the resolution of going into a committee to-morrow to consider the state of that matter. I do not see how there can be any accommodation,

but either the Company must be dissolved at three years' end or the new proposal be laid aside, and I know not where else two millions can be found.

"There is another thing started here which is not very agreeable, viz., the calling for the lists of the Army disbanded and to be disbanded. Mr. Blathwayt unawares gave the occasion for putting it into an address by saying he should be ready with the lists when he had orders for it, whereupon it was said, since they understood there was a difficulty in it, they must address for it. I know not whether the address hath yet been delivered, but if the lists be brought before them, we shall have the old dispute revived about reducing the forces to 10,000 men.

"The ceremony was performed on Monday last of the delivering back the King of Sweden's Garter, and the Duke of Newcastle had the Garter given him at the same time.

"Mons. Tallard would introduce an innovation which the other foreign ministers do not intend he shall enjoy alone. It seems the practice hath been that when the King comes to St. James's Chapel, no coaches are admitted into the court but His Majesty's; but of late Mons. Tallard hath come in twice or thrice with his coach. The Swedish Ambassador and the Emperor's Envoy taking notice of it as a mark of distinction he would give himself, they think it as much their due, if it be allowed to him. His Majesty is of the same opinion that it belongs to one as much as the other, but he did not know that either the French Ambassador's coach came in, or that others forbore it. I acquainted my Lord Marlborough with it to-day, who said he would speak to the Prince and Princess about it. As it is a small court and not fit for a rendezvous of coaches while the King is there, my Lord Marlborough thinks the guard should come within the gate, as being a more proper station for them, and then it will be visible there will be no room for coaches." (IV. 39.)

#### THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698,] June 5-15. Londres.—"J'ay bien receu la vostre du 10me. Si Mons. le Grand [Ecuyer] est retourné à Paris, je vous prie de luy faire bien des compliments pour moy, et de donner l'enclose à Mons. le Comte de Nassau. Nostre Gouverneur est courtisan plus qu'ami, et il n'est pas sorcier à ce que je crois; et ces sortes de gens si on leur ostoit une certaine routine du monde, il ne leur resteroit que très peu de chose. Je vous assure que je croy que Monsieur se trompe et que tout ne se raccommodera pas." (IV. 42.)

#### JAMES VERNON TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 8[-18]. Whitehall.—"I have seen Mons. Tallard only *en passant*: he had something to complain of about the behaviour of our packet-boat crew at Calais; he was beginning



to tell it me as he came out of the King's closet, and I was called in before he had concluded. I hope it is something that may keep cold; however, in the meantime I have writ to Mackye, that I may be better prepared against the charge.

"The Ambassador demands of us the restitution of a Dunkirk vessel called the *Alexander* which was taken since the 22nd of September; they say a day or two before. Sir Charles Hedges tells me she was condemned in the Admiralty Court the 7th of October, there being no proclamation then issued about the Peace, or any notice given when hostilities were to cease; he adds that if the French had appealed, as they ought to have done, they would have found relief, but through that neglect the ship has been disposed of; he does not now see how they can have satisfaction, unless they are admitted to bring an appeal after a lapse of so much time. All I can do is to lay it before His Majesty if he pleases to give any directions upon it. In the meantime the claimers have drawn up a notarial act by way of protest, which I do not yet comprehend the meaning of." (IV. 40.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 14[-24]. Whitehall.—"I am very glad to hear the good news that the King will double your allowance, which will enable you a little better to bear the extravagant rates you pay at Paris."

"I hope the plate will come safe to you, it having been some days in Mr. Lowman's hands." (VIII. 303.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 21[-July 1]. Whitehall.—"Mr. Tucker, being out of the secretaries' office, is seldom in town, so that it is very rarely that I see him; but if you would have me send to Mr. May about your money, I will.

"Your stay in France is not longer than I expected when you first went over, for I did then believe you would not return in many months, and I believe you are now in for all my Lord Jersey's time. I hear from all hands how dear a place Paris is, but notwithstanding, you uphold the honour of Old England. Whether you do yourself right in it or not I will not pretend to judge; I am sure it hurts nobody else." (VIII. 305.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 22[-July 2]. Whitehall.—"I deferred acknowledging your letter of the 15-25 inst. till Brown, the messenger, was ready to return, having nothing to acquaint you with but the arrival of my Lord Portland, who came hither on Sunday last. My Lord hath been ever since so taken up with compliments and visits that I have not had any opportunity of seeing him in private.

"The French Ambassador is likewise very quiet of late, so that we have had nothing to trouble one another with."

"I am afraid my Lord Jersey will not be going so soon as was expected, I do not doubt but you have heard that he hath been seized with a fever; but I think he is now recovered. I find Brocard hath not come near you of late, which I a little wonder at. If he keeps away because you are not one to be imposed on, I ought not to be sorry for it.

"The enclosed for the Duchess of Portsmouth is from my Lord Romney; I know not who sends the other to Colonel Codrington." (IV. 43.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, July 3. [N.S.] Paris.—"The messenger that brought the last letters tells me he saw Your Excellency under sail, so I hope this will find you after your having been some days at Kensington, and tired with the congratulations of those who are glad to see you safe returned.

"I have given the 100 *louis* as you ordered, and the person is extremely well satisfied and promises his best endeavours to deserve your kindness.

"Madam Mayercron will, I believe, tell Your Excellency that your people had forgot to put up some tea which you had promised to the Duchess of Lude; I sent her by Madam Mayercron a pound that I had, as in your name, and all is well; I find by the great value she sets upon it that some more of that kind would not be unacceptable to her; if Your Excellency will send some by any messenger that comes hither, I will take care to give it to her *de la manière qu'il faut*.

"The first of July being come, my Lord Paston's creditors broke upon me like a storm. I have paid them all, and send Mr. Van Leeu[w]en the several accounts; I have not heard one word of his man Froment, who was to bring his money.

"The court continues still at Marli; King James and his wife supped with the King there on Monday.

"The Mareschal de Villeroy was in town on Sunday; he told me he had letters from Your Excellency from the frontiers, and gave me to understand how well you had been treated wherever you came, which was all so truly French that I could hardly forbear laughing; he stopped his coach to tell me this in the Cours de la Reine, and made a hundred other coaches stop likewise whilst he talked with me. This, Your Lordship knows, is so like the man that I cannot forbear telling it to you. I went to wait upon him the next morning; they told me he lay at a little house he has somewhere without Paris, and saw no company in the morning, everybody leaving their name with the porter at his great house, as I likewise did; it not being my business to enquire more exactly where he lay or with whom.



"I hear he is a little jealous that the Mareschal de Boufflers is to teach the Duke of Burgundy the art of war at Compiègne, and the camp is to be augmented by 18 battalions more than was contained in my list. I hear likewise the King will only go thither but make no great stay when he is there, Madam de Maintenon being afraid that exercise may bring his fits upon him.

"Mons. d' Herbaut goes from hence in few days for England; one Argaut goes with him as a kind of Adjutant or *commis*, this latter has been *Commissaire de Marine* at Bayonne, and was before the war with Mons. de Bonrepaux in the like employment.

"The causes of ships taken since the Peace (of which Your Excellency gave in the memorials) being to be examined this day, I waited yesterday upon Mr. D'Arguisseau, who is ordered to report them, and represented to him the reasonableness of their being discharged, and the owners freed from the expence and trouble of such suits. I shall know the effect of his reports in a day or two, and according to my duty I shall represent them to Your Excellency and to Mr. Secretary.

"Colonel Burk was with me yesterday; he told me a story that surprises me; he says that a friend of his newly come from England tells him that he was in company with one of his intimate acquaintance, and was told by that acquaintance that he had been in company with Colonel Stanhope, and that Stanhope had said that he would be revenged of my Lord Portland for the usage he had given him at Paris; and desired this man to enter into measures with him in order to form something that might prejudice your reputation; this is the subject [*sic*] of what Burk yet knows: I encouraged him to be more particular in the enquiry, and to inform me what methods these people were to use in order to bring their project to pass, and to find out from Davis by whom and upon what account he had been encouraged to act the part he lately had done, and if we can find out that Davis acted in concert with the man of whom Burk speaks, I shall do my best to get to the bottom of this business." *Copy.* (XI. 98-102).

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, July 3. [N.S.].—"Sir Charles Hedges is a little quick in condemning a ship in his Admiralty Court, the 7th October, upon a supposition that it was not then known when hostilities were to cease: for I arrived at Whitehall the 14-24th September; and the 26th, which was the first day after that the Lords Justices met, the Peace was published, and, if I do not mistake, the next day printed. Now, with what measure you mete, shall it be measured unto you, is an admirable maxim as well in politics as Christianity."

"The King has named 18 battalions of foot to be added to those of which I have sent you the list. The review will

not be so soon as August 20. The officers are forbid to make expensive habits, and we take that prohibition to be a mark that a considerable review will be made. After the review I hear the King will at most make a turn thither, Madam Maintenon having dissuaded him from too much fatigue, which would bring his fits, to which he is subject, upon him."

"I hope you have received my Lord Portland with all the honour he has deserved. They say here he is going into Spain to help them to settle the succession there: if there be anything in it, pray inform me, and hasten away my Lord Jersey." *Copy.* (XI. 103-105.)

#### THE EARL OF GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 24[–July 4]. Au Château de Dublin.—After thanking him for other favours, "J'ay aussi à vous remercier de la peine que vous vous êtes donnée sur le sujet de John Trant. Les éclaircissemens que vous me donnez suffisent; il n'est pas besoin d'en chercher d'autres.

"My Lord Portland est en Angleterre. Il vous a laissé tout le poids des affaires à soutenir; vous êtes très capable de le faire comme il faut, mais je ne laisse pas de souhaiter que vous en soyez bientôt déchargé pour venir goûter avec nous le repos qu'on trouve dans le changement de travail." *Signed.* (IV. 45.)

#### JOHN TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 26[–July 6]. Lillingstone Dayrell.—Stating that he has desired Mr. May to send Prior some money. As to the proportion of the salary which Prior and May ought to receive, he is unwilling to arbitrate, being a friend to both of them, until he has heard from them how much each considers just. (IV. 46.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 28[–July 8]. Whitehall.—"I have heard nothing of my Lord Portland's expedition into Spain or of any other ambassador's going thither. The obstructions are not yet removed out of the way since His Majesty hath had no satisfaction given him in the business of Schonenberg:\* they declare they will admit him to his functions, but they have not yet done it, and instead thereof they would have their ambassador first called to Court, or at least that a day be fixed when all shall be admitted on both sides. But His Majesty sticks to the accommodation proposed, that the suspension be first taken off where it was first laid.

"I dined with the French Ambassador yesterday at my Lord Steward[']s, where we had such a *repas* as I suppose you were used to while you had my Lord Portland on your side. I carried him a message in the morning which was

\* Cf. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, pp. 411, et seq.



much less agreeable to him ; you will see it in the enclosed. The foreign ministers run immediately into conferences upon it, but the French Ambassador, seeing they were like to be warm enough of themselves, left them to manage the controversy, and told them he was not concerned at present, his chapel not being yet opened or finished. This he took an occasion to tell me at my Lord Devonshire's after he had bethought himself, but when I made him the first communication none of them showed themselves more impetuous ; and he thought he saw a mystery in it that nobody else ever dreamt of, as if this were solely aimed against him, and he was laying abundance of things together, that this should happen so soon after my Lord Portland's arrival and just before his chapel was to be opened. However, he was so plain with me as to tell me that he was to have or had six chaplains, one of which was an *aumônier* he brought from France : the rest were English or Irish, and he set a value upon his great circumspection in the choice of them, and almost thought it too much since he met with this return. I appeased him as well as I could, telling him I was in hopes to find him the least surprised of any, since he saw my Lord Portland's caution ; how careful he was not to do anything that might shock the laws or give any offence to those that were zealous for their religion established ; that there could be nothing particularly designed to him ; his chapel not being open, there could be no complaint of a resort thither ; and he being advertised beforehand would consider what he had to do. He said he should write that evening to Court, and return an answer as he should be directed from thence.

"I hope you will not hear them cry out there of our persecutions. I am sure the utmost of our severities will be goodness and mercy compared with theirs.

"I have spoke to my Lord Portland about your allowance, who will heartily join in it. He sent me the enclosed the day after Brown was gone, and did not think it of consequence enough to dispatch another messenger with it." (IV. 48.)

#### *Enclosure.*

*Endorsed* :—"Orders about Foreign Ministers received with Mr. Vernon's letter of the 28th."

"Great notice having been taken in what numbers the Roman Catholics resort to the chapels of foreign ministers, insomuch that it was grown a public offence and scandal that the laws were so openly affronted, His Majesty found himself obliged to apply some remedy for preventing greater inconveniences ; and accordingly I was directed to go to all the foreign ministers of the Romish persuasion to know what was the number of their chaplains and what countrymen they were, and to let them understand His Majesty found it necessary to take some course for preventing that resort to their chapels, but in such a manner as their

privileges should be untouched, and to give them notice that, if any of His Majesty's subjects were entertained by them as their chaplains, they should dismiss them, the law not allowing them to perform the functions of priests in England. When I delivered them the message, they pretended to be surprised at it as if it were an innovation, though the same thing was signified to them within these three years immediately after the Assassination Plot was discovered, and the like was done by King Charles in '78, and the messengers were then sent to observe the Roman Catholics who went to the Popish chapels, and seized them coming out. The foreign ministers having taken so little notice of the former intimations given them creates a necessity for the renewing them, since they have no other chaplains now but what are English or Irish except one *aumônier* that some of them only brought with them, and the number in some of these houses is very extraordinary. The Portugal Envoy alone hath ten chaplains, and nine of them are His Majesty's subjects. Count d'Aversberg and Mons. Hoffman have four apiece, and none of them foreigners. The French and Spanish Ambassadors have six each, and but three foreigners between them. They know very well how intolerable this would be, and how severely resented in their countries; and yet we must expect they will blow up a noise of persecution, when, if it were considered aright, it is their indiscretion and disregard to our laws that raises a clamour in our own people against the remissness of the Government, and all that is intended is to make the Papists sensible that the way to preserve the indulgence used towards them is by making a moderate and discreet use of it." (IV. 49.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, July 9. [N.S.] Paris.—“I went yesterday to Versailles and waited upon the Ministers Messieurs Pomponne and Torsi as to the affairs of the *réfugiés*, particularly of my Lord Gallway, Mons. de la Forest,\* etc. I let them know that Your Lordship had left me order to enquire if His Most Christian Majesty had been as favourable as we had reason to hope; they answered me in their way with a great deal of civility which signifies nothing, that Mons. de Tallard was already informed of what this King had answered, and, by what they added, I find that nothing more has been done in it since Your Lordship went away; I shall obey your orders in what manner I am to solicit this affair.

“I next asked their answer to the memorial Your Excellency gave in the 3rd of June, which was that the French had charged oil which came from Tunis to Marseilles with a duty of 20 per cent. as coming from the Levant; they said that they had already sent Count Tallard an answer to this case; that upon their tariff all Barbary has always been comprehended in the Levant.

\* Cf. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, pp. 35, 37, 40.



"I gave in a memorial for the liberty of six *réfugiés* now in the galleys, who were of the Danish troops in His Majesty's pay, and for a native of Orange who had deserted the French service. They have promised to send to Marseilles that these people shall be released, and that those shall likewise be so for whom Your Lordship gave in your last memorial; the Brigadier and five of the Regiment of Gallway, who have been prisoners at Dunkirk, are actually at liberty, and one of them has been with me.

"As to the two merchant-ships taken since the Peace and reclaimed by Your Excellency, Mons. d'Aguisseau is commissioned with some other of the marine to look into this matter and to report it, but their proceedings are so dilatory that as yet we have no positive answer. This I took the liberty to represent at large to Messieurs Pomponne and Torsi; I told them that the proprietors themselves or any private persons might have justice according to the ordinary forms of law, but that Your Excellency's memorial was to expedite and cut short all these delays, and that, since we did in England all that lay in our power of this kind to satisfy Count Tallard, we had reason to hope the same from them.

"Of all this I acquaint Mr. Secretary Vernon.

"I waited upon the Marshals Villeroy and Boufflers: the former of these talked with me a good while about the affairs of England, about the Bill for raising the two millions, and if we were not to reform our troops? I let him see that as to the two millions it might easily be raised by several imposts which I named, or that more might be raised as the occasions of the nation required. He asked me then what made the session so long? and insisted mightily upon it. I let him understand from passages in their own gazettes that it was that particular affairs were mingled with those of the public, and that the Parliament was rather about the manner how the thing should be done with most ease to the subject, than if it should be done, all parties agreeing in this latter point. I gave our desiring to keep up some troops this turn, that it was rather that we would be grateful to the officers and soldiers that had served so well than that we should have any real necessity for them, that as far as I could judge from England, as everybody was entirely satisfied with the Peace, so my Lord Portland and the English that have been here since the making it might see by everything that His Most Christian Majesty designed absolutely the maintaining it. This pleased him; '*vous parlez avec raison, Monsieur, me dit il.*' But I thought just the contrary.

"I likewise saw the Duchess of Lude, Madame Mayercroon having given me a letter for that purpose; I excused my not waiting upon her with the tea, Madame Mayercroon having charged herself with it. She returns Your Lordship thanks, and was very glad to hear of your safe arrival.

"In my return home I waited upon Monsieur and Madame at St. Cloud ; they asked about Your Excellency's return with all the kindness imaginable ; Monsieur mentioned a picture of His Majesty which you had sent him.

"Bussy is returned hither ; he exclaims mightily against us, and gives the worst impressions imaginable of the *réfugiés* in England ; he is a blustering fellow, and amongst people of note here I am afraid his talking will hinder the good effects we hope from Your Excellency's intercession for those I mentioned in the beginning of my letter ; and it would have been better that he had been hanged as well as Fromand.

"King James's wife being at Chaillot, the children whom they call the Prince of Wales and the Princess of England came thither to see her on Monday last. Some of the English here went, as a great many more did, to see the Prince and Princess at their coming out. I desired Mr. Hopkins to go likewise, which he did with Colonel Codrington. As the child came out, Hopkins retired a little, Codrington stood his ground, neither of them shewing him the least mark of respect. But one Twisdel or Twisden, who came here with a knight of the same name and his relation since Your Excellency went, and whom I have suspected for several reasons to be of that party, though he would have disguised it, was seen by my Lord Perth in the crowd, who said to his Lady, 'Madam, there is Mr. Twisden'; and putting the Prince forward to him, Twisden knelt down and kissed his hand. Hopkins did not actually see him kiss his hand, but I am informed from other hands that the matter of fact is true. The young man endeavours to stifle it, his father being a man of estate in England who is already suspected to lean too much that way.

"I have a thing of much greater consequence to impart to Your Excellency. Braconie[r] was with me to-day, he tells me he is assured from the correspondent that orders are given for six men-of-war from forty to fifty guns, who have biscuit for six months and corn for eighteen, and six hundred mariners (soldiers) and forty-five engineers, master-masons and others, who understand to govern flat boats, for a descent ; that these ships are ordered from Havre, Port Louis, Rochfort, and one from Dunkirk ; that their rendezvous is to be at the Canary Islands, from whence they are to go through the Straits of Magellan into the South Sea to the coast of Chili and Peru. The place where this debarkment is intended he does not know, but says they are assured of some Spaniards who had rather be under the French government than under that of their own countrymen, and that they are to be joined by a considerable number of these people to land, fortify and possess themselves of the mines.

"I have another correspondent that says in the main the same thing, augmenting only the number of vessels to 12,



and adding that particular persons furnish all the expense except the common allowance which the King of France gives the ships of war. Your Excellency will judge of the great consequence of this affair to us.

"The Count d'Estrée[s] takes his leave of the Court in a day or two; he goes to Brest, and is to command a squadron of ten men-of-war in the Mediterranean. I yesterday at Court asked by way of news, and lightly, what these squadrons were to do. They pretend it is only to continue their navigation and breed their officers; and others say that it is to secure their merchants from being affronted (as they have lately been) by the Sally men.

"Letters from Madrid of the 19th say that the French Ambassador has told the King of Spain the same thing; that monarch is not in so good health as the letters received here would make us believe." *Copy.* (XI. 106-113.)

#### J. VAN LEEUWEN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, June 29[–July 9.] *Catherine* Yacht between Calais and Dover.—"His Excellency came last night at nine at Calais, and went on board this morning at six with very fine weather, but little wind. We hope to be on shore at Dover by two in the afternoon. I had no time to send you from Calais my little journal of what passed in His Excellency's progress, but you may expect it as soon as I come to London, or sooner if I have time at Dover to copy it there."

"His Excellency gave Pigault a gold watch of Tompion's for his good services. When we went out [of] Calais, my Lords Westmoreland and Raby were in bed and fast asleep; His Excellency would not stay for their Lordships, and so left them ashore, making sail without them."

*Postscript.*—"Dover, 4 the clock in the afternoon. Just now His Excellency is landed, and goes this evening to Canterbury, and will be to-morrow night at Kensington." (IV. 51.)

#### THE EARL OF PORTLAND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698,] June 29[–July 9] [*sic*]. Kensington.—"Je vous remercie des lettres que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire depuis mon départ. J'espère que vous continuerez à me donner quelque fois de vos nouvelles. Je vous prie de donner ces deux lettres en main propre, et de vouloir demander à Br[aconier] les réponses au choses dont je lui avois parlé, et a Mons. de Palmquist\* de me vouloir envoyer l'estat de la réforme, et des troupes qui restent en service. Vous aurez appris par d'autres que le tout c'est très bien passé dans le Parlement aujourd'hui, lequel apparemment se séparera bientôt."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 17 of July, 1698." (IV. 50.)

\* Cf. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, p. 86.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698,] July 2-12. Kensington.—“Depuis mon retour en ce pais je n'ay pas eu le loisir de vous escrire comme je l'aurois souhaitté, mais le Parlement, ayant fini les affaires, se séparera apparemment dans deux ou trois jours, et puis j'auray plus de temps à moy. Je suis bien aise que vous ayez eu la civilité de donner vostre théé à Madame la Duchesse du Lude, je vous en renvoyeray d'autre, et n'oublieray pas cette dame comme mon valet de chambre a fait. Ce n'est peut-estre pas sans raison que M[adame] M[aintenon] craint un trop long séjour à Compiègne. Les compliments du Mareschal lui sont très naturels, il faut lui en rendre le triple, et en faire beaucoup d'autres aux gens qui m'ont fait tant d'honestetez. Je vous prie de me mander un peu des nouvelles de la Cour de temps à autre, car je ne vous croy pas autrement occupé. Je suis surpris dans ce que vous me mandez du discours de Burek touchant Colonel Stanhope; il n'est pas imaginable qu'un homme soit capable de cela. Je vous prie de vous en informer plus exactement. Je croy que le voyage du Roy pour la Hollande sera bien-tost fixé.” (IV. 52.)

J. VAN LEEUWEN TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, July 2[-12]. Kensington.—“I received your kind letter with the enclosed list of what sums you paid for my Lord Paston. I am much concerned you have been so cruelly disturbed at the 1st of this month [N.S.]: if Madam Galpin has been among the crowd, you have no reason to complain of the company that morning, for she could make amends for the rest you did not like so well. I should be very glad to be attacked in this manner, supposing such an agreeable woman was one of the creditors.”

Requests Prior to advance the money “to buy a waistcoat for Mr. Hemingh (who designs to be married shortly) *à la Teste d'Or*” and a “tortureshell case studyed for a watch” costing six *louis d'or*. Lord Portland “desires you will send his picture over as soon as it is finished, and that care may be taken that it can't be damnified by the way.” (IV. 53.)

JAMES VERNON TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, July 2[-12]. Whitehall.—“I have told you the message I carried to the French Ambassador as well as the other ministers, as also his answer that he did not think himself concerned at present, his chapel not being yet open, and I do not expect it will be till he hears from home. I suppose they will hardly direct him to keep English or Irish priests, unless they intend my Lord Jersey shall bring as many Huguenot ministers with him to Paris.” (IV. 54.)

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, July 15. [N.S.] Paris.—“I did myself the honour last post to lay before Your Excellency the sea preparations



these people are making. I send another messenger with this, for I shall not venture to trust anything of this kind by the ordinary post, being very well assured that some letters of mine have been opened between Calais and this place (but there was nothing in them but some trifles of my own concerns), and that I have received no letters that have not been served so, except those which the messengers have brought, and those which have been directed to me from Pigaut in his own hand.

"The King of Spain is mighty ill, he has had fainting fits, which is an excess of weakness and vomiting whatever he eats. As he is kept alive by art, he certainly cannot hold out long.

"The squadron for the Mediterranean will be much greater than I sent Your Lordship word ; though it is not distinctly said how many ships are destined for that service, it is certain that those which can come from Brest with those that may join them from Toulon may make a very considerable squadron, amounting (as far as I can hear) to about thirty or thirty-two ships in all, besides twenty-eight galleys. Orders are likewise given at Toulon and Brest for the fitting up and examining all the cordage and sails in these two ports, so that they may be immediately ready for service, and these squadrons, either that for the Mediterranean or that for the Indies, may be augmented without further trouble than the Court's sending a new order.

"The Count d'Estrées, the Marquis de Nesmond and the Marquis de Langeron command and are already at Brest ; it is no great matter to add that Mr. [Henry] FitzJames, whom they call the Duke of Albemarle, is likewise of this expedition. Their designing this squadron against the Sally men is a jest ; six or eight good ships would be sufficient for that service, and they would not send a Vice-Admiral and two Lieutenant-Generals upon an affair of so small consequence. The Marquis d'Estrées goes into Poitou to keep the new converts in obedience, as they say ; but would they employ a Marshal of France in a work which belongs to a captain of dragoons ? Your Lordship will judge that the design of his being there is that he is so much nearer Spain and in more readiness to head the troops on that side upon occasion.

"The Intendant of Lyons has passed vast quantities of corn into Provence and Languedoc under the names and seemingly on the account of particular persons. Your Lordship knows what troops are in Catalonia and Piedmont, and that most of them are foot ; amongst the officers of these troops it is only some peculiar favourites who have leave to be absent from their posts, and for those the furthest *congé* they have is but till the latter end of October.

"Why should the Marquis d'Harcourt with such violence and just at this juncture desire leave for the French vessels and galleys to be received into the ports of Spain ? and why

should the Spaniards be so difficult in granting it, if they thought it was intended only for their goods ?

"This camping at Compiègne is but an amusement, that by looking at their forces there we may take less notice of what they have dispersed elsewhere.

"Mons. Palmquist tells me, and so does the correspondent, that the only reform that is yet made in the foot is that the sick and five out of every company are disbanded : this is in effect but making their troops stronger, and I believe we shall see little more done in it till we know what becomes of this sickly Spanish Monarch. I wish to God that the business of Schonenberg were adjusted, and that our measures were taken as those of this Court most certainly are against that moment. Of this I have spoken to Messieurs d'Odyck and Heemskirk. I perceive they have written of it, though neither of them are [*sic*] so particularly informed as I have been from the correspondent, and it was not my business to speak to them what I knew in any other than in general terms, without your immediate order.

"My tutor Villeroy, who does me the honour sometimes to take me aside, has been mighty inquisitive upon our reforming and what our militia were. I augmented their number to two hundred thousand, and told him they were stout fellows well fed, and that had for four hundred years past had such a notion of liberty that they would die for their cause, good or bad, provided they thought it good. I said that in the revolution, these men being generally for the King (then Prince of Orange), we might have expected a battle or two with King James's forces in case they had not forsook him ; but by the Lieutenants' putting the militia in good order, we should have had no reason to have doubted of the liberty of the nations ; and let him know what Cromwell's troops, who were only these a little taught, had done at home, what Morgan's had done before Dunkirk, and what the English new-raised troops, who were actually the same men as the militia, had done this war in Flanders. I know not why he is so very curious ; possibly he has been talking with some of our friends at St. Germain's on the same subject ; he ought, however, to have no other notion of that affair.

"It was but yesterday that I received Your Lordship's of the 22nd, or I should have sooner returned you my most humble thanks for it. I had letters from Mr. Vernon of the 28th, and the orders that His Majesty had been pleased to give for the regulation of the chaplains of foreign ministers ; I concealed my having notice of this order till I had an answer about two *réfugiés* in my Lord Jersey's family, for whom his Lordship desires a passport, and after I had that answer I said nothing of my having received any letters from England. Thus they will have the news thundering from Mons. Tallard. The answer I had was from Mons. de Torsi, that His Most Christian Majesty gave this leave for two persons



only, and that, too, in consideration of and as a favour to the Countess of Jersey ; so I hope that business is done, for the King is too gallant to retract his civility to my Lady, upon account of the general order. Here they complain mightily of what the Roman Catholics suffer in Ireland, and yet they renew their persecution of the Protestants in the provinces with the greatest fury imaginable, obliging the *nouveaux convertis* to subscribe again, and to articles more severe than the former.

“ The Court goes to-day to Marli, where it stays till next Thursday, and from thence till Saturday to Meudon ; the King goes the 29th August to Compiègne, and returns the 8th of September ; the 13th of September the contract will pass between the Duke of Lorraine and Mademoiselle ; Queen James is going to the famous Abbey de Poissy for a day or two. Three or four fellows have been killed last week at St. Germain by their countrymen and comrades ; one Charles O’Neal was broke upon the wheel on Monday for robbing about St. Germain on the highway. Your Lordship sees by the name that he is an Irishman ; thus disorders and murders reign wherever this unhappy man lives, and his domestic affairs are governed just as his three kingdoms would have been.

“ Burk has been with me again ; he only repeats what I wrote to Your Lordship about the angry gentleman. Davis recovers, but I believe will be a rogue again for all his good promises when he was sick, that he would discover who set him about his villany ; there can be nothing done with him but by fair means, for, if we act otherwise, we shall ruin the priest that revealed what he had told him in confession. I have promised to pardon him the 60 *louis*, and if he can make it out to me by undeniable testimony, and under the person’s own hand (as he pretended he could), that some of considerable quality here were engaged in the affair, to give him as much more.

“ The people at St. Germain are in heart again, God knows upon what grounds.

“ Burk desires Your Lordship’s favour as to his petition ; he seems an honest man, and promises to deserve it in what he may.

“ Bra[conier] asks your bounty as to himself, which, he says, he could not so well do to Your Lordship immediately in his own case ; the correspondent at this time can give us better information than any man in France ; therefore he cannot be too frequently encouraged.

“ I have money of Your Lordship’s in my hands, of which I shall give Mr. Leeu[w]en an account, or what [part] of it Your Lordship would have me expend for these sort of uses, I shall, according to your commands, out of what I have ; I shall always do what I can ; for it all is of His Majesty’s bounty and goodness, and ought to be employed in his service.

*Postscript.*—"I have given your letter to D[uc de] Grammont *en main propre*. Madame Mayercroon has been very ill, and is gone into the country; she has the other." *Copy.* (XI. 114-122).

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, July 13[-23]. Whitehall.—"I approve very well of your method of writing everything to my Lord Portland at large, and you are very kind in sending me an extract of what you think proper for the office; I would by no means have you do it otherwise. On all accounts the correspondence ought to be directly with my Lord Portland, and he is the fittest person to receive and transmit His Majesty's directions upon all emergencies. You must very shortly write to him in Holland, but I hope you will spare us a sketch from time to time, that I may be able to inform the Lords Justices how affairs go."

"Mons. d'Herbaut\* was with me on Sunday. The French Ambassador carried him to Kensington yesterday, where he made his compliment to the King. We are preparing the commission on our side, but cannot have all the commissioners that were at first intended, it not being proper to insert any of those who are to be our Lords Justices. I suppose my Lord Portland will still be one, though he be going over, together with my Lord Bridgewater and Lord Tankerville, who, being of the Council of Trade, have had a good deal of these matters under their inspection. The French Ambassador talks of going over with the King or very soon after him, so that, if we open the commission at present, it will be all. I find one Mons. d'Argaut who is come with Mons. d'Herbaut; he is not named in the commission. I can't tell, therefore, what his business should be unless he is an *instructeur du procès*.

"I should be glad to know what representation Mons. Tallard made of the message I carried him, and what orders were sent him upon it. All he hath said to me since is that the King should be satisfied in all his conduct.

"I hear the Spanish Ambassador hath sent a very peevish and senseless account of it to Brussels. He lives so like a monk himself that I do not wonder at his concern for them, but they ought a little better to know the genius of the Prince they are sent to, and the laws of the country they reside in, than to give mistaken information of both.

"I suppose the King will be going over about Tuesday next.

*Postscript* :—"The books for the subscription were opened about one o'clock, the commission being but then dispatched, and I hear that 500,000*l.* is already subscribed, and the first payment made. It goes on faster than was imagined. The East India Company have called a general court, at which

\* Cf. Grimblot, *Letters of William III. and Louis XIV.*, ii. 84, 87, and Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, iv. 394-403.



it was resolved that they would leave it to their committee of fifty whether the company should subscribe or not. There is another roll lying on the table for those who are willing to be incorporated; all the subscribers hitherto have signed it, so that it is like to be a great stock by general consent." (IV. 59.)

The EARL OF PORTLAND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698,] July 14[-24]. Kensington.—"J'ay bien receu vostre très agréable du 5-15 de ce mois; il n'y a point de bonne foy à avoir celles que l'on n'envoye pas par exprès toutes ouvertes; il faut avoir soin de ne rien envoyer par ces voyes.

"C'est une force considérable que 32 vaisseaux en temps de paix, je croy que l'on n'en auroit pas tants de prêts si le Roi d'Espagne se portoit bien, quant on auroit le plus grand chagrin contre les Sallétins; et toutes ces dispositions d'hommes et de provisions fait voir assez clair quel est le desseyn, duquel je croy qu'il ne peut pas nuire d'en parler aux ambassadeurs d'Hollande, mais qu'il est utile qu'ils soyent advertis de ce que l'on doit craindre.

"Vous avez fort bien répondu, Monsieur, à vostre gouverneur, mais si vous faites des gasconnades trop grandes, et que qu'ils entendent d'ailleurs le contraire, l'on ne vous croira plus. Le tour que l'on donne au passeport pour les François en considération de Mylady Jersey est bien extraordinaire. Il semble qu'à St. Germain les nécessiteux se querellent comme si'ils avoien[t] beaucoup d'argent à partager, tout comme Davies et ses compagnons: ce misérable prétent de vivre fripon et de mourir honeste homme. Je ne sçay comment cela se peut; je voudrois de tout mon cœur perdre les 60 guinées, moyenant qu'il me prouvait clairement qui estoien[t] les auteurs et les complisses de ce desseyn contre moy. Par la prochaine poste je manderay ce que vous donnerez à Br[aconier]; je suis bien aise que vous ayez veu l'autre correspondant: je vous prie de savoir de ses nouvelles le plus souvent que vous pouvez. Je vous enverray par Mylord Jersey une bouteille de thé pour Madame la Duchesse du Lude et une autre pour vous, pour vous dédomager de celui que vous luy avez donné. Je vous prie de faire bien des compliments à mes amis et particulièrement au Maréchal de Villeroy dont j'attends des nouvelles avec impatience."

"Nous partons Mardi prochain pour la Hollande, vers où il faudra m'crire avec un peu de précaution et mettre mes lettres sous le couvert de quelque mar[chand]." (IV. 60-64.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, July 14[-24]. Whitehall.—"The subscriptions for our new East India Company fill beyond expectation.

"Sir Godfrey Kneller hath drawn at length the picture of your friend Jacob Tonson, which he shewed Mr. Dryden,

who desired to give a touch of his pencil, and underneath it writ these three verses :—

‘With leering look, bull-faced, and freckled fair,  
With frowsy pores, poisoning the ambient air,  
With two left legs, and Judas-coloured hair.’”  
(VIII. 313).

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, July 24. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have the favour of Your Excellency’s letter of the 2–12. I am extremely obliged to your goodness in this and everything, and as it is my duty to write to you, so I have not the vanity to think that I ought to be answered otherwise than when Your Excellency transmits His Majesty’s will or your own orders to me.

“The Court is at Meudon, from whence it does not return till Saturday. The only news amongst them is that the Duke d’Elbœuf is restored to favour after the chiding he had from the King about inviting the Duke of Lorraine hither without the King’s order.

“I have been enquiring a little into the conduct of our friends at St. Germain’s; one Glover, an engineer, who deserted our service in the beginning of the war, and who has been ever since in King James’s, let me know privately that he had a mind to speak with me. The man teaches practical mathematics, and under that pretext comes to me, he has a great mind to deserve his pardon by anything he may do. He would attempt the drawing all the sea-ports in France, or anything else he might be ordered, to show he is sincere; he tells very freely what he knows of everything. He says Hungate is here, and that he saw Brierly the other day. Amongst other things we fell upon the subject of the conspiracy, he told me some particulars which mightily confirms [*sic*] that King James knew it: viz., that Brierly had actually told him that King James had said to him (Brierly encouraging him in that hellish design) that their killing the Prince of Orange (as these people call His Majesty) at Richmond or Kensington was the same as if Villeroy had laid an ambuscade for him in Flanders, and that he, King James, had the opinion of the best doctors upon that point. You see, my Lord, that the old gentleman is a very excellent casuist; another thing upon this subject is, Sir William Ellis t’other day, talking with a gentleman of my friends, was so angry when the gentleman talked with some suspicion of King James’s being in the design, that he, going back to St. Germain’s at night, actually asked King James if he had ever seen a paper that was written in vindication of the conspiracy, to which King James indiscreetly blabbed out that truly he had seen such a paper, but did not read it; and Sir William Ellis as indiscreetly told the same gentleman the next day what King James had said upon this subject. Glover likewise says that he has asked Saunders, King’s James’ confessor,



his opinion upon this point, and that Saunders did not condemn the assassination as intended.

"Another thing is very remarkable: when the thing was discovered, and these hell-hounds returned to Saint Germain's, the Lord Middleton's party and the honestest sort of these people would not keep these villains company, but called them conspirators and assassins; upon which they complained to King James, who gave order that these names should be no more heard, that they should all live in friendship together, and be well with these gentlemen who had had too much zeal for his service.

"What makes me so particularly insist upon this is that these villains go still upon the same principle that, King James not having made a peace with England, though France has, all that can be done against the King our Master by arms, public or private, is lawful. Brierly particularly says the business is not at an end yet. Brierly has studied at St. Omers, where he learned this good divinity, and King James received this case of conscience from that university. Ennis, the Scotch priest, I am credibly informed, sustains this doctrine amongst those whom he thinks he may trust.

"The reason why I repeat this at present to Your Lordship is that as well Glover as a correspondent, Your Lordship knows, Mr. Secretary Vernon employs, agree in this that the whole Court of St. Germain's are in despair of succeeding any other way than by the horrid one of cutting off His Majesty, and that King James should offer a vast sum of money to the man and his family that should attempt it, or to be divided amongst them that shall undertake it: the Protestants themselves, being now desperate, give in to this.' David Floyd, who was the fairest of them, is come in into these sentiments; the correspondent I mentioned has written the particulars he knows to Mr. Secretary Vernon in his own hand, which I send by this post.

"Mr. Manners with boldness enough, having had the honour to wait on you at Paris, came (I believe you remember) with some English gentlemen to Chantilly, and remained there as long as Your Excellency; he has since even in company exclaimed against the King our Master as fierce as the most violent of them; he has been with King James in private, introduced by Father Saunders, and was of the voyage to La Trappe, which is a peculiar favour; he is so violent a Papist that he is capable of the worst of impressions. The ladies with whom Mr. Hopkins has conversed of Br[aconier's] acquaintance are certainly going into England; others leave their house for that purpose the 15th of August.

"I would fain have somebody (that Your Lordship can wholly confide in) named, to whom Hopkins may give them a recommendation, that so it may be known to you what they do there; they are cunning whores, one as high-spirited as any of her sex, and as fit for mischief,

"They pretend to have quite broke off with the Duke of Berwick and those people, but all this seems to be too sudden not to be feigned : Your Excellency will be pleased to think of some person proper for this purpose that may receive and visit these ladies sometimes (if you think it worth the while) : it must be a person of pleasure and gaiety, and money must be spent ; I can think at this distance of nobody properer than Fielding.

"I shall exchange the ratifications for settling the post this afternoon, and detain the messenger till I have done so, that I may send it by this post for England.

"I have sent the letters which came in Your Lordship's packet to their several addresses, except that to the *Président de Mesmes*, which I do myself the honour to carry. Madam Mayercroon solicits the business of the *Comtesse de Solre*, upon whose account you are troubled with the enclosed paper.

"Br[aconier] tells me the correspondent tells him that the expedition for the West Indies is deferred for three weeks, though everything be ready ; possibly it may be yet deferred three weeks after these three, till the King of Spain appears past all recovery. That king continues very ill ; I think by all accounts he cannot live past autumn, for if they purge a thing that cannot eat, that thing must die.

"I troubled Your Lordship last post with a long letter upon this subject, and shall only add by this that everything looks very plain that France is alert against that occasion.

"Our friends at St. Germain had just told those at Marli (from letters they had from their correspondents by way of Holland) that the two millions would not be found, and that there were disorders in the Parliament which would hinder its raising for some time. I said nothing as if I had heard of this, but translated word for word His Majesty's speech, and told some of our friends the contents of my letters of the 2nd and 6th, which I had just then received ; they would hardly believe it, till I shewed them the original printed in English, which I did *sans aucun empressement*, and with an air as if I did not much care if they believed it or no. They are all persuaded that the King is absolutely master of England, and can do in it whatever he pleases ; *tant mieux*, it is best they should have that notion, for nothing else will keep them in any order.

"I have spoken to Burk since about Stanhope ; I have no further particulars from him about that matter ; if it was but a tavern bravado, that which is said in wine goes away with the fumes of it. Coddington is Stanhope's friend ; he is gone to London ; I think he is a man of too much honour to conceal anything of this kind from your knowledge in case the other goes on in such extraordinary sentiments.

"Wherever I can be in lodgings I have Lord Clare, Dorrington, Birkenhead, or some of that gang, near me, for



which reason I have taken a little house. I repeat my thanks to Your Excellency for what regards my allowance; I am afraid I give you trouble in that matter. I never would importune His Majesty; that is best for me which his great wisdom thinks so, and I pretend nothing but to pass my life in his service." *Copy.* (XI. 131-9).

THE POSTMASTERS GENERAL TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, July 19[-29]. London.—“Yesterday morning we received the French ratification with M. Pajot’s engagement, which is drawn to our satisfaction, and . . . we have this day given public notice upon the Exchange that the mail will upon Thursday next begin to go for France and continue to do so every Monday and Thursday as before the war. We return you thanks for your great care and dispatch in this affair, though the satisfaction you must have in doing so public a service as the opening the correspondence betwixt the two nations must be much greater than any acknowledgements we can make you for it.” *Signed,* R. Cotton. Tho. Frankland. (XX. 45.)

MATTHEW PRIOR TO JAMES VERNON.

[1698, July 30. N.S. Paris].—“I had the favour of your letter of the 13th yesterday morning just before I went to Versailles. Tuesday is the ordinary day that ministers go thither. I have not heard the least word at this Court how they resent the message you carried to Count Tallard. I solicit the dispatch of the passport which the King granted upon my Lady’s account for my Lord Jersey’s two *réfugiés*, and was answered so civilly that I believe I shall have it to send away by this post, which shews that either they do not look upon our proceedings as extraordinary, or think it best to conceal their dislike of them. I have pleaded to the Catholic ministers here, such as Venice, Tuscany, Genoa, Savoy (who being at Versailles spoke of this) the reasonableness of our acting in this manner, that these priests were pointed at not as being chaplains but traitors and rebels; that in short they were the King’s subjects and did not own his government. The Venetian was very much of my side, and cried out, ‘*Diable m’emporte, vous avez raison,*’ though the Nonce sat next to him.

“One Glover, as you will see by the enclosed letter, gives me an account of two resolute fellows gone from hence by way of Holland to Scotland as they pretend; I believe you will think proper to give order that they be apprehended, if they are found in Scotland, as I have written to Brussels and The Hague that care should be taken of them if they are found there.

“I find you and the other Commissioners infinitely above Mons. Herbaut’s character in this occasion; at least they will

have no reason to say we are hard with them as to the quality of the persons that transact with them." *Copy.* (XI. 150-153).

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, July 31. [N.S.] Paris.—“ I have the honour of Your Lordship’s letter of the 14-24th ; I hope this will find you safely arrived in Holland, where (as indeed everywhere) I wish Your Lordship all sorts of happiness and satisfaction. I have delivered all the enclosed according to their several addresses ; and rejoiced B[raconier] extremely with the hopes that in a post or two he shall hear of your kindness to him. I was on Tuesday at Versailles ; the business which was the great discourse of the day was, the Grand Prieur\* was sent that morning to the Basti[l]le, the occasion of which was a quarrel that happened the night before between him and the Prince de Conty at Meudon. Monseigneur was gone to bed, the Grand Prieur and the Prince of Conty were at *ombre* ; the Grand Prieur affected to think that the Prince of Conty had said something harsh to him, and after the party was done, the Prince of Conty and the Duke de Ventadour being together, the Grand Prieur walked two or three turns by them, as if he would have spoken to the Prince of Conty, which the Prince taking notice of, left the Duke de Ventadour, and coming up towards the Grand Prieur, the Grand Prieur asked him if he remembered what he had said to him at play. The Prince of Conty said he did not remember to have said anything that might offend him, or if he did, he did not intend it ; the Grand Prieur answered that it was not so that a man of his quality was to be treated ; the Prince answered that it was not so that a Prince of the Blood was to be talked to, and added : ‘ Ho ! ho ! Monsieur, vous le prenez sur un ton bien haut’. ‘ Tout sur un autre ton,’ reprit le Grand Prieur ‘ que vous ne l’avez pris à Neerwinds. ‘ Et moi,’ dit le Prince [je] l’ai pris là sur un autre ton que vous n’avez fait à Barcelonne.’ As this passed Mons. le Duc [de Ventadour] interposed and said :—‘ Qu’est ce que ça, Mons. le Grand Prieur ? est ce comme ça qu’on parle à un Prince du Sang ? ’ ‘ Ce n’est pas à vous que je parle, Monsieur,’ répondit Mons. le Grand Prieur. ‘ Monsieur,’ dit Mons. le Duc, ‘ quand on parle comme ça à un Prince du Sang, on me le parle aussi.’ Thus, I think, the thing was. Monsieur wrote immediately to Versailles, and the next morning Mons. le Duc and the Prince of Conti gave an account of it to the King ; and at the same time that they were with him the Grand Prieur desired an audience. They persuaded him from it, but when he persisted in his desire, they told the King he was there. The King sent him word out that he should go to Mons. de Pontchartrain, and from him he should know his will and pleasure ; which he did accordingly, and it was that he should

\* *I.e.*, Philippe, younger brother of the Duc de Vendôme. Cf. p. 246. *infra*.



be sent to the Basti[l]le ; so he went thither privately in the afternoon.

“ Tho’ the Prince of Conti got the better in this affair, he was a little mortified in another the same day, for Major General Jordan had his audience of the King as envoy from the King of Poland whilst the Prince was in the next room. The King’s answer to Jordan’s compliment was very short, and one expression in it was very odd, *que la conduite de Sa Majesté Polonnoise régleroit la sienne* ; which is in English, ‘ I will live with him according as he shall behave himself ’ ; so France has acknowledged another king to the great regret of Abbé Renaudot the Gazettier.

“ The King has said that the Duchess of Verneuil’s coach shall have place in the Dutch Ambassador’s entry, as in all that shall be made for the future. Mons. Saintoste tells me he shall have an order for that purpose.

“ I told him as in discourse only that as he might see by my journal with what fermity Your Lordship refused to comply in this matter, so I had reason to think that he should not yield to this innovation. I thought it best to say thus, for if we do yield it, it is only my own private sentiments contradicted. His Majesty will have time enough to determine this when my Lord Jersey comes, and will, I presume, in the meantime hear what Messrs. Odyck and Heemskirk ask their masters about it, and consequently will determine as well to these ambassadors as to my Lord Jersey what is to be done in this affair.

“ The expedition of Mons. de Genes in the South Sea is no longer a secret. There are already about 300 reformed officers that go as volunteers ; the greatest part of these embark at Rochelle.

“ The conduct of the people of Saint Germain is so poor that it is not worth troubling Your Lordship with it, that His Majesty has had long conversations with the Princess,\* in which he has told her what accounts he has had from you of his being a fine boy, that His Majesty will propose it to the next Parliament to adopt him his heir, and a thousand other *bagatelles*.

“ Glover, the engineer, who, as I have had the honour to write to Your Lordship, would endeavour to deserve His Majesty’s pardon, tells me that two Scotchmen, one named Thomas Hebron, late of King James’s Horse Guards, the other Alexander Ramsey, son to the late Bishop of Ross, are gone from hence to Scotland, as they say, but by the way of Holland without any pass or permission from our Government ; they are both bold men, zealous servants of King James, and determined enough to venture anything for him ; it would be well if they were looked after. I have written to Mr. Hill and to Sir Joseph Williamson in order to their being observed. I have done the same to the Pensioner Heinsius, who used to

\*Cf. p. 83, *supra*.

give orders in such cases to Leers, the Kamberbewarder, who knows the haunts of such people ; and I have likewise given Mr. Secretary Vernon an account of it, that he may advise the Secretary of Scotland in case they come thither.

"I could not speak with my Governor last Tuesday, the business of the Grand Prieur employed him so wholly ; to set off the truth in its best light will not be found to *sentir le garçon* ; the stories they have from St. Germain's of our affairs are so monstrously ridiculous that I perceive they will believe them no longer.

"They say the design of the King's going for Holland is to confirm an alliance with the Duke of Zell, the Electors of Brandebourg and Hanover and other Princes of Germany, in case France should do anything upon the King of Spain's death, which in words they seem to be very averse from, however the preparations they make seem to show the contrary.

"As to particular things, I think Madam Mayercron was rather denied to be in the town than that she was really out ; she is better at present. I hear the horses spoken of with all the admiration imaginable ; the King goes out with them very often, I have heard a flying report that he was to make Your Lordship a present of fine tapestry *des Goblines*, but I never asked any person living in the least about it, because I would not have it at all thought that you looked for any return, which I am sure is below Your Excellency's temper or your manner of giving things.

"I hear Sir Joseph Williamson has desired to return home, and that Mons. d'Allonne\* will succeed him. I am very glad so worthy a man and so good a servant to the King will be there." *Copy.* (XI. 143-150).

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, [early in August].—"The correspondent, to shew his integrity, has let me see by B[raconier] a memoir particular enough of Fontenay† : it contains his life and actions, how he was taken going into Ireland by my Lord Torrington and brought seemingly into His Majesty's interest, the discourses he had with the Duke of Shrewsbury (then Earl), with the Duke of Schomberg and with His Majesty ; and how all this while he held correspondence with Mons. de Louvois by the means of one Lefevre : these particulars I could send Your Excellency, but it would increase the packet to a degree that it might be suspected and opened, and I believe it is not worth the while, since things are settled by a Peace, and the whole account proves the man to be at last a villain.

"Count Guiscard is named Ambassador for Sweden for having defended Namur so well ; Tallard, d'Harcourt, Guiscard, all

\* Cf. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, iv. 321, 395, 453.

† Buccleuch MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.) II., Pt. I. 51-54.



*gens d'espée*, are made ministers ; the King says they are properer than the *gens de robe*, and serve him better.

"Mons. des Alleurs, another of the same kind of men, has made his court to the Elector of Brandenburg in a very new manner ; the envoy, especially of crowned heads, never waited on the Elector at table ; Mr. Stepney, therefore, retired when the Elector sat, but Mons. des Alleurs stayed twice or thrice behind the Elector's chair ; Mr. Stepney wrote me word of this, and desired me to enquire as *en passant*, and by way of curiosity, if des Alleurs had any orders from this Court for his doing thus. I perceive he had ; Mons. de Pomponne has said of it that it was *une démarche sans conséquence, que c'estoit fait à une maison de campagne* (it was at Koningsberg), *que c'estoit fait plutôt en cavalier qu'en ministre* : thus, my Lord, you see how these people can let their ministers do anything *en cavalier*, as they call it, upon any occasion by which they would make their court ; whilst on other accounts they carry things with the greatest exactness, and are always endeavouring to gain in the ceremonial, as, for instance, in the business of the Duchess of Verneuil.\*

"The Grand Prieur continues still in the Bastil[l]e. The Duke de Vendosme has made the greatest submissions imaginable for his brother, and says *qu'au lieu de la Bastil[l]e il auroit dû estre mis aux petites maisons* ; the King is mighty angry as well for the thing itself as that it was done in his son's house ; but this is very unaccountable ; at the same time that they make such a difference between the family of Vendosme and the Princes of the Blood they would have the Duchess de Verneuil, who is widow to another branch of the same family (that is, to a natural son of Henry the 4th) have rank as a Princess of the Blood.\*

"Your Excellency is mightily praised by the foreign ministers that dare speak for having refused to yield this point, though Mons. Saintost would fain put it upon your not having had time enough to write about it to Court, though I have disabused him publicly as to that notion, and said that you absolutely and formally denied to submit to it ; if the Dutch Ambassador yield it, I do not well see how my Lord Jersey will get off from it.

"Your Lordship will hear as exactly from Brussels as we can here in what estate the King of Spain's health is ; I am told that the last courier brought word that Count Harrach had openly made some proposition in favour of the Archduke ; if so, the House of Austria manage very simply, to lay any claim whilst the King of Spain is yet alive, whilst they are in no condition to support that claim in case he should die ; and France on the contrary manages wisely, seeming to refer everything to the Council of Spain, and being in the meantime in a condition to vindicate whatever it may pretend to.

\* Cf. Grimblot, *Letters of William III. and Louis XIV.*, i. 206.

"Collections have been made in all the churches of this city for the poor Irish priests which the late Acts of Parliament sent from that kingdom.

"The Archbishop of Paris may be a very holy man, but he is a very ill geographer if he takes Ireland to be *La Grande Bretagne*; and if by *des pauvres Catholiques de la Grande Bretagne réfugiés en France* he means those whom we banished from England for having been against His Majesty's Government, and in war against their country, his charity is more extensive than reason or justice will permit."

*Postscript.*—"Twelve of the youngest regiments have been broke since I had the honour to write last to you." *Copy.* (XI. 154-8.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, August 8. [N.S.] Paris—"The freshest news is that the Grand Prieur is again at liberty, the business between him and the Prince of Conty being made up, and he being to submit himself particularly to the Dauphin for having wanted the respect he owed to his house.

"Count Tallard, Your Excellency will have known, is come to Holland by the way of Calais; he had a great mind to have come to Court, but the King refused him leave cavalierly enough: for Tallard desired to have the honour to wait on His Majesty to lay before him the state of affairs in England, and the King said he was well enough informed of them from the letters Count Tallard had writ him.

"The voyage to Compiègne is said to be for the 29th, so that the King will be there the 1st or 2nd, but this talk of one day and another alters so often that it is hardly worth troubling you with: all the public ministers go thither, from the Nonce to Mons. Palmquist. I would beg Your Excellency to let me know what His Majesty pleases that I should do on this occasion, if I should go to the camp or no: for accordingly I must provide, for I take it for granted my Lord Jersey will not be come before that time.

"I have delivered Your Lordship's letters to Mons. Pomponne, as I have likewise done the others to their addresses. I have a thing of some importance to send to Your Excellency, but will omit doing it till the Dutch Ambassador despatches a courier." *Copy.* (XI. 160-1.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, August 11. [N.S.] Paris—"I hear the Count d'Estrées is gone out from Brest, as the galleys likewise are from Marseilles. De Genes is gone to Rochelle to hasten his preparations to the Indies. The pretence of his making new discoveries in the South Sea is frivolous; and he could hardly think of landing without being assured of the Spaniards' assistance. Your Excellency will have heard as particularly concerning that Monarch's health as I can send you word from hence.



"Count Harrach's having proposed the perpetual government of the Milanois for the Archduke makes a good deal of noise here ; I dined yesterday with the politicians Alsfield\* and his brother, Count Guiscard, etc ; amongst a great deal of discourse they brought about what we should do in this conjuncture. I told them freely that my opinion did not signify much, but it was that we should be in a condition not to be hurt in the scuffle, but to preserve our own and make the figure we ought of holding the balance of Europe right. From thence we come to talk of the King our Master ; it is impossible to tell Your Lordship the excessive praises they gave him ; Count Guiscard went further on this head than Your Lordship can imagine, and though I bore it with a seeming modesty and *retenue*, it made me as proud as if I had taken Namur myself.

"I heard in the same conversation that Mons. Pomponne is extremely satisfied with the letter he received from Your Lordship.

"I wish mightily to know if I am to go to Compiègne, that accordingly I may prepare for it." *Copy.* (XI. 163-4.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 1[-11]. Whitehall.—"My Lord Jersey tells me he stays only till he is despatched by the Treasury. I suppose they will take up their meetings again towards the end of the week, but at present all are dispersed about their elections, which is a matter more eagerly pursued than the succession to the Crown of Spain ; I mean by all except the French.

"I am glad to see the Archbishop of Paris his charity. I hope the Irish friars will flock to him to partake of it, and not slip over hither, as it is apprehended."

*Postscript.*—"The enclosed for Beauger was put into my hands by an acquaintance of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who is an alderman of Worcester. I think the sending it will not come within the law of corresponding, since it is but to give an account of a bastard daughter, who, I suppose, requires some care to be taken of her. Whether any in that Court are in a condition to do it, I am unconcerned, nor do I much care what you do with the letter." (IV. 66.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, August 15. N.S. Paris.—"I hope you received the two patterns of the stuff which I sent last post.

"Here is little news stirring ; I was not at Versailles on Tuesday, the Court not returning till Wednesday from Marli. The Grand Prieur has asked pardon of the Prince of Conti and of Mons. le Duc ; the Prince of Conti answered him that he was more his friend than ever, and had absolutely forgotten all that had passed.

\* Cf. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, iii. 10.

"The Duchess of Chartres is brought to bed of a daughter.

"I am confirmed that in Provence and Languedoc there are 80 battalions at present.

"This is all which this post affords, besides my recommending the enclosed to Your Lordship." *Copy.* (XI. 169.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

1698, August 15. [N.S.] Paris.—"Il n'y a guère de nouvelles ici : si on sçait que le Roy alla un tel jour à Marli, et qu'il reviendra un tel à Versailles, on est le plus satisfait du monde. Ce que j'ay l'honneur de vous écrire touchant les préparatifs de la France en cas que le Roy d'Espagne vienne à mourir se trouvera fort vray ; il y a pour le moins 80 bataillons en Provence et en Languedoc ; on a nommé encore 17 régiments pour estre cassés. Pour le reste je suis vitrier, blanchisseur, menuisier, tout, jusques à l'arrivée de my Lord Jersey, car l'ayant loué la maison de Paris la plus propre dans le plus mauvais endroit de la ville, je suis obligé de luy justifier mon choix par tout ce que je pourray faire pour en rendre les appartemens charmants, et pour divertir la petite colère de Madame.

"J'écris régulièrement à mon maître Portland, mais je ne reçois que fort rarement de ses faveurs ; de sorte que je ne sçay point si je devois aller à Compiègne ou non.

"Du Menin, ce coquin, a esté avec moi deux ou trois fois ; il me parle comme s'il vous vouloit envoyer du vin, et souhaiteroit de sçavoir si vous avez reçu cela qu'il vous a déjà envoyé

"J'ay une maisonnette fort propre dans le voisinage de my Lord Jersey ; il n'y entrera que des honnêtes gens, des sçavants et du Menin ; on y boira quelque fois à la santé de Milord Albemarle, comme les anciens ont toujours fait à leur Dieu tutélaire.

"Je suis bien las de mes honneurs et voudrois bien les défaire sur my Lord Jersey. Mon petit ministère par interim m'a fait faire une dépense enragée ; mais n'importe, l'honneur du Roy y a esté maintenu et la France a veu que le moindre secrétaire de Sa Majesté a secu dire à qui il étoit." *Copy.* (XI. 165).

MATTHEW PRIOR to CHARLES MONTAGUE.

1698, August 15. [N.S.] Paris.—"You must give me leave to say that no man alive enters further than I do into the consideration of everything that may touch you, but we cannot help these things ; Master Life and its neighbour Death are amongst Epictetus' *τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν* ; and the best we can do is not to be in earnest about them. I wish I were at Hampton Court with you a day or two to fortify my doctrine by diverting you every way I could, for then a man has only occasion for a friend, when his mind



is low and he is wanting to himself. I could write you fine moral sentences upon this occasion, or refer you the long chapter to the Corinthians where St. Paul comforts people against death by calling them fools and dunces ; but here is to you, my dear Master, in a glass of honest burgundy : as long as we are here let us live as easy as we can, and e'en take things as they come. Here, Master, *amicitiae aeternae* with all my soul ! I protest to you I take part in everything that happens to your affairs, and am depressed and out of humour now as I was pleased with your being of the regency and triumphing over Sir Henry Colt last week.\* If people have affections after death, which is a query, I shall doubtless love you longer than I am aware of." (XI. 171.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

[1698, August 16. N.S. Paris.]—" I rather write to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 1st of August and to condole with Sir Henry Colt than for any news I have to send you.

*Egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis,*

*Una dolo divum si femina victa duarum est :*

a great piece of business if a Viceroy and a Secretary of State have been too hard for a poor private Justice of Peace.

" Brocard was with me sometime since ; he is gone amongst our friends. He showed me two papers, one, ' Some cautions offered to the considerations of those who are to choose members, etc., ' the other, ' A proposal about the birth of the Prince of Wales ' ; these papers were sent from England to have the approbation of our friends here in the country. I have not seen Brocard since, but I have let His Majesty know the thing under the Dutch Ambassador's cover in the *Postboy* from Thursday, the 28th of July, to Saturday, the 30th, No. 459. I find that the first of these pamphlets is already printed for William Rogers at the *Sun* in Fleet Street, and A. Baldwin in Norwich Lane. I know not if you would think it worth while to inquire underhand how and from whom these printers had the copy, or if you think the doing so would not too much expose the correspondent. Thus you see, Sir, all arms are made use of that may possibly help to raise seditions, discontents or misunderstandings amongst us.

" I shall take care of the enclosed for Beauger ; though I think the bastard daughter may starve for any care that will be taken of her from this side." *Copy.* (XI. 173-5.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 11[-21]. Whitehall.—" Mr. Secretary Vernon tells me the King did not give any directions for doubling your allowance, though my Lord Portland promised it should be done. Your best way will be to write to my Lord Portland and Mr. Blathwayt about it.

\* Cf. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, iv. 405, 407.

"I saw last night our friend in Crown Court who makes a sad complaint of your absence, these embassies carrying away her best friends. She shewed me a lady as fine as your little night-walker of the 'Tuilliers,' and is the first real fine woman I ever saw there, but I am of too rambling a fancy to continue in a place." (VIII. 325.)

#### H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 11[-21]. Dublin Castle.—"As to what you write concerning your office here, it is true I did at first desire our friend Mr. Tucker to endeavour to prevail with you to appoint me your deputy during your absence, and the consideration for my acting I would refer to him; but I believe he will likewise remember that I soon after told him that when I desired my Lord Galway in London that he would please to approve thereof, if I could obtain your consent, his answer to me was that he could not then tell who my Lord Marquis [of Winchester] and he should think fit to appoint to act during your absence in that station; and I heard nothing more till upon the road between London and Chester they both told me they had resolved to employ me only till your affairs would permit you to repair hither, and that till then they meant the advantage as well as the business to be to me, so that I always looked upon myself appointed by them, not deputed; this being before I received the favour of your approbation of the choice they had made." (IV. 68-69.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 11[-21]. Whitehall.—"I find you think it no victory that we got the better of the Justice [Sir H. Colt]: at least you must allow it was a very good escape that we got rid of him in five days, when he intended the poll should last fifteen.

"I suppose you are satisfied that Count Tallard is not coming back so soon. It is more likely that we may hear of his going to Zell.

"The two pamphlets you mention have been in print these six weeks; therefore it was no great discovery to shew you them in writing unless they would tell us the authors. Perhaps I shall find out one of them without their help." (IV. 71.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, August 22. [N.S.] Paris.—"Your Lordship will be troubled at the news of the sudden death of the Princess Dowager d'Epinoy, which happened on Monday last. She was in good health and talking with Mons. Barbesieux in his apartment, and as she came out complained to the Prince, her son, that she was taken with a pain in her head, after



which she lived only two hours, but never spoke; the Duchess de Richelieu is likewise dead. Madam Portsmouth sets out on Sunday for England.

"The great preparations are for the Dutch Ambassador's entry the same day; these people chicane them extremely in the ceremonial, and Saintost\* is to them what Bonneau was to Your Excellency, promising all and holding to nothing; Mons. Heemskirk told me the other day that they had gained the point about the Duchess de Verneuil's sending her coach, which I am very glad of, for if they had yielded it, I doubt we should have been obliged to follow.

"Mons. de Lausun, with whom (as Your Excellency knows) I have been acquainted since my being here in France, does me the honour to be very obliging to me, but at the bottom, I think, his kindness tended to desire to know how matters stood in relation to the pension of King James or rather Queen Mary. He desired to know upon what foot that was, and if His Majesty of Great Britain, *i.e.*, our Master, had engaged himself to pay this pension. After all his asking I perceived he knew each particularity of the thing from Mons. Harlay or the other French plenipotentiaries; I therefore fairly recited to him how the thing stood, and that, when it was promised, it was always understood that it was upon condition that the Court now at St. Germain should behave themselves so as that His Majesty should be satisfied with their conduct; which, I said, I thought he had no reason to be whilst they were daily receiving people in private who came from England, whilst they were sending others thither, even those who were forbidden to come by the justice of our country and by our law, and whilst they hid and underhand encouraged some convicted and others suspected of the most horrid assassination and parricide that ever was intended. I thought it was best to speak out so, and I did it in a manner as if I would not say so much to anybody but to himself in confidence, and by reason of the particular friendship with which, I saw, he was pleased to honour me; and my saying so had the effect I could wish, which was to make him fall upon the King of England's praises, and to excuse himself from having had in the least to do with any of King James's practices.

"At last I gave him to understand, though not as otherwise than my own opinion, that, though we were so far from fearing King James that we pitied him, yet we thought that the priests and others that are about him were a little too near us, and thus we parted.

"On Tuesday that I was at Versailles he would have presented Master Cecil, the second son to the Earl of Exeter, but I thought it was [not] proper he should, considering my Lord Exeter's character in relation to His Majesty's Government; so I made Mr. Cecil excuse himself from being

\* Cf. Grimblot, *Letters of William III. and Louis XIV.*, i. 206.

presented upon pretence of his small stay here in France, and I did the young gentleman all the honour I could besides.

"He is chosen a Member of Parliament for Stamford; I have given him the best notions I could, and will recommend him by letter to Mr. Montague, so that I hope the gentleman may prove a good subject and be right to His Majesty and his country's interests.

"As to private affairs, Rygault cannot get the pictures finished sooner than in six weeks from this time, I doubt we may reckon two months.

"The enclosed is from Mons. de Pomponne, who gives his humble service to Your Excellency.

"I will trouble Your Excellency no more but to tell you that Bra[conier] is very desirous of assistance. As to my own affair, Mr. Secretary tells me that having spoken to His Majesty and to Your Lordship about it, he does not doubt but that Your Lordship has settled it at 4*l.* a day. I believe I may thank Your Lordship for it *par avance*.

"Lord Jersey says he will be here next week." *Copy*  
(XI. 175-80.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, August 13 [-23]. Paris.—"Brocard has been walking his rounds; what he knows is here enclosed. He complains that it is a dead time and that he does not know how to deserve your kindness to him, but this was secretly to animadvertize me that he had a mind to the fifty pounds, part of which I have given him: he shall have the rest when he pleases; if you please to pay the sum in to Mr. Powys, of the Treasury, he will be extremely ready to receive it.

"I had a long discourse the other day with Mons. Lausun, with whom I have the honour to be much acquainted, about the pension we are to allow Queen Mary. He desired to know upon what foot that matter stood, and if His Majesty of Great Britain had engaged himself to pay it: after all his asking one might easily perceive he knew each particular of the thing from M. Harlay or the other French plenipotentiaries. I therefore fairly recited to him how the thing stood, and that, when it was promised, it was always understood to be upon condition that the Court now at St. Germain's should behave themselves so as that the King our Master should be satisfied with their conduct, which (I said) I thought he had no reason to be, whilst they were daily receiving people in private who came from England, and sending others thither even such as were forbidden to come by our laws and by the common justice of our nation; and whilst they concealed and underhand encouraged some convicted and other suspected of the most horrid parricide and assassination that ever was contrived.

"I thought it was best to speak out so, and I did it in a manner as if I would not say so much to anybody but to himself



in confidence, and by reason of the particular friendship with which he was pleased to honour me ; and my doing so had the effect I could wish, which was to make him fall into praises of the King our Master, and excuse himself from having had in the least to do with any of King James' practices. At last I gave him to understand (though not as otherwise than my own opinion) that, though we were so far from fearing King James that we pitied him, yet we thought that some priests and others, whom he had about him, were a little too near us. I have written this conversation to my Lord Portland, and do the same to you, because I believe this man's endeavouring to pump me might be done by order, and I have heard that our friends at St. Germain's are a little apprehensive they may be sent further afield, in which case they would (I fancy) close more easily with the pension.

"The King of Spain's health is despaired of by this Court, for which reason I am glad that our squadron is going into the Mediterranean, for (once more) you must keep this peace as you made it, with your sword in your hand.

"The project of campaigning at Compiègne holds for the first or second of September ; the King goes from Versailles the 28th.

"My Lord Jersey tells me he will be here in a week ; I am preparing for his reception. The Dutch Ambassadors make their entry to-morrow ; it will be very magnificent ; they have nine coaches, four of them as fine as ever have been seen.

"This Court (Mr. Heemskirk tells me) have dropped the point they insisted upon, that the Duchess of Verneuil's coach should have place as of a Princess of the Blood, which I am the rather glad of, because, if the Dutch had yielded it, they would have left so fresh a precedent that my Lord Jersey would not have been able to have avoided following it without great difficulty.

"I have received your recommendatory letter in favour of Mr. Pepys' nephew. I need say no more than that bringing your letter he brings a command to me.

—— *Tuus, O Regina, quid optes*

*Explorare labor, mihi jussa capessere fas est."* Copy. (XI. 182-5.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, August 15[-25]. Paris.—"The Dutch Ambassador's entry was the subject of our entertainment yesterday, which would have appeared finer if Your Lordship had not immediately preceded it. Their two first coaches were of those great machines of eleven foot high, very rich on the outside and lined with plain velvet with great gold fringes. Mons. d'Odyck had one set of large greys and another pied, very fine ; two of Mons. Heemskirk's coaches were too plain for a private gentleman to appear here at Paris, where they

like nothing but gilding and show. The Mareschal Tourville introduced them. Madame de Verneuil's coach was not there. The ambassadors did the honour to send to me as to His Majesty's minister to notify their entry; I therefore went in my own equipage with the six horses Your Excellency left here for Lord Jersey to compliment them at Rambouillet, for I thought I was obliged to do the ambassadors as much honour as I could, and to testify, as I do in everything, the great friendship and correspondence (which will, I hope, endure for ever) between our nations.

"We talk of nothing but Compiègne: the King goes from Versailles on Thursday to Chantilli, where he is to lie two nights.

"My Lord Jersey will not be here so soon.

"I have written to know Your Excellency's commands, if I am to go to Compiègne, but have not yet had the honour to receive them. I must beg Your Excellency to finish what your kindness to me began of fixing my allowance at 4*l.* a day; and I hope it may begin from the 20th of January past, when Your Excellency's embassy began, or at least from the 18th of June, when Your Excellency left Paris, or I am quite ruined and bankrupt; and yet I have not been extravagant, but Your Excellency knows Paris, or will do when you see your own accounts.

"I send Mr. Van Leüven the account as it stands in relation to the money of Your Excellency left in my hand.

"I hope for money out of the Treasury if this affair of my allowance were once fixed, which, therefore, I entreat Your Lordship to do for me." *Copy.* (XI. 186-8.)

#### R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 15[-25]. Whitehall.—"I doubt you will draw another bill upon [me] for a charge, I am to tell you, is fallen upon you, though I doubt it will be hardly allowed in your extraordinaries, which is that you must buy a new equipage of mourning for your good old mother, the Dutch baker in King Street, who fell down dead on Friday last. The virtuous young lady you may be sure is under great affliction and wants you to comfort her.

"I took my leave this morning of my Lord Jersey, who intended in the afternoon to set out on his journey towards you." (VIII. 329.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 16[-26]. Whitehall.—"King James being invited to the camp at Compiègne hath been this fortnight in the Paris newspapers. Indeed, it is necessary you should quicken this man [Brocard] up, for one cannot be long amused with such trash: pray let him inform you who this Evans is,



and where he resides when he is in England, and that we may have early notice when he comes over. Brocard made me believe that he had the means of introducing himself into the confidence of that Court as deep as any of them, and I hoped before now that he would have procured to himself one of the commissions of coming over upon some desperate errand.

"I wish your discourse with Mons. de Lauzun may produce some of the effects you mention, but otherwise we see no appearance of their being sent further off.

"You will now have the felicity of my Lord Jersey's arrival, and I give you joy of it. I hope you will have an eye upon Mr. Pepys' nephew, that he doth not go astray. My recommendation of him goes no further than as he and his company shall behave themselves. I believe the old gentleman means fairly, and hath sent no underhand compliments to his old master, having professed the contrary; but young men and ladies may sometimes be libertines and forget good advice.

"I expect to hear very soon from my Lord Portland, and that he will not leave your concerns any longer in suspense." (IV. 72.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, August 27. [N.S.] Paris.—"The Landgrave of Hesse's sons, who are here *incognito*, have been presented to the King by the Duke of Orleans.

"The Prince of Parma is returned hither through Holland and Flanders in order to his seeing the camp at Compiègne.

"A sermon preached here last week by the famous Jesuit La Rue upon St. Bernard's Day makes a great noise. The Bishop of Meaux and other prelates were present: the preacher, after having made a long panegyric upon his Saint, extolled him more particularly for having combated and destroyed a heresy which Gilbert Poretanus, Bishop of Poitiers, taught or at least encouraged, and at last he compared this Bishop to the Archbishop of Cambray, and St. Bernard to the Bishop of Meaux. The good Bishop is thought to have concerted this sermon with the Jesuit; and we are like to have a division in that good order of men, since most of them at Rome are less violent against the Archbishop's doctrine\* than Father La Rue was in his sermon here.

"The Dutch Ambassadors had their audiences yesterday at Versailles in the accustomed manner, and with the same train and magnificence as they had their entry on Sunday. Mareschal Tourville introduced them: Mons. Heemskirk, who is first in the embassy, spoke, and his speeches, particularly those to the King and the Duchess of Burgundy, were very good: the first was full of the joy the Republic had to make a Peace with his most Christian Majesty, and their sincere

\* *I.e.*, the mysticism adopted by Fénelon from Mme Guyon.

intentions to keep and maintain it ; the second was a compliment handsomely turned to the young Princess of the figure she was like to make in the world, whose marriage had been the occasion and overture of the general Peace's being made. The King's answer, especially that part of it which said he was equally resolved to keep the Peace, was very handsome, and made me begin to think he was in earnest.

"The King and all the Court went in the afternoon to St. Cloud to christen the Duke de Chartres' daughter : the Dauphin and the Duchess of Burgundy were godfather and godmother : King James and his Queen were there, and since most of the ministers went thither from Versailles, I went likewise. I saw King James and his Queen (pray do not hang me for so doing), and there was nothing so odd as to see the Duke of Berwick and Lord Middleton traversing the gallery on one side, and I [*sic*] and Lord Reay, of the good Mackay brood, on the other side, each looking on the other with an air of civility mixed with contempt. The gentlemen belonging to the Duke d'Orléans and Chartres were embarrassed enough to call him one moment *le Roy d'Angleterre* to them, and speak to me the next of *le Roy Jacques* : it was, as most human things are, a farce ridiculous enough.

"King James looks mighty old and worn, and stoops in his shoulders ; the Queen looks ill and melancholy ; their equipage is mighty ragged, and their horses are all as lean as Sancho's. The King's voyage to Chantilli holds for to-morrow. King James is invited to Compiègne.

"I have the favour of yours of the 11th. Twisdel or Twisden is the cousin of a knight of the same name here. I wrote my Lord Portland the 9th of July word of his having kissed the Prince of Wales' hand. The Queen was then at Challiot [Chaillot], and most of the English gentlemen went thither to see her and the child. My Lord Perth saw him in the crowd, and cried out to his Lady, 'Madam, there is Mr. Twisden' ; and putting the Prince forward towards him, Twisden kneeled down and kissed the Prince's hand. These are all the circumstances of that affair, the hand was kissed, and the kisser is doubtless the gentleman that took his pass in April, for about May he and his cousin first appeared here ; and he is the son of a man of estate in England, suspected to be a Jacobite, and is looked upon here as of that party.

"I am almost ashamed to tell you that I have neither heard from my Lord Portland or Mr. Blathwayt since their arrival in Holland. My Lord indeed has a great deal of business, and I can only expect to hear from him when he has anything to command me.

"I am infinitely obliged to you for putting His Lordship in mind of my allowance. I hope it is fixed, and am ashamed to have given my friends so much trouble in it ; but Mr. Blathwayt, I say, ought in conscience to let me have heard [*sic*]



that the King was arrived in Holland, and when he went further, considering I am at a Court that is inquisitive enough and value those ministers that they see know their business, and can give an account of their own department. *Sed nobis non licet esse tam disertis*, because I have not the happiness to be one of his favourites; and a consul in any corner of Italy shall be certainly written to—no matter for the Secretary at Paris; for *Lacrimae Christi* and White Florence are very good wines: but this is too ill-natured a reflection.” *Copy.* (XI. 189-93.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, August 30. [N.S.] Paris.—“The last letters from Madrid received by the Court here give a little better account of His Catholic Majesty’s health; that he had at least no relapse for some days before those letters came away, though his weakness still continued. The news we have from this Court upon this subject is not indeed to be much relied upon, for you will hardly hear sooner from Marli or Versailles that the King of Spain is very ill, than you will from Madrid that he is dead.

“The Marquis d’Harcourt presses the Council of Spain to make a strict alliance with France: in what this alliance is to consist I know not, for it is spoken of but in general terms. Cardinal Mazarin, you know, after he had made the Treaty of the Pyrenees, had a project of this kind, but the Marquis d’Harcourt must have a great deal of sense and ready money to bring that design to perfection at this time.

“Every motion we make awakens the curiosity of this Court: they will have it that the King’s going to Zell is to concert an alliance with the German Princes. Their great inquiry is what Aylmer is to do in the Mediterranean, though we do not question them what d’Estrées does there. The most sensible part of the Court cannot but secretly commend us, and think we mind our affairs in sending him thither. His most Christian Majesty went on Thursday to Chantilly, and will be to-night at Compiègne; the ladies are of the voyage; the Dutch Ambassadors are to have their audience of Monsieur, Madame and that family this day at St. Cloud.

• “After all the compliments between these Ambassadors and our friends at Versailles the affairs of commerce between the two nations are in no fairer way of being accommodated. One of the Commissioners told me that their last meeting was not above half an hour, and no way decisive in any one point.

“Count Tallard is sure the first Ambassador that ever was lost: everybody here ask[s] what is become of him: he had only a bare commission from the King his Master to begin the voyage, and had not assured himself that he should have the same from ours that he should continue it.

“It is a long time since I dunned you about the affair of my projectors that will secure our ships by a new sort of

tar ; pray, Sir, does our Admiralty think proper to encourage the experiment, or what must I say to the undertakers ? I am pressed by some of this Court to solicit the affair of the *Cheval Blanc* de St. Malo, Guillaume Berne, Maistre ; I know not in what estate it is, and you must pardon my inquiry, which was only to acquit myself of a promise I made that I would mention it to you, than that I have any concern what becomes of it.

“I have yet another thing to trouble you with : the Venetian Ambassador here is mightily concerned to know what reception his *confrère* shall meet with in England as to the ceremonial. I have told him that an ambassador extraordinary would certainly find the same treatment as those who were last in England, and that an ordinary ambassador would be regulated according to that model in proportion ; but he is not satisfied with this answer, and I know not how to get him a better.”

*Postscript.*—“You see still in the *Gazette de Paris* enclosed that the King and Queen of Great Britain were at St. Cloud, and it is the King of England is at Loo.” *Copy.* (XI. 194-7.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to CHARLES MONTAGUE.

1698, August 30. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have written one letter to you to congratulate you in your honours, one to condole with you, and here is a fourth to thank you : what shall I do, Sir, to express the obligations I have to you besides respecting you and obeying your commands for ever ? but I can better think than speak upon this subject, and you had rather let me talk of anything else.

“The King of Spain’s health is the weather-glass upon which all our politicians look : as that rises or falls we look pleasant or uneasy. I am glad to tell you that I think France is as much afraid he should die as we can be, and what alliances the King of England is making in Germany, and what Aylmer is to do in the Mediterranean are questions proposed to me at least twice every day. The Dutch Ambassadors have been received here with all the external civility imaginable, but I do not see that from thence that the affairs of commerce between the two nations are more likely to be adjusted. One of the Dutch Commissioners told me himself that their last meeting was not above half an hour and no way decisive in any one point.

“This Court is gone to see their Monarch a-cockhorse at Compiègne. I follow as soon as my English nag arrives, and I shall a little have settled my Lord Jersey. I faced old James and all his Court the other day at St. Cloud. *Vive Guillaume !* you never saw such a strange figure as the old bully is, lean, worn and riv’led, not unlike Neal the projector ; the Queen looks very melancholy, but otherwise well enough ; their equipages are all very ragged and contemptible.



"I have written to my Lord Portland and Mr. Secretary the sum of several discourses I have had with Mons. de Lausun and others, or rather they with me, about the pension which we were to allow the Queen : do we intend, my dear Master, to give her the fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, or no ? If we do not, I (or rather my Lord Jersey now) should be furnished with chicaning answers when we are pressed upon that point, for it was fairly promised, that is certain ; if we do, the giving it openly and generously would establish the King a reputation in the minds of the French, which, if we give twice that money to purchase, would not, I think, be bought too dear : but this is my own sentiment and to my own Master : for the rest, *quæ supra nos nihil ad nos.*" *Copy.* (XI. 198-200.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 22[-Sept. 1]. Whitehall.—"I wonder you should not hear from Mr. Blathwayt : he does not use to be wanting in writing either long or short letters. Instead of your Lachrymae Christi and White Florence, can't you suppose that his letters have been opened at the French post-houses, and finding they were of consequence, they have been carried to Versailles instead of Paris ; or otherwise he might not think the news he uses to send fit for a minister in so polite a Court. What reputation would it give you for intelligence to be able to tell which way the stag ran such a day, and how long the chase lasted !" (IV. 75.)

ST. EVREMOND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 22[-Sept. 1]. London.—"Je dois toutes vos honnêtetés, et le dessein que vous avez de m'obliger à votre mérite plus qu'au mien : si vous n'étiez naturellement obligeant je n'ai aucune qualité qui put m'attirer la grâce que vous m'avez faite. La considération de Mons. le Duc de Lausun peut y avoir contribué ; mais comme j'en dois recevoir l'avantage, c'est à moi, Monsieur, de vous en faire tous les remerciemens possibles. La grâce que vous me faites me donne l'honneur de votre connoissance, que j'estime plus que la grâce mesme. Je me tiendrois heureux de trouver une occasion où je pusse vous témoigner le ressentiment que j'en ai."

*Postscript.*—"Vous aures la bonté de faire donner ma lettre à Mons. le Duc de Lausun, et d'asseurer de mes très humbles services Mons. l'Ambassadeur et Mme l'Ambassadrice." (IV. 76.)

THE EARL OF GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 23[-Sept. 2]. Dublin Castle.—"Je ne fais que vous donner de la peine. Le succès de toute celle que vous avez prise pour mes intérêts en France ne m'a point trompé. Je ne l'ay jamais attendu meilleur ; mais il a fallu

suivre le conseil de ses amis et faire plutôt des démarches inutiles que d'avoir quelque chose à se reprocher. Mon plus grand chagrin est par rapport à vous, qui avez tant travaillé sans aucun fruit." *Signed.* (IV. 78.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Sept. 3. [N.S.] Paris.—"My Lord Jersey came hither on Monday night in a post-chaise with his secretary and two domestics only; and does me the honour to be with me *incognito*, nobody yet knowing of his arrival: my Lady and family will come on Friday night, so on Saturday the Ambassador will be supposed to be here.

"I have not seen Brocard since my last: by another friend and indeed by twenty circumstances it is reasonable to believe there is no great matter of news stirring in that Court. By what I have yet seen of the conduct of Mr. Pepys' nephew it is likely to prove innocent enough.

"Mons. Pontchartrain and all the *Bureau de Marine* is gone to Compiègne with the King, which looks as if some orders of that kind were to be dispatched there." *Copy.* (XI. 201.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 25[–Sept. 4]. Whitehall.—"As to your tar projectors I find they have a sort of an agent here. I have told him, as I writ to you formerly, that neither our Admiralty nor Navy Board know what to say to it till they see the experiment made. I hear they are at work at Dunkirk, and methinks it should be no great trouble to them to send over one hither who is instructed in their secret, that may convince the incredulous of such of the effects as are triable here. If they are shy, we are reserved." (IV. 79.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, August 25[–Sept. 4]. Whitehall.—"I have no news of your 'cobbs' [dollars] from Ireland, nor have I any directions from you to write to Mr. May about them, without which I think I ought not.

"Mons. Paul Boyer has been very ill of a fever, but is upon recovery. Sir Fleetwood Shepherd (who has for some time been in effect dead) marched off yesterday morning; Admiral Mitchell, it is said, will succeed him as Black Rod. Sir Henry Hobart had a quarrel with one Mr. Le Neve in Norfolk, and fighting, the former was run into the guts, of which he is dead, and the other into the arm.

"I cannot find any direction yet come for your additional allowance." (VIII. 333.)

The MARQUIS DE TORCY to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

1698, Sept. 8. [N.S.] Compiègne.—Informing him that the duty on wines and liquors imported into Paris must



be paid by everybody ; even on wines intended for the King. In Lord Portland's case, it is true, the wine was admitted free on the assurance that the duty would be paid, but it is still owing. Therefore the duty demanded of Lord Jersey is in no way exceptional ; and his passport does not exempt from payment. *French. Signed.* (XX. 147.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JOHN TUCKER.

1698, Sept. 10. [N.S.] Paris.—“ The last letter I troubled you with was to desire you to fix my affair with Mr. May, but by the abstract of a letter I received from him last post I see what opinion he has of it. I must protest to you before I say anything of this affair that I am abundantly convinced of your sincere friendship to me, and that I am assured you were as much mistaken in the man as I was, and that you meant a common kindness to two friends when you desired me to employ him during my absence : this being said, you will imagine that I cannot enough admire that a man, that by all his letters to me has never mentioned anything in a year and half of his being employed as first secretary by my consent and kindness, should thus act with me ; and that too when by his own letters he has given me account from time to time of what has been received in the office ; and not only so, but when he knows that my Lord Galway has in a manner excused to me by letter his having abridged some of the fees, and that the Secretary of State has by the King's own order excused more than once my absence upon account of my being absent on the King's business and by his own order ; and that he has seen that the Lords Justices themselves have and will continue to divide the appointment with my Lord Jersey, who is just in the same case with me ; and that Mr. May knows it was in my power to have nominated anybody else to act in my stead. The sum of all this is, that if he persists in the opinion he is now in, I shall be obliged to right myself as I can, which, I think, will be by drawing up a *factum* from the letters that have passed between us, and soliciting all the interest I can possibly make to do myself right. Mr. May will best judge if he will get the better of me upon this proceeding, or if this may not do him more prejudice than he is aware of, and if he does not stake his reputation, and possibly his fortune against six or seven hundred pounds. But before I will do anything of this kind I will write him a friendly letter ; and if upon it he thinks good to return me the whole, always standing to your arbitration, which I will do most heartily, our affair may go well, and the secret of this last demarch of his may be kept between us three, and shall be forgotten by me as to any resentment or heart-burning hereafter. But if Mr. May goes on in the way he is now, he must not impute it to me as a fault if I strive to do myself the severest justice. Whatever happens of this kind, I hope the friendship between you and myself will

never be diminished by what any third person can effect ; as I have evident right on my side, so I know—between you and I [*sic*]*—*I have interest more than sufficient to back it, but I will act in relation to him whom you have thought your friend as becomes me, who really am and will always continue so.” *Copy.* (XI. 203–6.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 1[–11]. Whitehall.—“By a letter I received this day from my Lord Portland I find an account is sent you that he had moved His Majesty, and your double allowance is settled from the time of your going over. This hath been a frank and generous kindness, and I wish you had nothing to do but to reap the benefit of it. I hear the Lords of the Treasury are now afraid of the precedent, and even those who would not have you disappointed are for changing the method, and instead of a daily allowance would have you receive it by way of bounty in a lump. This will be indifferent to you, provided you have your total at last.” (IV. 81.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Sept. 12. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have the favour of Your Excellency’s letter of the 2nd, but it came only with those of the 5th. I hope to hear in a post or two from Your Excellency, though I dare not press you, for I know how little leisure you have, but the correspondent presses me by B[raconier], though, indeed, he has little to give us for the value of what he has had from Your Excellency ; and Bra[conier] presses me likewise for himself ; Bayly, too, desires to know what is to become of him, if he is to stay where he is, and if Your Excellency will continue him his pension there ; and the last pension I will trouble Your Excellency about is my own, which, I hope, you will not forget to have settled by reason the Treasury is now in a condition to pay me something of it.

“Davies is gotten to Saint Germain ; he pretends he would refund the money if he saw an order under your hand for his so doing, but he is so great a villain that there is nothing to be done with him. Colonel Burk has endeavoured with great industry to serve Your Excellency (as you already know) in this affair, and when Your Excellency sees proper to recommend the poor man’s case to His Majesty’s commiseration, it will be indeed a great piece of charity in you. It is hardly worth troubling you with what they do at Compiègne, it is so dirty there that the horses can hardly move ; I do not go there, not having had any orders, and waiting upon my Lord Jersey (as my duty commands me here).

“The squadron which the Count d’Estrées commands is arrived at Toulon, which is the only considerable news which this post affords.



"I cannot get Riqueaut to finish your picture yet, though I press him as much as I can possibly." *Copy.* (XI. 208-10.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 5[-15]. Whitehall.—"On Friday last Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer enquired of me how much the doubling of your allowance would come to. Accordingly I made him a state thereof, by which it appeared to be 728*l.*; he afterwards ordered a warrant to be drawn for the King to sign, to pay to you 500*l.* as of the King's bounty, which was sent that night to Mr. Blathwayt for the King to sign. The fees of this will cost you more than your other money.

"I have so many obligations to you that I blush to think you should add to them by sending me a present of wine. If you please to let it be directed to Isaac Manley, Esq., at the Custom House, London, and to let me know when you send it and by what ship, I hope to save the custom."

*Postscript.*—"Sir Robert Howard being dead, the Treasury have constituted the Chancellor's brother, Mr. Christopher Montague, Auditor of the Receipt of Exchequer, which is a 'bob' for the noble Marquis of Carmarthen." (VIII. 337.)

THE EARL OF PORTLAND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 5[-15]. Loo.—"Je vous remercie de vostre dernière du 29 d'Aoust; j'avois appris l'entrée et l'audience des Ambassadeurs de l'Estat; je ne sçay si vous courés risque de la vie pour avoir veu le Roy Jaques, mais bien que j'ay ry de tout mon cœur de votre récit; c'est la plus sotté chose du monde d'estre obligé de changer de ton et de style d'un bout de la chambre à l'autre. Si j'avois veu vostre Gouverneur sur son bidet faisant son homage à la portière je suis seur que je l'aurois fait rougir; mais tout ce jeu est ridicule et ne sauroit durer longtemps; et il faut que cela tourne de l'une ou de l'autre manière.

"Il me semble que vous estes de sentiment que la pension devoit estre payée devant la retraite, mais je ne suis pas de cette opinion. J'ay parlé au Roy touchant le temps que vous aurez l'augmentation de vos gages; Sa Majesté la accorde depuis le temps de vostre départ, mais il ne veut pas que cela se sache à cause de la conséquence dont cela seroit pour d'autres. Ainsi j'ay escrit a Messrs. Montagu et Vernon pour les prier de consulter ensemble pour voir la manière de le faire facilement.

"Il faudra un peu savoir ce que l'on pourra donner par an à Br[ac]onj[er], et de quoy vous croyez qu'il puisse vivre, et puis je le lui feray avoir, car le Roy y'a consenti."

*Postscript.*—"Je voudrois que la calesche que Mons. du Mont me fait faire peut estre preste pour m'estre envoyée avec le bagage de Mons. d'Odyck. Gardés entre vos mains l'argent que vous avez encore à moy: je vous écriray comment en disposer à moins que Mons. d'Odyck n'en eût besoin pour le service du Roy." (IV. 86.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Sept. 15. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have the honour of Your Excellency’s letter of the 5th. I shall say no more of His Majesty’s goodness to me, or of Your Lordship’s favour in procuring it, than that I shall always study by my zeal and diligence in His Majesty’s service to deserve the continuance of both to me, and I will make no other compliment upon it to Your Excellency than that I will always be obedient and active in performing all your orders and commands.

“I shall write on Wednesday some hints I have had of letters which will be sent into England from St. Germain’s; I shall write of it, I say, to the Secretary of State; I do not trouble Your Excellency with it yet, since the informations I have are imperfect and the way of sending by Holland a little subject to uncertainty; but I write to the Secretary in cipher, which is something surer.

“Bayly has been with me again: I write to Mr. Van Leuven about the continuance of his allowance; I have not heard in some time from the correspondent, nor can he, I think, have much at this season more than he has already told us.

“The ladies about whom B[raconier] interested himself are gone this morning for England; I have recommended them to Mr. Boyle and Fielding by letter; I believe they are rather whores than plotters.

“We have little public news; the enclosed will tell you how furiously they attack and how gloriously they defend themselves at Compiègne, but the wet weather spoils all the parade. People that have a mind to laugh call it the *Camp des Marionnettes*, and they call Mons. de Boufflers Briocher, which is the name of the master of the *marionnettes* here at Paris. It is not only my Governor who mounts his *bidet* upon occasions; your friend Boufflers does as much, he treated the Court the 10th and King James with a great deal of splendour and magnificence and rid out with the latter in the afternoon. He is so pleased with this command that (I am credibly informed) he designs to buy the village of Coudun, where the headquarters are, and get it annexed to his Duchy of Boufflers, and will have it called *Coudun les Rois*; but though this be seriously talked, I own it looks too ridiculous to be true.

“King James came from Compiègne the 13th, and in his way to Saint Germain’s called at Challiot [Chaillot], where the Queen was in devotion till his return. I know not if I explained myself right as to these people’s pensions being paid by what I laid before Your Excellency of the discourse I had upon that subject with Mons. de Lauzun. Your Lordship sees how I act with all of them that speak about this business; and what I meant was only how far I might venture to say the pension would be paid in case they were



removed ; for as I have said to them all, I always understood this to be the secret condition upon which it was promised, and that I thought (as I am sure the French plenipotentiaries must do) at the signing the Peace, that we could never be thought to give away such a sum of money on any other account or consideration, and for the truth of this I always referred them to my Lord Jersey, when he should come, who was at the signing the Peace, and thus far I was sure I could not be wrong, for it was what I had said to Colonel Hussey before Your Excellency.

“ According to the commands you gave me in your letter of the 5th, I have waited on Mr. d’Odyck, and signified to him that I am ready to pay him the 3,000 *livres* when he shall require it ; and I shall likewise take care that the calesche and the pictures be ready to be brought with his goods into Holland. I hasten Rigault as much as possible.

“ Upon this occasion of the picture I have a petition to make to Your Excellency, which I would have spoken of whilst you were here, but I really durst not ; it is that I have and shall have the pictures of the Masters I have had the honour to serve under, as my Lord Pembroke, Jersey, etc., and if Your Excellency would give me leave to have your picture copied by Rigault I should esteem it, as I ought to do, as a very great favour. I would not by this have the impudence to beg 30*l.* of you for the charge I would pay, but I only mean that I durst not take the boldness to have the copy taken without having Your Excellency’s consent. Monsieur Van Leüen will give me Your Excellency’s answer upon this request of mine without my giving Your Excellency the trouble of an answer.” *Copy.* (XI. 210-15.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to H. MAY.

1698, Sept. 17. [N.S.] Paris.—“ I must trouble you again about Mr. Zurlauben’s affair. He desires that you would give this letter to the lady with whom he left his plate, and to return her answer either written or verbal, which he will, he says, rest satisfied in. This importunity is rather from my Lord Portland than myself, so I can the easier desire you to pardon it.

“ But I must beg your patience to hear me upon another subject, in which I only am interested ; ’tis upon the contents of the letter I had the honour to receive from you of the 11th of August, which I would not answer too suddenly or rashly, but upon consideration, and with the kindness of a friend.

“ First, therefore, you must give me leave to tell you that no man could be more surprised than I was that you and I understood each other so very little. Mr. Tucker, my good friend, interceded with me that you should exercise my employment whilst His Majesty’s service ordered me elsewhere. I consented to it readily, and thought no man so

proper to be for some time in the station of First Secretary as he whom two of the Lords Justices had honoured with the title of Second Secretary, but as well Mr. Tucker's letters as yours for a year and half, which I have by me, gave me (as I thought) to understand that you were deputed by me, and accountable to me ; and I refer myself to you if in this year and half you ever gave me any one word or hint to the contrary.

"As to your being named by their Excellencies the Lords Justices, *sub judice lis est* : I take it for granted that the First Secretary being appointed by the King, His Majesty orders or dispenses with the service as he judges proper, and as he does with that of one of the Lords Justices ; and I have reason to think their Excellencies are of the same opinion. How far His Majesty will be pleased to interest himself in this small affair of mine will be seen hereafter ; at least I am sure he knows that I am here by his special order and appointment, and that I had rather be at Dublin performing the functions of my place than contending at this distance for what I esteem my right.

"The letters that by His Majesty's command have been written into Ireland about me confirm me in this opinion, for why should the Duke of Shrewsbury and my Lord Portland by His Majesty's order and consent write to have Mr. Prior's absence dispensed with if Mr. May was to have the profits ? Could all that His Majesty meant by this be only that Mr. Prior should not be turned out from his place in Ireland because he was commanded to serve in Holland or France ; because the King would not let him come from the first of these places till the Peace was made, and commanded him to stay in the second till he thought good to recall him ? If this had been all, what need had I of these letters ? For if the Lords Justices had written to me that I must repair to Dublin or lose my charge, it had been time enough for me to have procured such letters in my favour, but on the contrary I have always had very obliging letters from their Excellencies to invite me, when His Majesty's orders should command, to come to my charge. I hope my zeal and industry in their service will show the sense I have of their favour ; but indeed I can never think that the King's order or their Excellencies' should compliment me so nicely with the name of Secretary as not to intend me one farthing of the income, and I think the third of my masters is so far in my case as to be on my side, though I perceive in this almost year and half you have been so far from consulting him in it as never to have written to him.

"The sum of all is, Sir, that as yet I have neither written or spoken to any person but to Mr. Tucker about the state of our affair ; if you please to render me an account of the fees legally and fairly received in the office from the 17th of May, 1697, on which day the King nominated me First Secretary



of Ireland (always understanding that I allow you a consideration for acting as such, which consideration shall be left to the arbitrage of Mr. Tucker), I shall be satisfied and the affair terminated; but if you persist in the sentiment wherein you are at present, you must allow me to use all my interests and solicit all my friends that I may have that done me which I esteem justice. This, Sir, I leave to your consideration: favour me as soon as you can conveniently with an answer, and act with me in the same free and open manner as I do with you, for as yet the thing is only between you, Mr. Tucker, and myself, and may still continue only so if you please; but if you think otherwise of it, do me the justice to say that I writ to you in this friendly way before I thought of righting myself by any other." *Copy.* (XI. 216-21.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Sept. 17. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have the favour of your letter of the 1st, the day after I had rejoiced over one from my Lord Portland, which told me my allowance was doubled. I cannot help it if the King’s generosity in this point does not agree with the methods of the Treasury, but I know that His Majesty, my Lord Portland, Mr. Mountague and Mr. Vernon may either give me 40s. a day or an equivalent, and I think the fellow in Terence was no ill counsellor that said

*Quaeso, quando id quod velis non possit, velis id quod potest.*

The only difference that I see between your methods is that your 500*l.* at a lump and 500*l.* after will give you more trouble, for provided these sums are repeated often enough to make the calculation even with 40s. a day augmented (I keep to my text, you see), neither Mr. Powys or I shall be much concerned.

“In short, you may do what you please with me, for whilst you are Secretary of State it is as much impossible that you should let me want, as it is that I should be insensible of your favour.

“We have nothing stirring here more than the enclosed informs you, and if every post afforded as little as this, I think I should hardly deserve what I have already. Pray send me word if you know the hand in which this enclosed is written, for in it is that the Abbé Renaudot has the article from England for his *Gazette*, and my correspondent says it comes from the office.” *Copy.* (XI. 221-23.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 12[-22]. Whitehall.—“I have received your letter of the 16th inst., N.S., and we have since had a confirmation by the Corunna packet-boat of the ill

condition of the King of Spain's health, which, I am afraid, threatens us with trouble enough.

"The enclosed piece of news you sent me I conclude is the handwriting of Mons. Delafaye, who translates the *Gazettes* here into French, and I believe hath held a long correspondence with Abbé Renaudot. What is in that paper is of no great consequence."

*Postscript.*—"I believe you have heard of three brothers who were formerly in a proclamation and taken up on account of the assassination, viz., George, Thomas, and Bevill Higgons. There appeared no proofs against them of that crime, but their affections to the Government were neither remarkable before nor since. I hear they are lately gone over into France, and particularly that Thomas Higgons is gone to St. Germain; you will be able to get the best account whether it be so or not, and what business brings him thither. You will endeavour therefore to be informed with whom he converses, and in what manner, and whether the two brothers are with him.

"I am likewise told of one Charles Eden, son to Toby Eden, of the Exchequer Office, that he is lately gone to St. Germain; I hope you will find those who can satisfy us in the truth of it." (IV. 90.)

#### J. VAN LEEUWEN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 13[-23]. Loo.—"You will be pleased to tell Bayley that he is to be continued as before, and as long as he shall deserve it. Pray acquaint him that I received his letter with the enclosed for His Excellency, and that he will continue upon the same foot. The money for him is to be remitted to you out of the privy purse.

"His Excellency [Portland] is willing to present you with a copy of his picture, and you have only to set Rigault at work without loss of time, for His Lordship is impatient to have the original. Be pleased to pay Rigault for your copy and place it at my account."

"His Majesty's departure for Cell is fixed upon this day sennight, the 30th inst., and accordingly all the *relais et voitures* are regulated and ordered already. I believe that it will be four weeks before the King can be back at Loo. His Majesty will be attended with a good number of persons of quality, as Mons. Ouverkerk, Lords Portland, Albemarle, Essex, Lexington, Raby, Monpouillan, Selkirk, Gatigny, Blathwayt and some others. The Duke [of Celle] makes great preparations for His Majesty's reception." (IV. 95.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 15[-25]. Whitehall.—"I have your letter of the 20th inst. to acknowledge. I care not how long your express is deferred that should bring us the news of the King



of Spain's death. We had rather you should hold on making mock camps and take Compiègne over and over, provided you let Barcelona and Madrid alone.

"I hear one Cavenagh is gone over lately who is son to a page of the back stairs at St. Germain. If you hear any account of him, you will let me know it, and whether he be employed as one of their ordinary messengers.

"I am told that my Lord Molyneux's eldest son and one Mr. Fenwick are lately come over hither. If they have been at St. Germain, I suppose you will have heard of it." (IV. 91.)

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 25. [N.S.] Loo.—Concerning the petition of Prévost and Bonnet, Canons of Orange, to King William to confirm their appointment to the benefices to which they were presented by King Louis during the interregnum.\* Their case as well as that of the Abbess of St. André is warmly supported by the Bishop of Orange and the Ministers of the Court of France. His Majesty has acceded to their desire, but the Pope complains of an encroachment on the rights of the Church, and has notified the Commandant of Orange that, if the Canons are left in possession of their benefices, he will forbid all commerce between the County of Avignon and the Principality of Orange; although no complaint was made during the interregnum.

As His Majesty granted the confirmation as a favour to the Bishop and the Ministers, it is only right that they should use their influence at the Court of Rome to prevent the enforcement of the Pope's threat; and Mons. Blisson will give further information to Prior and Lord Jersey whereby Pomponne and Torcy may be induced to make representations to the Nuncio with this object. It should be pointed out that the Princes of Orange have enjoyed the *regale* within the Principality from time immemorial without opposition from the Papacy; and this is merely a case of confirmation. Further, if the interdict were put into execution, the inhabitants of the county would be the greater sufferers, as their possessions in the Principality exceed those of the Orangeois in the county. Lastly, it should be hinted that by reason of the good understanding which King William purposes to maintain with the King of France, it is his intention to nominate none but natives of Orange or Frenchmen of the neighbourhood recommended by the French Court to vacant benefices, so that it is to the interest of the French Court to prevent the Pope from impeding His Majesty's exercise of the *regale*.

The assistance of the Dutch Ambassadors at Paris and of Mons. de Vriberghen should also be solicited. *French. Signed.* (IV. 96-7.)

\* *I.e.*, while the Principality was occupied by the French.

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Sept. 29. [N.S.] Paris.—“On Saturday my Lord Jersey had a private audience of the King in his closet, the Marquis de Torsi, Mons. de Saintôt and myself being only present; it was (as it used to be) a great deal of protestation of the King of France’s side that he would cultivate the friendship and good correspondence with the King our Master, and do everything by which he might render my Lord Ambassador’s stay here agreeable to him, but for all these fine words, King James and Queen Mary were at Versailles at six the same afternoon, and the Prince of Wales with the children at four. I had the curiosity in the afternoon, whilst my Lord Jersey was visiting some ladies, to be in the great apartments whilst the boy went by; I had only shatterheaded young Saintôt with me, whom I took for a chaperon; Your Excellency will imagine how my Lords Perth and Melford looked upon one who saw their Prince come by without paying him any respect. It was told (I perceived) to the child who I was: he is not handsome, but he is lively enough.

“Though this letter may be broken open, I think it may be written without any cipher, that in the sense of all understanding men, even of the French here, this Court makes a very ridiculous figure, whilst in the morning they receive an ambassador from the King of England, and are visited in the afternoon as they were on Saturday. At Fontainebleau there will be difficulties of this kind, which I do not see how they can get over, for it will be extremely odd for my Lord Jersey to stay behind whilst all the ambassadors go, and it will be very hard for His Excellency to be at the public meetings and assemblies there without seeing King James and his followers.

“This Court will have it that the King of Spain is better, and that he will be once more removed to Toledo.

“Everybody is very kind to Lord Jersey, my Governor is particularly so.

“My Lord goes again to Versailles to-morrow, and will, I believe, speak to Mons. Pomponne upon the affair, which appears so very senseless that the Court of France ought to be first in remedying it.

“Mons. d’Odyck took his leave of this Court yesterday.”  
*Copy.* (XI. 224-6.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Oct. 1. [N.S.] Paris.—“My Lord Jersey has had his private audiences in the accustomed manner, and with all the satisfaction imaginable as to the exterior, but for all the fair words we had from the King on Saturday, King James and Queen Mary were at Versailles at six, afternoon, and the Prince of Wales was with the children at four. I had the curiosity, whilst my Lord Ambassador was visiting the ladies, to see the boy as he passed through the great apart-



ments. My Lord Perth and Melford were with him ; you will imagine how they looked upon an Englishman that let their Prince pass by without taking any notice of him ; it was told the boy, I perceived by his looking, who I was ; he is not handsome, but he is very lively. I can tell you he is a true Papist, for I saw him say his prayers and cross himself before the altar. After all it is a ridiculous figure that the Court of France makes, halting thus between God and Baal. I know not what they will do at Fontainebleau, whither they have already invited King James and his Court, and where also my Lord Jersey will go and expect to be used with all the dignity that an English Ambassador should have ; but by twenty things here I perceive they are mightily embarrassed about it. All my correspondents are out at their posts ; so not having seen but one of them this week, I can only tell you in general that persons and letters come frequently from England to St. Germain, and that everybody is welcome that comes thither with a story from your side, though it be never so ridiculous. One of the Higgens has been here at Paris, and I am told has been privately at St. Germain. I have not heard of the others mentioned either in yours or in Mr. Ellis' letters." *Copy.* (XI. 226-8.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Oct. 4. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have had a fellow with me—his name is Dennis Kelly, his country Ireland—who per various causes came into France after the business of Limerick, has long been ill-used at St. Germain, was in England last winter, where he would have gotten some money of some Jacobites, or have discovered them to you, or anything for bread ; but was chased from England by one Mrs. Chilton, who was laundress to the Prince of Wales, she frightening the fellow by telling him she had interest with Sir Stephen Fox and would have him lie in a jail ; and the fellow being afraid, for that one witness in England is not sufficient, otherwise he would have discovered her and others who hold correspondence at St. Germain. This is the fellow's story as you will see by the enclosed papers which he has given me. The question is if anything he has here said, or that you think he can say is worthy of your hearing or your vouchsafing him a pardon. What he says for himself that looks in the least meritorious is that he knows all the faces that have appeared at St. Germain for seven years past.” *Copy.* (XI. 230-1.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 26[-Oct. 6]. Whitehall.—“I should be glad to have a certain account what the person you mention has been doing at St. Germain. There is a rumour as if a great number of horses were lately gone thither. I question

whether any are so generous as to send them for presents. We heard a good deal of one Lewis in the Plot time who had been gentleman of the horse to my Lord Feversham : this person bought most of the horses for the assassination, and kept some of them in Somerset House stables. I am told he hath lately carried over a parcel of horses for Paris ; if any of them go to St. Germain, it is not unlikely but those may be presents ; as least the man will be well received for his former services." (IV. 92.)

#### H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 27[–Oct. 7]. Dublin Castle.—Explaining the cause of his misunderstanding with Prior as to the salary of the First Secretary at Dublin, and promising to hand over such a share of the receipts of the office as Tucker shall think just to the person appointed by Prior to receive it. Is anxious to meet Prior in a reasonable spirit, so that the matter may go no further than themselves and Tucker. (IV. 93–4.)

#### The EARL OF PORTLAND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Oct. 7. [N.S.] Goeur [Goeree].—"J'ay bien reçu votre dernière du 22 passé. Il est certain que la déclaration du Roy de France, que vous m'avez envoyée, me semble estre contraire au traité de Ryswyck et au commerce de la nation Anglaise aux Indes. Je ne sçay quel tour ils voudront donner à cela ; je crains que nous ne soyons souvent sujet à des pareilles choses si dès le commencement l'on ne les peut arrester. Nous sommes ici depuis vendredi passé, et à la fin de la semaine prochaine je croys que le Roy sera de retour à Loo, j'espère que ma chaise et mes portraits seront prêts pour estre envoyez en Hollande avec le bagage de Mons. d'Odyck, je vous prie d'asseurer my Lord et my Lady Jersey de mes très humbles services." (IV. 102.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Oct. 8. [N.S.] Paris.—"The Mareschal de Villeroy spoke himself to the King that the houses might be open and the waterworks might play for my Lady Jersey : yet, after all, the deputy-officers were only attending, and not a drop of wine or coffee offered to us in the whole two days. So fast these people lose the merit of their civility to my Lord Portland, and so evidently it appears that their kindness to us was constrained, momentary, dissembled and unnatural.

"My Lord expects orders every day from our Court to go to Fontainebleau. I can't imagine what they will do with King James if we go ; but let them look to that.

"I sent you last post a poor devil's petition : I think you may e'en have the whole Court of them, Lord Middleton and all, if you think it worth your while." *Copy.* (XI. 232.)



## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Sept. 29[–Oct. 9]. Whitehall.—“I told you of Lewis carrying over horses. I hear most of them are said to be presents to the Comte de Roussy [Rouci La Rochefoucauld]: you will soon know whether he be the ultimate end.

“I am afraid Brocard is but an idle fellow, and bragged of more than ever he intended to perform.” (IV. 98.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Oct. 10. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have the honour of your letter of the 25th, and having communicated it to Mons. Blisson, am informed by him, as Your Excellency will see by his letter which I send enclosed, that the affair between the King and the Vice-Legate of Avignon has changed since the writing of your letter, and that no further step can be made in it till we shall receive His Majesty’s orders upon what Mons. Blisson has written to Your Lordship of the 26th and 29th, upon which answers I shall obey your commands.

“Mons. Heemskirk and Mons. Vrybergen are at Fontainebleau; I suppose my Lord Jersey will go thither, and I shall follow His Excellency thither the next week (this being Friday), so that, as I presume your orders will come whilst I am there, we shall have opportunities of discoursing as well the Ministers as the Nonce at that place. 1478 [King James] and 1479 [Queen Mary] are doing some business: 1438 will send 984 one 45,9,63, 50, 55, 95, 72, 68 [Hamilton] and 984 is to protect his voyage, and thus Lady Bell is to write to Lady Essex. 984 shall hear more of it as it comes to anything.\* Little people are always going and coming. Of all this I have informed Mr. Secretary, and send a man into England, who will not be useless, having known everybody here for seven years past.

“Mons. d’Odyck will set out from hence on Wednesday next; I do everything in my power to hasten the calesh and the pictures, but the Devil is in the workmen of Paris, they eternally promise and eternally deceive.

“The civilities of these people appear to have been forced; for all the mighty work they made when Your Excellency saw the King’s houses, there was only a controller or two to show them to my Lord Jersey and his Lady, and as little *empressement* and civility as can be imagined.” *Copy.* (XI. 233–5.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Oct. 15. [N.S.] Paris.—“Brocard has again been with me: he tells me 859, 480, 9, 1339, 1035, 209, 127, 1123d, 447, 832, 494, 429, 540, 209, 1454 489, 865, 465, 637, 1339. He knows not 525, but hopes he shall in some time. I know

\* Cf. pp. 281, 284, 297, 307, 325, *infra*. The decipher, so far as positively ascertained, is:—a, 9, b, 15, d, 27, e, 32, g, 42, h, 45, i or j, 50, l, 55, 58, m, 63, n, 68, o, 72, r, 84, 85, s, 89, t, 95, u or v, 102, y, 114. Some of the numbers are not resolvable into the cipher, nor otherwise interpretable.

not what to make of him. I have furnished him with the money he required of me, and will not send a letter he has written to you till I hear more perfectly what this thing can mean, and in that case you may expect a messenger; one cannot be too alert upon these occasions, but I know not what to make of friend Brocard: he is a riddle.

"As to the volunteer, I think we had best send him, for he can be of no use here, and possibly may do some service on your side. The man seems to have a great inclination to be honest: his parts indeed do not go very far. You may send him away again or do what you will with him, he thinks that only being hanged in England (which is the worst he can fear) is equivalent to being starved here; *quicquid præter spem evenerit, omne id deputabit esse in lucro*.

"The Higgens, and some other of that gang are here: I think their bringing horses from England is only to sell them advantageously here, and most of the St. Germain's people turn the penny this way.

"We have no orders yet from His Majesty about our going to Fontainebleau. I wish my brother Jimmy joy of his new honour.

"I hope, my warrant for the 500*l.* is returned. I know nothing can make my stay here agreeable but my Lord Jersey's being here. Give us whatever you can, we shall both come home beggars: for never were people so undone and so expensive as these of this Court." *Copy.* (XI. 239-41.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to CHARLES BOYLE, CHRISTOPHER  
CODDRINGTON and SPENCER COMPTON.

1698, Oct. 15. [N.S.] Paris.—"I am glad, my good friends Boyle and Coddington, that you stand so near each other that a man may take aim at you at once. I wish Compton had subscribed too, that one letter might have served you all three; for though I bustle about and pass for a man of business, I am as idle as the best of you. I must write to my correspondents, but for my friends I only trouble them when I have occasion for their help; these are my principles; you may act with me accordingly. I thank you, my dear Mr. Boyle (if you are so, but they say your brother is dead and you are an earl), for your hospitality to my ladies; some, you know, have received angels in the shape of strangers, but mine, I think, are flesh and blood, at least they pass for such at Paris; they are of that number that my Lord Hastings calls succulent ladies. What they came to do in England, God knows, if to plot, or upon some more innocent design. My Lord Portland, however, is obliged to you for your care and kindness in observing and visiting them, and so is his secretary." *Copy.*

"Colonel Coddington, your father, is dead, and if you have not philosophy enough to sustain the loss, burn your Malebranche and wet your pocket handkerchief; but if you



are a true heir, come again to the Marais, where I have a little house and will receive you as I love you. Your Toriano is a little under the dominion of the moon; he will go to Montpellier because four doctors send him; he says, he intends to be cured of a consumption here, because he recovered of it last summer in England: the man, indeed, is whimsical, it is pity; he is gone forward, God speed him. I laughed at him as little as I could, which was all, I think, you could in reason expect from me." *Copy.*

"And thou, though last, not least in my affections, Spencer Compton, where dost thou live, or what dost thou do? Pray bid Robin resolve me this question. Hopkins is here and going to Italy. We remember you when we think of our friends in England. Adieu.

*Postscript.*—"My service to the Fish against he prints a new miscellany. I will, as I have promised him, look up some bad verses to hinder the sale of the book. Do they translate Lucan? or how do the Muses go forward?" (XI. 242-3.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Oct. 17. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have heard nothing more of what I wrote last to Your Excellency; if there be anything in it, the man will probably apply himself to me before he comes to Your Excellency, or if he comes to Your Excellency, the hint I have given by the character will be sufficient. I wrote no plainer, because I take it for granted that all my letters are broke open; it is for this reason that I do not send you word of two or three other things of this kind of which I write to Mr. Secretary.

"King James and his Queen were never better received or more courted than they are at present at Fontainebleau; everybody goes to her toilette, and as soon as she is dressed, the King of France waits on her from her own apartment to Mass: at table the two old gentlemen and she in the middle sit at the top, and in the evening the Court is made to her as if she were Queen Regent. This one may write without character, for if anybody should break it open, they would find only that the conduct of this Court is extremely ridiculous; I have told some here that it is very far from giving us any jealousy, but they might give us leave to laugh at it.

"We expect His Majesty's orders to my Lord Jersey to-morrow concerning his going to Fontainebleau, which will, I think, a little embarrass these people.

"Salieaux promises me most faithfully that the calesh shall be ready and packed up by to-morrow night; so that I shall send it with Mons. d'Odyck's things on Sunday morning; but the pictures that stuttering rogue Rygault will not, or (as he says) cannot finish so soon; and indeed I know not when he will, for he has a vast deal of work upon his hands." *Copy.* (XI. 245-6.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON

1698, Oct. 18. [N.S.] Paris.—“We have no orders yet from Zell, or wherever else our Court may be, for our going to Fontainebleau, but reckoning from the date of the letters we wrote for that purpose, we expect an answer to-day or to-morrow.

“Our friends of St. Germain shine extremely at Fontainebleau: all the court is made to Queen Mary; everybody is at her toilette in the morning, from whence the King of France leads her to chapel: the two Kings and the Queen in the midst sit at the head of the table at dinner with equal marks of distinction and sovereignty, and ‘à boire pour le Roi d’Angleterre!’ ou ‘pour la Reine’ is spoke as loud and with the same ceremony as ‘pour le Roi’ when they mean their own King. It is really not a right figure which we make, being here at Paris whilst all the other ministers are at Court; and on the other side, I know not what we should do there, or how behave ourselves in a place where the two Courts are inseparable.

“Monsieur and Madame returned on Thursday to Fontainebleau, and the Duchess of Lorraine began her journey to Bar the same day.

“Mons. d’Odyck sets out to-day or to-morrow with his family towards Holland.

“The King of Spain’s health is so well confirmed that we begin not to inquire so much about it.

“I have sent Brocard to Fontainebleau, and have heard nothing from him since his going.” *Copy.* (XI. 247–8.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1698, Oct. 20. [N.S.] Paris.—“The King of Spain’s health, about which we have been chiefly solicitous, is so well established as that he walks abroad, and is as likely to live now as he has been at any time for some years past. For all the preparations this Court makes in case he should die, they will not, I think, be too hasty in precipitating themselves into a new war when it comes to the push. Their King is old, and though he seems healthful enough in his eating and walking, he has vapours and distempers, which fly up to his head and will not suffer him to apply himself much to business: this those about him keep as a very great secret, but I have undoubted reason to believe it true. His gardening, building walls, laying pipes, making reviews, going from Marly to Versailles, from thence to Fontainebleau, then to Chantilly and so back again, shows a more than ordinary desire of seeking variety, and confirms a good deal his being hindered from a strict application to any one thing. The people, too, at least the most thinking part of them, have had time enough since the Peace to reflect that their estates are ruined and their wealth drained for an imaginary notion of glory, which sunk a good deal in their Monarch’s giving up



two and thirty towns to make a peace, so that the rumour of cavaliering is damped amongst them, and at least they would not begin a new war so heartily, though indeed, if the Court would have it, the rest are so little masters of their fortunes that they must obey, and give to the last *sou* in the nation.

"The King has a great sum of money in his coffers; he pays great use for it, and by doing so has brought matters to that pass that nobody can dispose of their money so advantageously any other way, as they can in bringing it in to him; especially considering that employments and preferments are disposed of to the sons and relations of such persons as the intendants and financiers give the best account of. This, my Lord, is a continuation of Louvois' maxim of making the King absolute and the people poor; but it has been followed long enough already, and I question if they can hold out another war, I mean against good part of Europe reunited, except upon different maxims.

"The reasons why they do not open a free commerce are, I think, that their ministers do not understand it, and that (however they may chicaner) they cannot well do it before they lower their coin to its just value.

"Things go in relation to us as they used to do: they are civil to us and hate us, and they are civil to King James and despise him. . . . .

"What is more to be apprehended from our acquaintance of St. Germain's than anything the French Court can give them is their own innate illness and desire of mischief, for I may tell Your Lordship, they never will be quiet whilst there is a man to be had whose ambition, bigotry or despair will set him upon an assassination: it is this that puts me into eternal alarms, and indeed makes me acquainted with half the starving English and Irish about Paris, for it is impossible to be too alert in things of this nature, and it is only from them that I fear anything that King James or King Louis can do to us.

"For all the caresses this Court, in imitation of their Master, make to King James it is incredible what true respect and veneration they bear to King William (as they call him) and his merit, and how the soldiers particularly speak of him. '*Le premier homme de son métier*'! '*Le plus beau prince du monde*!' are the least things they say of him; and when they are free and in company where they dare venture to call things by their own names, they downright talk of their monarch much at the rate we did of King James a little before he left us.

"These are only some and really some of the best, but the generality of the nation are empty, superficial, ill people, just fit to be oppressed and misused as they are.

"My Lord Jersey will not make his entry or have his audience till the Court returns from Fontainebleau. He has written to Loo to know His Majesty's pleasure as to his going to

Fontainebleau ; which will be odd enough, I confess, whilst King James is there, and indeed it is likewise so that His Excellency stays away, since everybody may guess the reason of it. In his private audiences he has been received with all kindness and distinction by the Grand Monarch : how can any man of sense reconcile this man's way of acting in the meantime in relation to King James ?

*Quo teneam toties mutantem Protea nodo ?*

"We have married Mademoiselle de Chartres and sent her away to her Duke. She is a virtuous, well-educated Princess, not handsome, but very agreeable. I do not hear great praise of the Duke of Lorraine, her husband." *Copy.* (XI. 249-55.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Oct. 20. N.S. Paris.—"I formerly acquainted Your Excellency that I had communicated to Mons. Blisson the substance of your letter of the 25th September : I have done the like to Mons. Vriberghen, who is at Fontainebleau, as is likewise Mons. Heemskirk, and they, having by this time had your answers to their letters of fresher dates, are, I presume, in a condition to give Your Excellency an account of the *ecclésiastique* of Orange. I have not been at Fontainebleau, my Lord Jersey waiting (as I have told Your Excellency) His Majesty's orders thereupon : but I can tell you from those that have been there, that King James continues still the very same man we always took him to be. The other day at his levée talking of the King our Master :—'The Prince of Orange,' says he, 'is gone a great journey ; 'tis four days from Loo, but it is a great way from England : how can he be away so long ?' and another time, speaking of his little daughter :—'I intend,' says he, 'to send her to Poissy ; there she shall learn Latin, that is, as much as to make her understand where the priest is when he says the Mass, for it is convenient that a Catholic child of her quality should be instructed very soon in her religion.' Thus wisely, my Lord, he talks. The Modena and Mantua envoys are constantly at his levée, and the French, though they have no respect for him, make court to him because their monarch does ; Your Excellency knows very well the genius of these people."

"I hope the calesch will come safe and to Your Excellency's satisfaction.

"The Abbé d'Effiat is dead." *Copy.* (XII. 1-3.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Oct. 24. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have the honour of Your Excellency's letter of the 7th, and Mons. Heemskirk sent me your packet of the 1-11 from Fontainebleau, where he continues with the Court. His Majesty's directions to my Lord Jersey for his going thither came but the day before King James left that Court ; His Excellency was therefore of opinion that his going then would look as if he had only



stayed till King James was returned from thence, and upon the whole I believe he will hardly go except he has some business great enough to justify his doing so."

"The Nonce and the Venetian Ambassadors have both had some little affair with the Court about being placed at the recital of an opera, but since neither of them are very able ministers or very well-bred men, it is no great matter if the Court or they were in the right; but it is with some concern that I tell Your Lordship that Mons. Heemskirk has behaved himself there unworthy his age or character in coming to the King's supper after he had drank, and exposing himself by twenty indecencies. This indeed is right nowhere, but less so here than in any part of the world. Your Lordship knows these people and the nicety of living with them, which, as far as I hear, this ambassador has been very far from regarding: but this I only say to you, my Lord and Master, and you will be pleased to manage it, for I have no more to say to it than that I wish everything that relates to the common union between Holland and England may be worthy of the great monarch that commands both." *Copy.* (XII. 16-17.)

#### H. MAY to J[OHN] TUCKER.

1698, Oct. 15[-25]. Dublin.—"I think . . . that I told you in London what my Lord Galway said in relation to Mr. Prior's deputing me, and also that I sent you word from Chester of their having pitched on me to act during his absence, but I confess I did not then (as I should have done) desire you to intimate it to him, nor did I then insist upon it formally to him. Therefore, though my Lords told me then and since that they designed me the whole profits, I condemn myself and think that by my neglect I have forfeited the right I had, and have sent him word . . . that, for that reason, whatever part you say I shall remit to him for the time past, I will immediately do it."

"But for the time to come it is another thing, and I think I have an indisputable right: yet . . . I will own to you . . . I am afraid my Lords have not interest enough to preserve me that right, since they have not been able to maintain their own in the same case; and for that reason, if the future terms he shall propose be such as I can comply with, I believe I must waive the right they give me; and then I am sure I shall earn hard enough what part I am to retain, especially considering the retrenchments [which] have been made of our profits." *Copy.* (IV. 107.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Oct. 17[-27]. Whitehall.—"I have yours of the 18th, N.S., to acknowledge. I hope Brocard will have acquitted himself well of the commission you gave him. I

know not why you should be out of humour at your not going to Fontainebleau; perhaps you might have been more mortified if you had gone thither. Has it not been sometimes practised to make sudden changes from high caresses to as great indifference.

"Sir James Forbes gives me the enclosed to send you, it being for the service of my Lord Orford and Lady Russell. Mons. d'Alonne and Dr. Lister had undertaken to get them some trees, but I suppose, the money not being left, the gardener stays for ready payment. If that be the case, you are desired to lay down what the trees come to, and I will repay it again; and let the trees be hastened away, provided they can be here by the middle of November; or otherwise the season for planting will be past, and they will not have the trees at all, and you will keep your money."

"Dr. Lister has lately printed his *Journey to Paris*, in which he tells us he had rather see Mons. Breman working in his garden in a white waistcoat than see Mons. Saintôt making room for an ambassador." (IV. 108.)

#### THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Oct. 28. [N.S.] Loo.—"Je vous remercie de vostre exactitude à m'escire; je puis vous asseurer que vous aymant et estimant comme je fais, tout ce qui me vient de vous m'est cher. Nous sommes revenus Jeudi passé de Cell; le voyage et le mouvement continuel m'a empêché de de vous escire plus souvent. Je n'ay encore rien appris de la chose dont vous m'avez escrit en chyffre; le traitement extraordinairement civil que l'on fait à 1478 [King James] et à 1479 [Queen Mary] est une mauvaise marque. Je croy que devant que vous recevrez celle-ci, My Lord Jersey sera parti en poste pour venir ici, comme je le lui ay escrit de la part du Roy par deux fois, de peur qu'une lettre ne se perdit." (IV. 114).

#### JAMES VERNON TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Oct. 20[-30]. Whitehall.—"I will make some enquiry into La Fay's correspondence with Renaudot: I hardly believe at present that these impertinences come from him. It is certain there is some malicious or ignorant coxcomb that supplies them with nonsensical lies and stories. That about the East India Company's refusing to send chaplains for their factories was so far taken notice of at Council as to send for the translator and publisher of those pieces, who having otherwise the character of poor harmless fellows, they were dismissed upon their assurances that they would meddle no more with such an author. There was never a lie told that was so easy to be contradicted; the Company very readily consented that their sending of chaplains should be inserted in their charter, and of themselves they desired that the Archbishop would appoint the chaplains,



which he endeavoured with great modesty to decline, as thinking it belonged to the Bishop of London's province." (IV. 109.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Nov. 3. [N.S.] Paris — "I had little news in my last but that I was waiting on my Lord Jersey to Fontainebleau. We arrived there in the evening, and I went to Mons. de Torsi, to tell him of my Lord's arrival, and that he desired the favour to speak a word to the King that night. Mons. de Torsi said it was utterly impossible, the King being prepared for his devotions the next day, which was All Saints', but my Lord afterwards telling Mons. de Torsi the reason, His Excellency had a private audience in the King's cabinet about 10 at night, and the next morning we came away for Paris.

"My Lord set out post yesterday and will be with Your Excellency very near as soon as this letter; his voyage to Loo has a good deal alarmed these people, who are curious even to impertinence and desiring to know the reason of it.

"The Mareschal de Villeroy has a fever ever since he sustained the operation, which, to a man of his age, (*ne l'en déplaît*) may prove dangerous.

"Mons. d'Armagnac and Count Marsan are returned from Bar le Duc.

"I am glad the Monarch repeated to Lord Jersey his resolutions to keep the Peace the very night before he took the Sacrament, though, I confess, one can hardly reconcile this with his great kindness to King James. I have heard that our St. Germain's friends are removing to Chambour [Chambord], but I know not as yet what credit is to be given to the report.

"I cannot forbear sending Your Lordship the most impertinent article in the Paris *Gazette* that ever was written; one would think that England was in famine and rebellion, by what l'Abbé Renedeaut [Renaudot] says of us: if my Lord Jersey were here I should venture to advise him to speak a word of this to the Ministers, but as he is not I will do nothing without order." *Copy.* (XII. 21-23.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Nov. 5. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have the honour of two from you of the 17th and 20th. I was not so dissatisfied at my own not being at Fontainebleau as at other people's being there; it may happen that these caresses may end in indifference, but as yet I see nothing towards it besides a flying report (how true God knows) that these people are removing to Chambour [Chambord].

"The article from London in the last Paris *Gazette* could not be written with more *venin* if it were in the middle of the war. Renedeaut's [Renaudot's] correspondent in Holland is de Tournel, the *Gazettier* at The Hague; he is known to have

a pension from hence. I have seen original letters of his writing in which he desires the *commis* here in the office to send him word what they would have inserted in his *Gazette* and what omitted, and others in which he gives them here particular accounts of what passes in Holland, and this with all the subtilty and malice imaginable: of this the Dutch Ambassador and the Pensionnaire of Holland have been made acquainted; if they will remedy it, they may; *liberavi animam meam*.

"It would be worth knowing what correspondence de La Faye holds with Renedeaut, or where the abbé has his good intelligence of our affairs. I have sent Mr. James Forbes to Butterfield, and shall by next post answer you about the plants.

"I must needs see Dr. Lister's reflexions upon his voyage, pray do me the favour to let Mr. Payzant put it up. I should not have dared to trouble you but that you mention it.

"My Lord Jersey, having commanded me to break open your letters to him, lest the business might suffer by anything that should be done immediately here, I have done so, and own the receipt of yours to him of the 17th and 20th. We will do the best for Rachel Legg; there are a great many more in her case. It is a thing of *meum* and *tuum* between private persons, and if she has no lawyer to solicit her affair here, I fear our remonstrance will produce little more than *on verra* and a civil answer; if she has anybody here, I shall back their solicitations with a strong memorial, and show in this, as I would in everything, the great regard I have to your orders.

"I have not seen Brocard since; they are very quiet here about Jennings' affairs." *Copy*. (XII. 25-27.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Oct. 27[–Nov. 6]. London.—"The enclosed is a copy of a letter I received from Mr. May on Monday last, but being very ill of the gout, I could not by that night's post send it to you. . . . His expectation has been all the profits, he tells you upon what reasons; and yours almost as much the contrary for not having sooner been acquainted with those reasons. You must consider I have a difficult game to play. Whatever is taken from him he thinks he loses, and is hard upon him; and it is almost the exact contrary with you; which might have been prevented had you both been so happy as to have seen each other and adjusted the *quantum* together at the beginning."

"I cannot answer that he will not think himself partially used if more than half be taken from him; and partiality is a censure I would not justly incur from anybody, much less two friends. Pray take not amiss what I say to you, but send me your own sentiments; you know as much as I do from Mr. May."



*Postscript.*—"You will see something in Mr. May's letter which seems to open a secret, but I beg you to make no ill use of it. You see, I trust my credit with you, and I hope you will preserve it by burning the copy when you have read it." (IV. 113.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Nov. 7. [N.S.] Paris.—"Bayly has been with me again. Sir William Jennings leaving St. Germain's has surprised them there more than it can do Mr. Secretary and those of Whitehall: 1478 [King James] has spoke of it with astonishment. I have reason to think that others would follow Sir William's example if they thought there would be the least hopes of their being received or not proceeded against with vigour in England.

"I have heard no more of the correspondence which I mentioned to you in cypher; the messenger is not yet dispatched, and that affair sleeps; others are continually going to and coming from England, of which I give Mr. Secretary what accounts I can from time to time. I continue Bayly's pension to him.

"Herbert,\* King James's Chancellor, died two nights since, and (which is ridiculous enough) people are putting in for that great employment.

"The Marquis de Villeroy is something better; his fever quits him and he sleeps, the inflammation that attended his operation being very much assuaged." *Copy.* (XII. 42.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Nov. 8. [N.S.] Paris.—"I am to meet with Brocard this evening; I have a strange foreboding of spirit that he will rather want more money than tell me anything that may deserve it: if you think there is truth in what he has already said, and that he is really diving into a mystery of iniquity, he must be well allowed; but if he be playing the fool with us, he has had too much already; you will be pleased to intimate your orders to me, which shall be obeyed, and possibly by to-night's conversation I shall nearer observe and judge of the man.

"I had another correspondent with me yesterday, and from him I hear that some people are lately gone from this side; one Adams, he was formerly an upholsterer and made a captain by King James for being a violent Roman Catholic; his wife makes *manteaux* and lives in St. Martin's Lane, where he may probably be heard of; one Berkely, he lives at Marybone; Shirly, who may be heard of in Norfolk Street, at his brother-in-law's. I know not the name of this brother, but he is an attorney and a Lancashire man; one Greenway, but where he inhabits or frequents I cannot learn. Holmes is likewise in England.

\* *I.e.*, Sir Edward Herbert, to whom James gave the title of Earl of Portland.

“One Walcup, a man of some estate at Vittering, about four miles from Edinburgh, remits money to the few that have any at St. Germain. Herbert, King James’ Chancellor, died two days since of an apoplexy at a little house he had near St. Germain; they pretend to be sorry for his death, though they despised and neglected him when alive, for he remained a Protestant, so none of his services were held meritorious, and his goods went for nothing for want of faith. The living Protestants at St. Germain are all witnesses of this gratitude of their Court; others will follow Sir William Jennings’ steps, and rather venture hanging in England than be certain of starving here. They seem mightily surprised at St. Germain that Jennings had quitted them; if King James knew anything of it, he is a better hypocrite than I take him to be. I shall take care of your plants and forward them as soon as I receive them, which I think will be within these two days.” *Copy.* (XII. 43.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF BERKELEY.

1698, Nov. 8. [N.S.] Paris.—“Captain Cowper brought me some time since a letter which Your Lordship wrote in his behalf; he could not have a stronger recommendation to engage me in his business, which is likely to go well, for he has had a favourable sentence in the Admiralty, and an appeal which his adversaries have brought against that sentence will, I think, be invalidated by the Council.

“I cannot play the Minister enough to write you a letter of condolence, nor am I very sorry that my answer to a letter subscribed Dursely must be directed to the Earl of Berkely. I would not, however, have such revolutions too frequent, and though I wish very well to the present Lord Dursely, I would have him keep that title yet this fifty years, except Your Lordship should have a higher, and giving him the wearing of this of Berkely in your own lifetime. I hope the Earl has spoiled the Ambassador, and that you do not think of going to Constantinople, but of enjoying yourself and your friends in England, for I would not have you drink coffee but between Vicar’s and Garraway’s, except your own affairs are mightily bettered by your so doing. I must always give my most obedient respects to my admirable Lady, that excellent pattern to women whom nobody in this age follows, and to Lady Mary, who, I hope, has read Epictetus enough not to be puffed up with worldly honour; to Lady Betty and Lady Penn I say nothing, for I suppose these two are so proud as not to accept of service that anything below a knight can send them, for which reason I would have them know that one day or other I will desire the King to lay his sword upon my shoulders.” *Copy.* (XII. 45.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [DR. WILLIAM] AGLIONBY.

1698, Nov. 8. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have the favour of your letter of the 20th past, and should have told you so last



post, but that I had not Mons. Pajot's answer about your plants ; but since you have it before now, it is the same thing, you are to take your measures upon it, and as far as your commands reach me, you are sure they shall be obeyed.

"I blunder more than my secretary (as you call him) did, for I cannot find his blunder out, though I have read over the copy of my letters to the Commissioners : if it was essential, pray point it out to us ; if it was no great matter, excuse a young clerk if he does not mend his fault before he knows it.

"My Lord Jersey's voyage to Loo has set these people mightily upon the enquiry ; they will not let a man make a step but it must be upon some *politique* account ; one cannot go to the opera but they imagine that it is rather to mind who are in the boxes than what is done upon the theatre ; and if you visit a lady, it is certainly to meet some spy or minister there. *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur* : they will make me a cunning fellow like the *médecin malgré lui* in the comedy, whatever I can say to the contrary.

"You are mistaken in Sir Joseph [Williamson], if you think he has another fetch in the matter before he leaves his 100*l* per week : he says it is too late in the year, and he cannot venture to take a voyage till the Spring. *Agnosces hominem.*

"I am glad old Mathusalem is sleeping with his fathers, and that our Dauphin Dursely reigns in his stead. I never found two letters so hard to write as one of condolence to him for the death of his father, and one to Mr. Mountague\* upon the death of his wife. Who goes to Constantinople, if the Earl (as you say) has spoiled the Ambassador ?† And what the Devil could Dr. Lister of the Old Palace write concerning the city of Paris except that Notre Dame Church stands in the Isle, and King Henry's statue upon Pont-neuf ? Adieu, I would give 10 *louis d'ors* to talk with you as many hours ; and that is fairly bid, considering I might have the company of the finest woman here as long for half the money." *Copy.* (XII. 47.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF GALWAY.

1698, Nov. 13. [N.S.] Paris.—"La Cour ne revint de Fontainebleau qu'hier : on n'y a guère parlé que de chevaux et de la chasse, ni rien fait de sérieux, si non de faire l'examen de quelques particularités touchant les finances. On n'a pas pu raccommoder l'affaire du tariffe avec les Hollandois, les commissaires François n'y ayant pas apporté la moindre facilité ; aussi n'en avoient ils eu le pouvoir jusques icy, 'mais en peu de jours,' dit on, 'Mons. de Pontchartrain leur en donnera un autre plus ample, et on recommencera tout de

\* *I.e.*, Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax. *Cf.*, Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, iv. 407.

† *Cf.* *ib.* 464, 514.

bon : en effet, Milord, les maximes des Ministres icy sur l'affaire du traffique et de la monoye sont tout à fait particulières et bizarres : ce que je ferois comprendre a votre Excellence si j'avois l'honneur de vous entretenir une heure dans votre cabinet au lieu de vous écrire une lettre qui pourroit estre interceptée et ouverte. Nous nous sommes bien dispensés de faire nos révérences à Fontainebleau, car pendant une partie du temps que la Cour y étoit le Roy Jacques s'y trouvoit aussi, et jamais n'a-t-il eu plus d'honneur ni de distinction que cette fois-cy ; et nous ne voulions pas aller après qu'il fut de retour, quoiqu'on nous donnât suffisamment à entendre que nous aurions été les très bien venus. Tout ce que Milord Jersey fit c'étoit d'y aller dire à Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne qu'il étoit sur le point de se rendre en poste à Loo, conformément aux ordres qu'il avoit reçu du Roy son Maître, et qu'il s'étoit cru obligé de venir prendre congé de Sa Majesté, et de se charger des ordres dont elle trouveroit bon de l'honorer. En effet, Milord ne restoit à Fontainebleau que le même soir qu'il y arriva, mais revint le lendemain matin à Paris, et prit la poste le jour suivant pour Loo.

"Milord partit d'icy le Dimanche, 2 de ce mois : je pourray avoir la nouvelle de son arrivée demain. Le voyage d'un Ambassadeur fait de la sorte avant son audience publique fait beaucoup raisonner aux politiques icy, et le moindre sujet qu'on en allègue, c'est ou que nous allons recommencer la guerre, ou que nous nous entendons déjà avec la France sur la succession d'Espagne, et que Milord a pris son voyage chargé des sentimens de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne là dessus. Je les laisse raisonner sans leur dire si je sçay la véritable raison du voyage de Milord ou non. Je croy même qu'il y a quelque chose de grande conséquence sur le tapis, mais tout ce que je sçay de certain, c'est que le Roy avoit promis à Milord avant son départ d'Angleterre qu'il viendrait le joindre en Hollande, et que Sa Majestés' est dégagée de cette promesse de la manière du monde la plus obligeante ; mais aussi la manière seule où on en agit icy envers le Roy Jacques feroit justifier assez le voyage de Milord, car, pendant que cet infortuné Prince se trouve dans toutes les parties de plaisir que cette Cour fait, il est tout à fait nécessaire qu'un Ambassadeur d'Angleterre soit pleinement instruit de la volonté de son Maître, comment il se devoit comporter dans une conjuncture si délicate.

"Le Roy notre Maistre sera à la Haye le 15 ième : il n'y fera pas un long séjour avant que de s'embarquer pour l'Angleterre. Mons. d'Allonne est pourveu de la charge de Secrétaire pour les affaires d'Hollande : il l'avoit mérité même avant la mort de Van Zalichem. Je ne sçay par quelle raison on l'a gardé vacante depuis. L'Electeur de Bavière a chassé avec le Roy à Loo ; ainsi quand on me prône la Cour de Fontainebleau où tous les Princes du Sang se sont trouvés (et à la verité elle étoit fort splendide), je fais entendre que les Electeurs de



Bavière et de Hanovre, les Ducs de Zell et de Wolfenbüttel n'ont rien négligé pour faire leur cour au Roy d'Angleterre.

"A cette heure, Milord, il est bien tems que je vous demande pardon de vous avoir importuné de nos affaires pendant que vous êtes si occupé de celles du Royaume que vous gouvernez ; c'est avec beaucoup de joye que je voy que les esprits commencent à se calmer, et que les affaires prennent le train qu'il faut ; tout ira bien, Milord, on n'en doute point, *Teucro duce et auspice Teucro*. Je voudrois bien être en Irlande, Milord, si les affaires du Roy me le permettoient, et je ne travaillerois jamais de meilleur cœur que sous la protection et par les commandemens de Milord Gallway." *Copy*. (XII. 49-53.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [ABEL ?] D'ALLONNE.

1698, Nov. 14. [N.S.] Paris.—"I ought to chide you, my dear Master d'Alonne, for not giving me notice in form of your new preferment, but I am so perfectly taken up with the joy of your obtaining it that I have no time to be angry. I hope hereafter you will have a better opinion of my judgment than you have had, and think that now at least I know if a man has extraordinary virtue and merit when the King in the face of all the world does me the justice to confirm my opinion. You may e'en turn away Dr. Lister, for His Majesty is the best physician in Christendom, and you will find that being fretted and teased in a good employment is a more sovereign remedy against the spleen than saffron in your sack or harts-horn drops in your coffee." *Copy*. (XII. 55.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

1698, Nov. 14. [N.S.] Paris.—"Since the Court has been at Fontainebleau very little business has been done of any kind ; the King of Spain is so likely to live that we begin to be less inquisitive about his health, and all is seemingly in so great a calm that we forget our apprehensions of its being otherwise.

"For all the outward civilities paid to my Lord Jersey, and the private audiences he has had, King James and his Queen were at Fontainebleau half the time of the Court's being there, and never received with more distinction. My Lord Jersey, you will judge, had a very just excuse not to go thither, whilst probably he might meet them, and indeed could not well avoid them without absenting himself from the King's dinner and supper ; and after they were returned to Paris, and from thence to Chaliot [Chaillot] and St. Germain, his Excellency thought fit not to go, though by twenty things underhand one might see that the Court desired it. They were a good deal surprised when my Lord came only overnight to take his leave of the King, and to desire to know what commands His Majesty had to the King our Master, for that my Lord was returning the next morning to Paris in order to his taking post for Loo according to the commands that the King our Master had intimated to him

by letter. My Lord was received very graciously and extremely charged with the King of France's compliments to His Majesty, and in effect parted the next day, which was Sunday, the 2nd of this instant, post for Loo. I expect to hear to-morrow of his safe arrival there.

"Your Excellency will easily imagine the various discourses this sudden voyage of my Lord Jersey causes here. The least the people will have is either that we are beginning the war again, or that the business of Spain is adjusted between us and France, and that my Lord has this King's sentiments to declare at his arrival at Loo to the King of England; both these opinions are in extremes; according to my little judgment, it is not to be expected that we should be asleep in a time when we see France not disband any troops, and draw good part of those they have towards the confines of Spain; and there is nothing mighty extraordinary for a man of my Lord Jersey's quality and character to be sent for by his Master to be particularly instructed how he should behave himself in his embassy; especially since these people make our conduct here extremely hard to manage, and such instructions very necessary by their behaviour in everything to those of St. Germain's.

"I would write plainer to Your Excellency upon this head, but that I fear my letter may be opened before you receive it, for these people make no scruple of anything in this kind.

"The sole affair upon which this Court is at present intent is the correcting of former edicts and publishing new ones for raising money for the King without great consideration of the subject. For this reason most of the financiers and projectors are in conference with Mons. de Pontchartrain; their regulation of the tariff in order to open a trade with Holland is at a stand. I take the true cause of this stop to be not so much the difference between the tariff of '64 and that of '66, or the advantage the Dutch would make by France's consenting to the former, but that indeed France cannot open a trade upon any terms with its neighbours till her money is upon an equal foot with theirs. The Ministers, one may be assured, will equivocate as long as they can, and will be very unwilling to confess this reason till they have some prospect of curing the evil.

"For the rest, the French do not disband their troops as fast as we could wish, and they are taking care of the reparations of their fleets; their renewing a good understanding with Sweden I take to be for that purpose. It was very much said that Mons. d'Allonne was to have stayed here, but he has the Dutch Secretaryship which has been vacant since Van Zulichem's death, which is a post as much more easy as it is more profitable. I know nothing so uncomfortable as to be at a Court where one is obliged to be eternally upon one's guard, and under the orders of a Treasury that leave the Ministry



so far in arrears. I hope to be rid of these things, and to pay my duty to Your Excellency where one has at least some ease and some ready money." *Copy.* (XII. 56-60.)

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698], Nov. 4[-14]. Loo.—“ My Lord Jersey est ici, je suis ravy de ce que Mons. le Maréchal de Villeroy est hors de danger. Je ne comprends pas bien quelle est la Commission pour les affaires régulières et séculières, où B[rocard] me dit de pouvoir entrer, ni quel service il pourroit nous i rendre qui valait l'argent qu'il demande, et que l'on ne peut donner sans hasard de nous voir abusé; je vous prie de m'en vouloir informer, afin que l'on se puisse résoudre. L'hiver commence ici plustost que jamais, de mesme qu'il a fini plus tard en France.” (IV. 117.)

JOHN WOOLHOUSE TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 16. [N.S.] St. Germain's.—“ 'Tis not the Englishman's good nature, the Westminster genius, or the Cantabrigian air and literature, qualities common to you with others, that induce me heartily to rejoice for your temporal prosperity: your own merits, innate candour, generosity, charity, and other personal endowments, as they are the sole motives of my compliment of sincere congratulation, so I doubt not but they will give it a favourable reception without exacting more explicit terms than what two honest Christian friends and old acquaintance of contrary faiths and interests may without breach of common civility and amicable correspondence mutually require one from the other.”

“ I know not but that your station will not permit me free access till you are acquainted how I have lived since the Revolution; wherefore it may not be from the purpose to give you the following account.

“ Ever since the King my Master left England I have constantly attended him in quality of groom of his privy chamber, as well in Ireland as in France, excepting about three years' time which he granted me to study at Paris, Avignon, Montpellier, Pisa and Rome, and the late eight months I spent at Mons, Brussels, Maastricht, Aix la Chapelle, Liège, Cologne, etc., in the exercise of my profession of oculist, to which art I have more particularly applied myself as well in my private studies as in my public at those universities ever since the Revolution. . . . I do above thirty manual operations peculiarly belonging to the organ of sight, and treat likewise all the curable diseases of the 158 incident to that part, that are to be remedied by internal medicines such as either Galenic or chymical physicians use to ordain. I have made it my business to cull and abstract this ophthalmiatric art from the body of medics and surgery, and made one separate science thereof without concerning myself with any other parts of the said professions as to the

practice. I have heard there was formerly some such proposition made to the Royal Society, which was universally applauded, but, I think, not executed ; for our able men in England, however particular and confined their private studies may be, do abroad aim at all things ; nor is there anyone in the whole kingdom pretends to what I profess and perform : so that (God be praised) I am singularly useful in my generation, and give sight to those that are blind of cataracts, *gutta serenas*, pearls and many other ocular maladies. I have recovered those that have been blind 25 years, and cured those that have been born blind, and old people of 80 years : in fine I should be too prolix if I descended to particulars ; it may suffice that public fame acknowledges me what I profess in a strange country : though my talent is buried in this village, where I am confined by my station, being in constant waiting on His Majesty, who has no other Groom of the Privy Chamber but myself.

"This, with my desire of marrying in England, makes me very uneasy here and wish for a permission to live undisturbed in my native country, to whom I would gladly sacrifice the fruits of my travails, studies, discoveries and experiences. I have seen too much of the world to meddle or make with State affairs or strive against the stream ; and if the Government would give me leave to return, I would never give them cause to repent it, and I would be obliged to treat all blind and sore-eyed curable poor people *gratis*."

Was not present with King James at La Hogue, Calais or the Boyne, and has never borne arms. Was disinherited by his father for turning Catholic, and is so impoverished by his course of studies and "purchasing ophthalmic secrets," that he is not "in a capacity of making any handsome gratification," but will bind himself to pay 500*l.* in eight or nine years' time by several payments to anyone who will procure his return. Requesting that the answer may be secret, since any knowledge of this negotiation at St. Germain would be prejudicial to him. (XX. 58.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 7[–17]. Whitehall.—"I can't tell whether you know one Major La Rue, who was an officer in the Duke of Berwick's Troop of Guards ; he is father to La Rue, who gave evidence about the intended assassination. He came over about a fortnight ago to see his son, and, as he says, to be a party in a suit that his son hath in Chancery. When I first heard it, I designed to take him into custody as being here contrary to the Act, but understanding that he was neither naturalized nor a denizen, I had recourse to the Lords Justices to let them know his circumstances, and by their directions I told him on Friday last that he must depart the kingdom immediately. He desired that he might stay only four days to put an answer into Chancery, and when



he saw I could alter nothing of the orders given, he applied to their Excellencies for so short a respite, which will be conceived, but any stay beyond that will be at his peril.

"By the manner he talks to me he is like to make all the noise he can and cry out against the severity used towards the French, and would be glad it were retaliated upon some of His Majesty's subjects on that side, and we should not complain of it if they find any in the like case and treat him no worse. This man has lived about forty years, married two English women successively, and turned Protestant; he quitted us at the Revolution and hath served ever since again [*sic*]. His command was in a troop from whence all the cut-throats were detached to act the blackest of villainies. He hath renounced the Protestant religion, and when his son made his discovery, he urged it as his merit that what he did therein would forfeit his father's kindness to him; whenever, therefore, you hear this matter spoken of, you will be able to justify our proceedings as being much milder than would be used anywhere else.

"I have seen your Denis Kelly, and have no great opinion that he can be useful here, but expect he will be troublesome and impertinent enough, and if I had been aware of his temper, I should not have been fond of his coming hither. The danger he pretends to have run in France I take to be a pretence only, that he might pin himself upon us to very little purpose, not but that I believe he will swear more perhaps than others will credit, but now he is here I must deal with him as well as I can. I hear he was a lieutenant in some of the Irish regiments till he was broke, and that he was over in England about Christmas last and went away upon the Act, being refused a licence, which perhaps is a circumstance you did not know before.

"I shall make inquiry after the persons you mention in your letter of the 8th, but one of them, viz., Berkeley, the Marybone man, has been in custody these two months.

"Nobody needs to be suspected of deep dissimulation on account of Sir William Jennings coming over; I think I know whence it arises, and he hath neither served himself nor anybody else in what he hath [done?]. However, it is to the honour of His Majesty's clemency that he doth not suffer the rigour of the law to be exerted against him, though he has very justly deserved the severest punishment.

"Your friend Dr. Lister has lately got him a wife; the pursuit of it kept him from going with Mons. d'Alonne into Holland." (IV. 119.)

R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 7[-17]. Whitehall.—"The discourse of Mr. Montague is various; most say he will leave the Treasury when the King returns, others that the King will not part with him from that Board, and a third sort of people think

he will stay to see how the Auditor's office is decided by law; but my own thoughts are that he will press to lay down the Treasury if the King will give him leave.

"My Lord Berkeley delivered last week his letter to the Turkey Company from the King to go their ambassador, and intends to be going in the spring, unless any better fish would come to net in the meantime."

"Mrs. A—— was with me this morning making sad complaint for the absence of her two best friends, yourself and Mr. Stepney. She is full of troubles, says trade is bad; I told her that must be her fault, that she ought to get better goods, and the like, for that her trade would be always going on in all reigns and under all religions. As for my own part I found out better goods than ever she sold me." (VIII. 353.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Nov. 19. [N.S.] Paris.—"I was yesterday at Versailles, where the only question was, when my Lord Jersey is expected back at Paris. By the letters I received from him on Monday, I believe he will hardly leave Holland till His Majesty embarks for England.

"I have a very good piece of news, which is yet kept as a great secret here. Orders are given for the disbanding 50 battalions and 5 regiments of dragoons, and five men are to be reformed through every company as well horse as foot; this reform to amount to the suppression of 60,000 now immediately, and of 100,000 by New Year's day, and to 200,000 before the next summer.

"Upon this reform of the French troops and my Lord's being sent for in the manner he was to Loo, I believe measures are pretty well settled towards the maintaining the Peace in case the crazy King of Spain should die. I have more than barely my opinion in this point, but as it is a secret into which I am let, I beg of you to let it rest in your own bosom till you hear of it otherwise." *Copy.* (XII. 68-69.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to DR. [MARTIN] LISTER.

1698, Nov. 19. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have a scrip of paper from you more like a receipt\* than a letter; however, I thank you very kindly for it, and assure you that what you write to tell me you are well is equally acceptable to me as whatever you have written to make me so.

"I have told Mr. Secretary Vernon by last post how I have discharged myself of my Lord Orford's commission. Your trees are sent to Calais, consigned to Mackay at Dover, from whom you will hear when and how they are coming to London. I have sent Mr. Secretary an account of what I expended, which may be repaid to Mr. Powys of the Treasury. You will see by it that we ordinary men can buy

\* *I.e.*, a prescription.



our wood much cheaper ; it is only you *vertuosi* that are so expensive ; learning and poverty are as inseparable as light and heat, or (as Ben Jonson says) as a clove and an orange.

"This I know at present by sad experience, for I had only an inclination to be wise the other day, and I sent for your *Voyage to Paris* which stood me in 19 *livres* by the post. I will say nothing to you about it, though he that prints, you know, is in defiance and warfare with all the world, and is to be shot and wounded by every man that can spell : according to what the book cost me, too, I have, you see, as much right to criticize as anybody. My opinion in general is, that if every man writ fairly and intelligibly in the place where he was, the world would be much undeceived in the commonest notions it has retained of countries nearest to us ; but we write and read of elephants, and crocodiles, of China and Egypt, and know nothing of the sheep and horses of France and Spain ; we amuse ourselves of what is wonderful, and think it below us to take notice of anything that is useful.

"I have told Mons. Saintôt how much Mons. Breemen had the preference to him in your good graces ; he is very angry with you, and so am I ; we are both resolved that, since you will not be friends with our trade, we will have as little recourse as possibly we can to yours.

"I thank you for the favour you will do me in introducing my Lord Reay into the Royal Society ; he will really deserve that honour. I am recommending others before I know if I am fairly incorporated myself, for I came too late at one meeting to be sworn, and was hurried so out of England that I had not time to appear at the next to thank them for the honour they intended of admitting me. Pray send me word how that matter stands, if I am formally a member or not, and if any fees are to be paid for my being so, you will be pleased to lay it out, and I will desire Mr. Powys to repay you ; this, I confess, is a very odd commission that a man should lay out fees, that has all his life-time been used to take them, but I thank God I had strength of mind enough to break that custom with you here in France, though the obligation of your kindness to me will be remembered when I am sure the *louis d'ors* I ought to have given you would have been spent in plants or prints or cockle-shells." *Copy.* (XII. 70.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to JOHN WOOLHOUSE.

1698, Nov. 19. [N.S.] Paris.—"Without having any of the virtues with which you compliment me, I should be very glad to assist an old acquaintance and an ingenious man in everything that lies in my power ; but I am afraid it will be utterly impossible for me to do anything in order to your return into England considering your present religion and circumstances. I presume you will know how

your case stands in relation to the Acts of Parliament which are at present in force against what you design. All that I can do is to state your cause fairly to the Secretary of State, and upon his answer to see if a pardon can be obtained for you: but my private opinion is that the thing cannot be brought about without your promising further to the Government than only not to disturb it; but I will make no overture of this kind to the Secretary, nor say one word of it to anybody till I hear from or speak with you. If you will come to my house, which the person you sent to me can show you, on Friday or Saturday morning any time before one o'clock, I will speak to you fully and give you the best counsel I can. I will be alone and manage our interview so as to do no injury to you, as I hope it will do none to myself." *Copy.* (XII. 73-4.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Nov. 16[-26]. Paris.—“I have heard no further from Brocard. I have seen him since at the coffee-house and amongst other people, which makes me think that he has no great miracles to unriddle; and in the last discourse I had with him I let him know very fairly that we would enter no further into a plot with him than we could understand it. However, I shall give him the 20 *louis* as you order, and support him as he may deserve.

“I talk in private sometimes with people that go to St. Germain. The Protestants are so ill-used there that I believe you may have every man of them. Parker has been absent for some months; he has been at Nantes and round about the world, and in the mean time has found some stop in the payment of his pension, and upon it has threatened that, if he is not paid he will bawl: you know the man; *no purchase, no pay* is his motto, and his interest is his principle. Some blind hints have been made to me about him at a distance, as that, if he were sure to be used like a gentleman amongst us, we might have him. I have answered thus far that, if he would let me see by an ample discovery in writing (which I know he has by him) that he is in earnest, I would send his papers by a safe hand to you, and endeavour to procure him a favourable answer; but that I could assure him of nothing, for that in the main we knew they were as wicked as he could possibly discover them to be.”

“I was yesterday at Versailles, but heard nothing from Mons. de Torsy of Major Rue. When I do, I am provided of an answer from your letter.

“What is the matter with my Dr. Lister that he voyages, plants, marries, prints, and kills like Dryden's *Almanzor*, a perfect hero?” *Copy.* (XII. 74-6.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 17[-27]. Whitehall.—“I received this day your letter of the 19th, N.S., and can give a very near guess



at the secret that hath been communicated to you; you may depend upon it that it shall not go further for me.

"I believe the reform of the troops will go on, but there is still another reform wanting to confirm us of the sincerity of what is professed: you will find out my meaning when you remember what you writ formerly about Chambord.

"I hear talk of an order that no English shall stay at Calais above eight days, and they say it is made in favour of the owlers who are afraid of being discovered by some of our people. Pray enquire what is the meaning of this order, whether it comes from the Court, or be a humour of the governing persons on the frontiers. You will likewise inform yourself whether any persons are excepted, having leave to stay there and for what reasons." (IV. 121.)

#### JOHN ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 17[-27]. Whitehall.—"I have been this afternoon discoursing with Mr. Tucker, who is just got out of a fit of the gout, about your affair with Mr. May, in whom I must confess I was deceived, as well as Mr. Tucker was, who is much concerned at the thing, for I did not think him capable of attempting so unreasonable and unfair a matter; and we have concluded that Mr. Tucker shall propose to him a third part, which we think is a fair allowance, and believe you will not be dissatisfied with it. How he receives the proposal you shall hear from Mr. Tucker.

"Just before I came to him he had received an advertisement from a friend that the Earl of Jersey would come over with the King, and that the Duke of Shrewsbury, who is to be in town to-night or to-morrow, would resign the seals to His Excellency; and so instead of being an Ambassador he would be Secretary of State. If this should be so, he desires you would, if you think fit, recommend him to be in his office.

"I take the liberty to desire your protection and favour to one St. Paul, who will shortly make application to you. His father was gentleman of the horse to the late Earl of Ossory, and afterwards went to Paris, where he died of an apoplexy and left 700*l.* there, which should have come to his son, but he has yet had nothing of it, only now is in hopes, as he tells me, to recover it, and is for that purpose going to Paris, where he has no acquaintance and little ability to make any, so that it will be an act of charity to permit him to have access to you upon occasion, and to give him your countenance in his affair." (IV. 122.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Nov. 29. [N.S.] Paris.—"As to what I have from private correspondents, the bigotry and folly of those at St. Germain's is unexpressible. The Protestants amongst them are worse used than ever for all outward appearances.

1478 [King James] has less credit with 1255 [Louis XIV.] than ever. 1479 [Queen Mary] recommended an officer for a vacancy the other day without success, and 1255 told 1487 [*sic*] that he must retrench the pensions, upon which 1479 was in tears a day or two. 50, 50, 68, 68, 50, 68, 42, 89 [Jinnings, *i.e.*, Sir William Jennings] coming over is a good deal the reason of 1255 having a bad opinion of these people. I know not if he be worth our having in England, but his coming over has the effect I have told you.

"27, 9, 102, 50, 89 [Davis] is very fine, and appears openly at St. Germain's; he denies the whole business, and threatens great things. I have had letters from an unknown hand, that, if I take away the reputation of a gentleman (which I think must be this honest man), I must die; but I believe I shall rather be robbed than attacked, if he conducts the enterprise. There was some villany at the bottom of that business, which I will find out, if possible.

"One may write without cipher that Burk has been closeted by King James for having spoken with Your Excellency and myself; upon the whole he goes no more to St. Germain's; as much as I have seen or heard of him in all conversations he behaves himself like a man of honour, as he did in that first business which recommended him to Your Excellency's acquaintance; his circumstances are hard, though he be a Roman Catholic and an Irishman; if Your Excellency will procure him leave to come over into England only, which is indeed a pardon, he will tell you the rest. As far as I see, His Majesty will have few better or heartier subjects." *Copy.* (XII. 78-9.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 21[-Dec. 1]. Whitehall.—"My Lord Duke of Shrewsbury has been here since Thursday last, waiting for His Majesty's arrival with an intention to resign his Seals. The common opinion is that my Lord Jersey is the most like to succeed him. I am sure I wish it very heartily and should be glad you could confirm it, and that you will let me know at the same time whether you have any thoughts of continuing with His Excellency, or whether you had rather stick to your employment in Ireland.

"Major La Rue is gone over to Calais, and hath writ to me from thence to let me know the concern he is in that he has been made an example, and wishes it may be of no ill consequence to others; I rather think he would be glad it should, but that you will take care in knowing his case and circumstances." (IV. 123.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the MARQUIS DE BACHAMONT DE BELLAVRE.

1698, Dec. 4. [N.S.] Paris.—Requesting him to cancel the remainder of the three years' lease of his house to Lord



Jersey, who is obliged to move into a house in the Faubourg St. Germain in order to be nearer the rest of the foreign residents, more especially as it is impossible for the English to traverse the whole city in order to attend divine worship. His Lordship has spent above 4,000 *livres* on the house, and can at once find a new tenant if relieved of further responsibility for the lease. *French. Copy.* (XII. 81-4.)

DENIS KELLY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 24[-Dec. 4]. London.—Stating that in obedience to Prior's orders he gave information to Secretary Vernon which led to the arrest of Macalaster, *alias* Johnson, "who was during the late wars a captain of a privateer in Dunkirk, and carried 'twixt England and France all the spies and conspirators," and "brought over most of those persons that came lately from St. Germain"; but he escaped from the messenger and warned his friends to beware of Kelly. He gave further information against "Mr. Coleman, formerly Keeper of the Woodyard to King James in France, and about three years ago came over from France; and a man reputed to be worth 50,000*l.*, corresponded by letters or otherwise at the Court of St. Germain; as also against one Madam Chilton, who has been here a spy this several years," but no warrants were issued for their arrest. He also gave information against "Blind Macarty and another, who are taken up since their coming over;" he is able to furnish information against Irish landowners whose estates have escaped forfeiture under false pretences. As Secretary Vernon has ceased to encourage him, he desires Prior to recommend him to Lord Jersey as being Ambassador to France and one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. *Signed.* (XX. 60.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Dec. 5. [N.S.] The Hague.—"It is not for want of a due sense of your favours that I have so long omitted to acknowledge all those I have lately received, and more particularly your last of the 21 past. But what returns have I to make while my Lord Jersey is with us, from whom and Mr. Swinfurt you cannot but be informed of everything? Whatever confidences the French may have secured to themselves, and whatever belief they would have you enter into of their disarming, they will be glad to have two strings to their bow, and will sooner make the new Parliament give credit (or pretend it) to their preparations for nothing but peace, to lessen our own security, than they will actually disband their sixty thousands, one hundred thousands and two hundred thousands, as your letter mentions.

"The King of Spain recovers. Friend Stepney does not hasten to Vienna, but entertains himself with the lesser affairs of Elbing and Poland. The peace with the Turks has yet a

good appearance, though not quite so promising as it was lately before the Grand Vizier left the Congress. The memorial recommended to you by Mons. Pomponne is sent to Whitehall to be examined there. 'Tis the same I received before from the Comte Tallard." (IV. 130.)

H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Nov. 26[–Dec. 6]. Dublin Castle.—“I have had a fit of sickness lately that confined me some time to my chamber and most part of that time to my bed or I had sooner acknowledged” your last letter. “I received one at the same time from Mr. Tucker, desiring I would make some proposal as to the part of the fees of your office which I might expect for the execution, he having, as he said, desired also your sense in that matter before he should make a decision, but he desired that in the meantime some part might be returned to you.

“I have therefore sent you enclosed an account [missing] of what has been received for these seventeen months that I have been here, and . . . have by this post returned to Mr. Powys one-half of it, which, I believe, will be thought by both of you sufficient, when you consider that, though the business has been increased in these Lords Justices’ government more than it had lately been, they have nevertheless thought fit to lessen our profits.”

“We have had a pretty tedious session of the Parliament which still continues, and the business of the King has not been carried on without some difficulty. But I hope it is now pretty well over. Heads of a bill are prepared and agreed to by the House for raising 120,000*l.* of money demanded on land, and I believe next week a fund will be settled for the small remainder as well as for a sum that may be sufficient, with what was given last session, to complete the building of barracks for the army in this kingdom.” (IV. 125.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Dec. 8. [N.S.] Paris.—“In a letter I did myself the honour to write to you last post, and which you will find in England, I made bold to beg the continuance of your protection, that, if His Majesty had not designed any person to go to Nancy to make his compliments to the young Duke and Duchess [of Lorraine], I would desire the honour of that commission if Your Excellency thinks it proper for me: the reasons I would allege for my ambition are that, 1st, I am, as it were, in the province and that the character I bear of the King’s Secretary here does in a manner entitle me to it; 2dly, the favour I have had under your protection to be known to Monsieur’s Court and to the young Duchess in person; and 3dly that I might see a little the constitution and



inclination of that Court, which might not be useless to His Majesty's interests in what relates to this, and what would put me in the fairest light imaginable here. As to His Majesty's giving me the commission of an Envoy for such a journey, I presume this will be no objection, since I will most willingly part with that title as soon as I return to my post here to resume the name and qualification of Secretary, for I hold it more honour to be His Majesty's Secretary in an embassy where my Lord Portland was Ambassador than to be Envoy in any Court in Christendom; and having been chosen to this honour by Your Excellency, I hope this expedition, which I beg Your Excellency to ask for me, will not be thought unreasonable." *Copy.* (XII. 92-4.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Dec. 10. [N.S.] Paris.—"Count Tallard arrived here on Saturday and went immediately to Versailles, where he would have the world think he is locked up several hours together with the King every day, which is so true [to] the French vanity that I see English air could not at all cure it.

"I carried my Lord Strange to Court yesterday, and everybody was very kind to him; the King spoke to him more than ordinary, and Monsieur prattled with him and with me about his family above half an hour. The young gentleman behaved himself very handsomely, and when they told him he was not out of countenance when he spoke to the King, 'No' said he, 'why should I? since I have had the honour to speak to my own King.' I was very glad he was so well received, because it may be an obligation to his father. Mons. le Grand, the Count d'Auvergne, Count Guiscard and all your friends were very kind to him." *Copy.* (XII. 94-5.)

H. MAY to J[OHN] TUCKER.

1698, Dec. 3[-13]. Dublin Castle.—"I told you I had sent Mr. Powys a bill for half the fees I had received in Mr. Prior's Office for seventeen months, which I was in hopes would have prevented you any further trouble in this affair. The whole profits in that time come but 1385*l.* 19*s.*, and if I (to whom the Lords Justices designed the whole) am to have but one-third, I think truly no clerk in the kingdom earns his money so hard, considering two sessions of Parliament in that time, and the breaking one army, and receiving a new one of double the number. And I protest to you, before God, I have not (though it was in my power) made one shilling over and above the fees of the Office. . . . If you still continue of opinion different from mine, I will submit to yours, . . . but I can never agree to act for a third afterwards, unless the Lords Justices, when I appeal to them, command me, which I hope they will not, now they themselves have so much retrenched our fees." *Copy.* (IV. 129.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JAMES VERNON.

1698, Dec. 13. [N.S.] Paris.—Brocard has lately brought some scanty information, and has been advised “to return with more wine and to try by that and every way imaginable to unlock his friend’s bosom.”

“Kelly has writ me a strange long letter, that he and one Thomas Dane can discover things considerable in Ireland, and are for that end embarked for Dublin. He desires me to get him my Lord Jersey’s protection, and to write in his favour to the Government there. I am apprehensive that the fellow would make a plot where he does not find one ready made. If he or his friend have anything material for His Majesty’s service in that kingdom, they will bring their own recommendation with them.

“Bryerly, Holmes and Durant are here ; one Bamesly and Ross, a Scotchman of the same gang as the three first, are gone for England ; my Lord Hay’s son to the Marquis or, I think, Earl of Harold ; and my Lord Nedsdeal [Nithsdale] of the family of Maxfield, chief, I think, of that name, meet some of our St. Germain’s people half-way and in private. The young Lord Montross is bred to that way, and sees none of us.

“There is no order from Court for hindering the English to stay at Calais.”

“I expect my Lord Jersey back on Monday. He is added to the Commission for the Affairs of Orange.

“Geldermalsten . . . is to succeed Cleverkirk from the States to England, but (as I hear) in a less character.

“Your banishing Madam Richelieu makes a great noise here, and though nobody knows the reason of this lady’s disgrace, all the world agrees you are in the right of it.

“These people chicane us about six barrels of beer that comes from England for my Lord Ambassador’s table, and as well for these as for all liquor whatsoever they make us pay the *droits d’entrée à Paris*, though they give us the King’s passport. I hope we shall do the like to the wines which Count Tallard imports into England, and not let him in a whole vintage free, for which we have only an empty compliment whilst we are thus used here. The *lex talionis* is the best law I know upon earth, and I am sure it is the most convenient for us whilst we have to do with these people.”  
*Copy.* (XII. 103–5.)

[DR. WILLIAM AGLIONBY] to [MATTHEW PRIOR.]

1698, Dec. 5[–15]. London.—Lord Portland “arrived yesterday with the King, whose hand I had the honour to kiss this morning. I was in hopes to have seen my Lord Jersey with him, for we all make him Secretary of State, and the Whigs swore a fitter man cannot succeed Lord Shrewsbury.”



"We are like to have a great intrigue about a Speaker. but I believe it will be Sir Thomas Littleton, for Sir Edward Seymour has been chid by his party for dining with Mr. Montague and him, and his answer was he would dine with them again next day.

"If, as I heartily wish, dear Lord Jersey comes into the Ministry, I doubt not but you will be his right hand man, and since we all must have an oar, no man would choose to row under a milder commander nor a better steersman.

"We desire to be informed whether we shall see Count Tallard's bigoted military face any more; he has not had here the 'agreements' of the Colberts and the Barillons, so perhaps may rather desire to see the countenance of the devout lady, his patroness.

"I am going to give my three shillings to a poor poet who has made us a fine entertainment of *Rinaldo and Armida*; 'tis Mr. Dennis, who from being a critic has been pleased to come under the lash of criticism. The Grand Jury presented him some days ago, and 'tis fit we should do so too to enable him to answer them." (IV. 131.)

J[OHN] ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Dec. 8[-18]. Whitehall.—"The excellent account you give of my Lord Strange will be a most agreeable *régale* to his mother, who, I expect, will come to town to-night. She intended to have been here yesterday, but the ways are so very bad that no one knows how far he can travel in a day. I wish that young Lord might stay at Paris all this winter, that he might have the advantage of a better acquaintance with you."

Mr. Hill "is still here, and I advise him not to return to Brussels till he can be secure he shall find bread for his household there, where scarcity now reigns. The Elector of Bavaria has an agent hither to pray His Majesty will suffer him to carry to Flanders a certain quantity of corn, how much I cannot yet tell.

"Sir Thomas Littleton, the person the Court proposed for Speaker on Tuesday, was chosen by a majority of 107 voices out of 377 that were there. To-morrow he is to be presented to the King for his approbation, and His Majesty will be Speaker to both Houses for a little time." (IV. 133.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Dec. 8[-18]. Whitehall.—"I find you hear of a lady that had orders to retire, but who can tell whether she has complied with them.

"I am glad Kelly has acquainted you with his design of going to Ireland; I conclude from thence he is gone. He can't do us a greater kindness than to leave us. The person he goes with I take to be Daniel Geary, who is at least as great a rascal as himself. They think it is but hanging a

man, right or wrong, that will entitle them to a fourth part of his estate as discoverers of concealed forfeitures. They would have a letter from me to the Lords Justices, which I gave them that I might not discourage real services, and I sent their character/ another way that I may have no hand in villany or perjury.

“If Mons. Tallard brings over fresh provisions of wine, we shall remember what difficulties were made about your beer.” (IV. 134.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to JOHN TUCKER.

1698, Dec. 24. [N.S.] Paris.—I have a letter from Mr. Powys which tells me that he has received a bill for the money which Mr. May mentions :

*Thus far our arms have with success been crowned.*

I hope I have infinitely convinced you that our friendship was fixed too sure to be moved by Mr. May having more or less justice, and, as I said before he remitted this 600*l.*, so I repeat it again to you that I am satisfied you have acted in the whole affair like a man of strict honour and a common friend to us both, and as such you know I wholly referred the arbitrage and decision of the matter to you ; your word to be like the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not. I am a little concerned to see that Mr. May has not the same deference, for as on one hand I never made any demand of all, half, a third, or a quarter but by your mediation, so on the other Mr. May, I think, ought, when he sent me any money whatsoever, to refer himself to you as to the remainder in equal manner as I had done. This, I am sure, was accounted fair play at Ryswick, or Sweden would have taken it ill ; and I do not doubt but that I shall make it so one day at Dublin. Now Mr. May, I perceive, takes us to be both of a party, and, being his own mediator, returns what he believes will be sufficient, which, though it had been so, is not a right way of proceeding ; and, as we say in the Civil Law, the form of the act was not good, however the matter of it might be so.” *Copy.* (XII. 106-7.)

THOMAS HOPKINS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Dec. 14[-24]. Whitehall.—“I had this morning your favour of the 20th, and thank you for the news it brought.

“The Duke of Shrewsbury’s seals were delivered to the King on Monday night last by Mr. Secretary, so that now we are likely to have business and trouble enough, both provinces being under Mr. Vernon’s care, until some other Secretary appears either from France or elsewhere.”

“To-morrow there is like to be a very warm and angry debate in the House of Commons, they being to have the King’s speech under consideration. The Army sticks in their stomachs, they thinking it too great to consist with their liberties, and the King too little to defend the nation,



"I writ a letter last month to Ned Hopkins at Turin, and made so bold to put it into your packet. Instead of an answer I received it again this morning, which, I believe, must be a mistake in your clerk." (IV. 140.)

J[OHN] TUCKER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698, Dec. 15[-25]. London.—"I have received another letter from Mr. May, in answer to mine of the 19th past wherein I proposed to him one-third, as by my last I acquainted you. I cannot better tell you his mind than by sending you a copy of his letter [see Dec. 3-13, *supra*], wherein you will not only see that he thinks his pains have been extraordinary . . . and that, if I still persist in my opinion of a third, he will submit it; but you will also see that he seems determined not to act for the future for so little, which last sentence perhaps he did not intend should come to your knowledge, at least by my hand, and therefore I must desire you to take no notice to him of it when you write to him."

"The Duke of Shrewsbury has at length delivered up the seals of his office to the King, and His Majesty has been pleased to name my Lord Jersey to succeed him. If you made my compliments to His Excellency, you would do me a great favour." (IV. 142.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF DORSET.

1698, Dec. 26. [N.S.] Paris.—"Your Lordship as one of our Regents has seen what commonly occurred here from your secretary, Mr. Yard, and indeed, to have sent it to you more particularly would have been only to desire you to read the *Postboys* a day or two before they appeared in print; so little is there really in all that mystery which amuses the world that I can hardly in six months find enough to furnish a letter to my Lord of Dorset, though I could have written with ease twice a week to Sir James Forbise.

"It is beyond contradiction that the King of Spain has made his will, and by it constituted the Electoral Prince of Bavaria his heir, and the Queen to be Regent in case His Majesty dies during the minority of the Prince; thus the lineal right is kept to the younger sister's grandson and heir; the renunciation that France made when the King married the eldest sister is confirmed to be valid; and the Dauphin or (as France was projecting) one of his younger sons, excluded, as well as the Archduke of Austria. The Queen had a great sway in this business, and the reasons that most probably inclined her to this choice were that she might exalt the Palatine family, of which Your Lordship knows the House of Bavaria and that of Neubourg, from whence she is, are equally branches, and that by this contrivance she might hold the Government longer (which is not the least of a woman's aim in such cases), the Electoral Prince not being

above 8 years old, and as well the Archduke as the Duke of Berry five or six years nearer manhood. The French in general seem to be nettled at this affair, but I think those of them that have best sense are not so really; for all their natural heat and impatience, and the pride they take in the greatness of their monarchy, they begin to see that these notions have impoverished and enslaved them; and the Treaty of Ryswyck has a good deal instructed them, and their own affairs at home convinced them that they have grasped at more than they could secure, and that neither their King nor they are the better for the expense of fortifying and keeping garrisons eight years together in thirty towns which they have been obliged to give back in the ninth. The Monarch himself is old, and, I think, has a good mind to be quiet; to say the truth out he is quite cowed by King William, and since the taking of Namur he has as fairly wheeled and run as ever any cock did in a pit: with this, the people are far enough from being in an estate of beginning a new war, for they still feel the weight of that which is past very sensibly lying upon them, which is so evident, that as yet they are not in a condition of redressing their money to its intrinsic value, and by consequence cannot open a commerce upon a good foot with their neighbours; so that I hope we may have peace in our time.

"This succession of Spain is mostly our King's contrivance and effecting. Some faults he has, or else he would not be a man; as to his character of a Prince, he has carried his reputation to a prodigious height, and this affair must be allowed to be a proof of it beyond denial.

"The Emperor is a good deal angry at us, but he can do us no harm, God knows. The Dutch Ambassador assures me that the truce between His Imperial Majesty and the Turk was concluded the 28th of November for twenty-five years; this will reconcile the Emperor to us again and is a new epoch in the King's honour and a great advantage to our reputation at Constantinople.

"Poor King James is hardly thought on or mentioned; an Italian and a Scotch priest govern him and his whole concerns; he is so directly the same man he ever was, persecuting the few Protestants that are about him, though they are ruined and banished for their adhering to him, and rewarding and encouraging any sorry creature that he can make a convert of. The child they call the Prince of Wales they breed up with all the abhorrence imaginable to heresy.

"I should wrong Your Lordship's goodness to me if I did not tell you the state of my own private affairs. I have played the minister here in my Lord Jersey's absence, and, now he is returned, we are preparing for his entry, so I am to appear with him as I did with my Lord Portland, in a new gaudy coat and with an expensive equipage. I must own to Your Lordship I am weary of this dancing on the high



rope in spangled breeches, and if my Lord Jersey be Secretary of State (as it is thought he may be in some time), I will endeavour to get home and seat myself in a desk in his office, for I had rather be Matt Prior near my dear Lord Dorset (Your Lordship must pardon me the familiarity of the expression) than *Monsieur l'Envoyé* in any Court in Christendom; and I know not how it is, life runs away before one is aware of it, and I shall hardly have time enough in that part of it which is to come, to testify the obligations I have to Your Lordship for so many years past." *Copy.* (XII. 111-5.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD BUCKHURST.

1698, Dec. 27. [N.S.] Paris.—“I will own myself to be as bad a correspondent as you can imagine, if you will allow me to be as faithful a friend as any you have in the world; which I am so confident you do, that I desire little Horace enclosed may be the third in our amity. As you like him, I will endeavour to get you the other authors in the same bigness.

“I have no news to trouble you with from this country: here is no school half so big as Westminster, when the curtain is drawn; everybody learns in a Gazette [*sic*], without being whipped or fighting with one another, which is a very effeminate way, and I believe is the reason that one English boy can either construe or box with three French boys; but the King's grandchildren are very good scholars (as I can particularly assure you), and therefore you must take care to shew them hereafter that an English nobleman understands Latin as well as a French Prince.

“Pray my Lord assure Mons. Didiez that I have always taken care of his letters, though I have not had the good manners to tell him so. Indeed, to me writing of letters is just like making exercise to Your Lordship; one defers it as long as ever one can, and then one whips it over (as you call it) exceeding fast; yet I could prattle thus to my dear Lord Buckhurst to the very end of my paper, if the post were not just going, though in the meantime I neglected to write to half my graver but less sensible correspondents. Adieu, my dear Lord; go on in everything that is good and worthy of you, remembering always that you are the Earl of Dorset's son.” *Copy.* (XII. 116-7.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698, Dec. 31. [N.S.] Paris.—“My Lord Jersey's entry is to be on Sunday and these people are playing their old tricks over again, of having Mons. de Torsy's coach go next to the Princes of the Blood, and before the Ambassadors; of having the Introducator's coach go to lead the march before the Mareschal's; but I think we shall stick to our point of having no innovation from what was practised at Your Excellency's entry. There never were such people as these

are, but Your Lordship knows them better than I can describe them.

"I leave my proposal of going to pay His Majesty's compliment at Nancy to Your Lordship's decision, and I shall think that best which you resolve." *Copy.* (XII. 117-8.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698[-9], Dec. 26[-Jan. 5]. Whitehall.—"I do not understand the meaning how my letters should come to you so irregularly, but I must needs write with great reserves both to my Lord Jersey and yourself while I am under this uncertainty whether the letters are read or not before you receive them. We must have some establishment for couriers, or our correspondence will be less significant. I wish you would draw up a scheme what the charge will amount to, that I may lay it before His Majesty, and get something resolved that we may depend on; and if it can be done in a cheaper way than by messengers, there would be less difficulty to obtain it."

"We have no confirmation yet of what you write of the twenty-five years' truce between the Emperor and the Turk. I hope it is intended, but I thought the Imperialists stopped concluding till the Venetians were forwarder in their treaty." (IV. 144.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1698[-9], Jan. 10. N.S. Paris.—"We have got past my Lord Jersey's entry which I leave to Mr. Yard to embellish the *Gazette*. As to the ceremonial, it was in every point like that of Your Excellency, though they endeavoured to chicane us extremely before we could agree it. The Monarch has renewed all the assurances imaginable of his being resolved to keep the Peace and hold good correspondence with His Majesty, and the nations shall live (as he says) in tranquillity and union. I wish to God that on the other side we at home would let him see that we did what we could for our own defence in case he should not be as good as his word, and would not give the people of St. Germain's leave to rejoice (as they do very heartily) at the vote which keeps up only 7,000 men in England.

"I am not without hopes that by Bayley's means 15, 84, 50, 32, 84, 58, 114 [Brierly] may be gained. I endeavour it all I can, having written to Mr. Secretary, and having received his opinion in that affair: this I say is but a project, and one cannot answer for the success of it, but it may happen to be a good piece of service.

"Bayley and B[raconier] are both upon my hands; to the first I continue his pay, as I shall do until I have Your Excellency's orders how he is to be disposed of. B[raconier] has had nothing in a great while from the correspondent but



this enclosed list, and indeed there is very little *sur le tapis* : *tant mieux* ! B[raconier] repeats to me that, as he always has been, so he shall always be ready for any service to the best of his power ; he says that Your Excellency at your leaving France promised that something should be done for him. Your Excellency best knows what the man has deserved, or how he is to be rewarded ; all that I shall add is that I think he is in great want, and I believe a piece of money would do him a service. I beg to know how I am to answer him. As to Bayly, I am of opinion he will be serviceable by being continued longer here, though I find he has a good mind to be in England ; but his pay being continued to him and a little money over and above added sometimes to it would put his voyage out of his head : in this I likewise beg Your Excellency's direction.

"My fine clothes and new *livrées* made for my Lord Jersey's entry lie upon my hands, but would come mightily in play if I were ordered to go to Nancy ; of this I take the boldness to remind Your Excellency, and to beg your favour in it, because I am informed from the office that there are others pretending to it. I desist with all submission if Your Excellency does not think it proper for me ; but in any man's case else I would say that a man who has had the honour to serve the King as his secretary seven years, and has been secretary to three embassies or commissions may hope to have the honour which I ask Your Excellency's protection for, of being envoy for three weeks." *Copy.* (XII. 119-20.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698-9, Jan. 2[-12]. Whitehall.—"I congratulate your having borne up the honour of our nation in show : I wish we may do it in reality here, but that is a point as yet undecided. In my next you will understand it better.

"I don't much wonder at Brocard's silence, since he finds you are on your guard not to be imposed on.

"You will acquaint my Lord Jersey that I know not yet what we are to hope for from the Irish Parliament. They adjourned to the 27th of December, and we have no letters from them since that day, nor do we yet hear whether they have received the money Bills we sent back ; but we know the opposing party kept together and seemed to be in the same humour : they will rather be more animated by what we have done here, so that I wish we could see them well up." (V. 1.)

#### THE EARL OF PORTLAND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698-9,] Jan. 5[-15]. Kensington.—"Ne soyez pas fâché, Monsieur, de ce que je ne réponds pas aussi souvent que je devrois à vos lettres, lesquelles ne laissent pas de me faire un très grand plaisir, et dont je vous remercie de tout mon

cœur. Je vous aurois servi très volontiers dans la pensée que vous aviez d'aller à Nancy, mais le Roy avoit promis à Mr. Hill de l'y envoyer.

"Si l'on peut prévaloir sur l'Escolier à dire ce qu'il sçait, il est certain que cela pourroit estre de grand service.

"Envoyez moy, s'il vous plaist, le nom de baptisme de Coll. Burck, afin que sa permission de revenir en Angleterre puisse estre au plutost dépêchée.

"B[ay]ly doit continuer où il est, et Br[aconier] aussi, et il faut du moins continuer ce qu'on leur donne, comme aussi le correspondant de ce dernier. J'en ay parlé a Mr. Vernon qui en aura soin exactement ; mandez moy ce que vous jugez a présent qui pourroit suffire à chaquun des trois. En temps de besoin le correspondant doit estre mieux payé qu'asteur [qu'à cette heure] qu'il ne rend point, ou très peu, de service.

"Je suis très aise que vostre cérémonial se soit si bien passé, celui là me faisoit plus de peur que les affaires, quoy que je n'y sois pas fort propre non plus.

"Mons. Mansart vous mettra en main pour moy les plans de quelques maisons du Roy, que je vous prie de m'envoyer par la première commodité ; comme aussi les portraits s'il estoit possible de les tirer des mains de Rigaut."

[*At foot is written by Prior, with evident reference to Lord Portland's enquiry about Col. Burke :—*

"William Burk, of Barnadarigt\* in the county of Galway†, left Ireland five years since, was taken prisoner at Agrin ; had a regiment in King William's service."]

(V. 2.)

#### R[ICHARD] POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698[–9], Jan. 5[–15].—"If our news proves true you will be again very quickly left alone at Paris, the general discourse here being that my Lord Jersey will be made Secretary of State. If so, I shall despair of having you to taste the burgundy you were so kind to send me ; I am to bottle it off to-morrow, and in a fortnight's time will drink your health heartily in it." (VIII. 369.)

#### LORD BARNARD to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698[–9], Jan. 6[–16]. London.—"I think myself obliged to return you thanks for the concern you have shown for my son, and your obliging letter by which you give me an account of him. I wish either his carriage to me, or his conduct abroad, would give me reason to believe he deserves the character you give him, but he has given me too great cause to fear otherwise. He has been now travelling abroad about five years, under a governor till June last, at which time by a very rude and unhandsome treatment he was forced to leave him. Whilst he was with him I allowed him a plentiful allowance, and punctually paid. When he left him

\* Barnaderg near Tuam.

† Aughrim.



at Geneva, he furnished him with credit and money sufficient to bring him into France and to maintain him with tolerable conduct for some time after." Since then he has been supplied so well that "it is a wonder to me that he can still be so much in debt, and yet want clothes, credit and everything else, as yours mentions. But since you have been so kind as to assist him with your credit, I must beg the favour of you to let me know how far you have engaged for him; . . . but must at the same time entreat you to give him no further credit or engage further for him."

"You may be assured I shall not be wanting to support my eldest son suitable to the condition of my family, whilst he does not by his conduct discredit it." (V. 3.)

#### JOHN TUCKER to H. MAY.

1698[-9], Jan. 7[-17]. London.—"I have received yours of 26 November and 3 December past, and am very glad that the misunderstanding which has been between Mr. Prior and you is so near an amicable conclusion. I am obliged to you both for the confidence you put in me, but I must own that I think it a very hard as well as nice task to undertake the composure of a difference of this nature between two friends, and must confess a sense of my own unfitness for it."

"I have with as much deliberation and impartiality as I could considered the matter and what you have said upon it; and since I must declare my opinion to you, I do truly, and with a regard to your service as well as friendship, tell you that I would advise you to be content with one-third of the profits of the office for your trouble in the execution of it. . . . For the time to come agree with him upon the best terms you can." *Copy.* (V. 3.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698[-9], Jan. 9[-19]. Whitehall.—"As soon as I receive the messengers' bills I will solicit hard that some money may be sent them; and then do what you will with them. Brown had best acquit himself diligently and be so serviceable as to deserve being kept there; for by what I hear of his circumstances he can hardly live out of a gaol here, having contracted foolish debts. One of them, I hear, was on account, as he pretended, of the Westminster Election, which Mr. Montague and I have no reason to thank him for: but if he does his duty with you, I shall take no notice of his follies here." (V. 5.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[8-]9, Jan. 14[-24]. Paris.—"Br[aconier] is very diligent, but there is little at St. Germain's worth knowing; the officers and everybody that had the least worth or merit

are neglected, and by consequence are discontented, and I am told would all get home if they were but sure of their lives. Amongst the rest my Lord Slaine declares to everybody that he will go and throw himself at the mercy of the Government; if he is hanged, he says there is an end of the story: indeed the poor people have reason to be discontented; but priests and women are only countenanced, and King James, as he grows older, grows so infinitely a bigot that it is hardly to be believed.

"There will be a ball at Versailles next week; my Lord Jersey will be at it, and I hear King James and his Queen are likewise to be there, which will be a very odd interview, and will contradict King James' maxim that the rebels dare not look him in the face, and that he never saw above one or two of Bentinck's crew (for that is the name we have the honour to go by); and at this ball we shall at least see who of the Court (that have made such work with us) will have honesty enough to stick by us. I am afraid my Governor\* for all his compliments will be paying his court to Queen Mary, and I believe at the bottom he hates us very heartily, which is the reason I am so far from repenting that I have sent Your Lordship the lampoons upon him, that I intend to make one upon the same subject myself.

"Br[aconier] has no news; the correspondent has had nothing since summer except the paper I sent to Your Lordship, and in truth there is no news of moment: but these people must be gratified, if we expect any service from them."

Recommends payments to various agents, viz:—

|                             |     |              |
|-----------------------------|-----|--------------|
| "For Br[aconier] .. .. .    | 100 | <i>louis</i> |
| Correspondent .. .. .       | 50  | "            |
| Ba[yley] for a year .. .. . | 120 | "            |

of which I will give an account how expended; and for the other, who is properly Mr. Vernon's, I will settle it with him."

"I repeat to Your Lordship that these people do little good and are of little use at present, but they must be kept up for the good they may do, and nothing is lost that is employed to let us know what these people may be thinking of, who never will love us, and will be always contriving some ill against us.

"We gained our points as to the ceremonial most triumphantly, God be praised. I am no very good courtier, but indeed I would rather have been sacrificed than have given up one step in the stairs of the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs, and I must own I had a secret joy in letting these people see that my Lord Jersey trod exactly in the steps of my Lord Portland.

"I shall obey your commands in getting the plans of Mons. Mansart, and shall send them with the pictures which that stuttering artist Rygault promises me in few days.

\* By his Governor Prior apparently means Marshal Villeroy.  
Cf. pp. 235, 245, 264, 265 *supra*.



"Col. Burk is the most joyful man alive; I hope he will deserve your kindness to him by a perpetual attachment to His Majesty's service and interests; his name is William Burk of Barna-Darigg in the county of Galway.

"Davis (the rogue that robbed you) is a great courtier at St. Germain's, where he appears at the levée and dinner.

"For what regards the business of Nancy I give Your Lordship equal thanks as if what I desired had been effected. His Majesty could not have sent a worthier man than Mr. Hill, and my taking the liberty to solicit Your Lordship proceeded from my not knowing it was so disposed of." *Copy.* (XII. 121-4.)

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698-9, Jan. 30. N.S.]. Kensington.—"Je ne m'estonne pas, Monsieur, que les Protestants à St. Germain voyent leur faute, quant ils se sentent si négligés et mal traités, et que des gens comme Davis, et des bonnes femmes et prestres sont caressés. Je doute pourtant qu'il y en ayt qui se hasardent de venir ici sans savoir leur seureté.

"Je suis impatient d'apprendre la réeussitte du ball et de l'effect de la différente compagnie qui s'y trouvera. Vous avez trop méchante opinion de vostre Gouverneur; je ne vous crois pas bon pupille: quoique j'en aye une meilleure, je vous prie de m'envoyer les lampoons que vous aurez faits.

"Il n'y a rien de plus raisonnable que d'encourager nos correspondants par toute sorte de moyens; Dieu veuille que nous n'en ayons pas besoin. J'ay ajusté la chose avec Mons. Vernon, mais il ne faut pas que depuis mon départ de France les frais viennent à ma charge.

"J'espère que Rigaut se lassera à la fin de mentir, et que vous pourres m'envoyer mes tableaux avec les desseyns que l'on me mande que Mons. Mansart vous a donnés de Versailles, Trianon, et Marli." (V. 9.)

JOHN ROBETHON to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

169[8]-9, Jan. 23-Feb. 2. Kensington.—"Jamais la jolie lettre du 18 de ce mois dont vous m'avez honoré ne pouvoit arriver plus à propos, puisque vostre paquet (qui m'estoit adressé) ayant esté rendu ce matin à Mylord pendant que j'estois à Londres, Son Excellence l'a ouvert dans la pensée d'y trouver des lettres pour Elle. Je me sens tout fier de ce que son Excellence a vu par la lecture de celle que vous m'écrivez que vous ne me jugez pas indigne d'avoir avec moy un commerce de nature à exercer votre bel esprit. Cette marque de votre estime ne peut manquer de me faire du bien auprès de Son Excellence, et de l'obliger à regarder d'un œil plus favorable un homme à qui les gens du plus fin discernement et du meilleur goust daignent témoigner quelque bonté. Quoy que vous m'ayez procuré cet

avantage sans y avoir songé, j'ose me flatter que vous n'y aurez aucun regret, outre que vous ne devez pas estre fâché que ce petit accident ait fait voir à Mylord que ce n'est pas seulement dans les matières qui ont du rapport aux affaires d'estat que la langue françoise vous est devenue familière, mais que vous vous en servez avec la mesme facilité dans celles qui sont du ressort des beaux esprits. Je ne prétends pas parler de ceux qui le sont à la françoise, à la plus part desquels il ne reste rien quand on leur a osté l'enjouement du style, ou l'arrangement des mots. Je parle de ces beaux esprits qui pensent, et dont les pensées sont ordinairement si vives et si justes, qu'elles ne laisseroient pas de charmer quand mesme il leur manqueroit quelques unes des graces de l'expression. Si c'est le défaut des beaux esprits du pais où vous estes d'estre plus superficiels que solides, je suis fort fâché d'apprendre par vostre lettre que leur négociateurs sont du mesme caractère, et qu'ils ont plus de paroles que d'effect. Je croy mesme que s'il falloit entreprendre deux cures si désespérées, la beauté originelle des productions de vostre génie convertiroit plus aisément les premiers que toute la force de vos raisonnements et la clarté de vos mémoires ne toucheroit les seconds ; et pour vous donner une raison de cette différence, c'est que l'erreur des uns est dans l'entendement, et celle des autres dans la volonté, de sorte qu'il seroit plus aisé de faire connoistre à ceux là ce qui est beau que de faire aimer à ceux-cy ce qui est juste. Vous avez raison de croire que je me console tous les jours de plus en plus d'estre éloigné d'un tel pais, et je l'aurois bientôt entièrement oublié si les gens du vostre ne me faisoient sentir fort souvent que la France est ma patrie en me donnant des marques du mépris général qu'ils ont pour tous ceux de ma nation."

*Postscript.*—" Le Comte de Tallard a dit à son retour qu'on avoit relâché dix ou douze galériens Anglois, Orangeois et François naturalisés en Angleterre, dont Mylord Portland luy donna la liste quand il partit pour la France." (V. 8.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[8-]9, Feb. 11. [N.S.] Paris.—" On Monday night at Versailles we had the unhappy news that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria died at Brussels the 6th of a fever and convulsions ; this Court is a good deal concerned at it, I mean those of them that think rightest ; the next of them are setting the Duke of Berry upon the throne of Spain without any doubts or difficulty. The incertitude of this succession should (one would imagine) oblige our House of Commons to think twice before they disband the army, for (as my Governor argued t'other day with me) how do we expect to be respected or make alliances, whilst we cannot give one man to any of our neighbours upon occasion ? or how do we hold the balance of Europe, whilst we shall not be out of fear of being invaded



every day ? I will not trouble Your Lordship upon a subject with which I do believe you are tired and vexed enough already : but I must add that our friends at St. Germain's are drinking the House of C[ommon]'s health, and that those who are most our enemies will most rejoice to see us disarmed." *Copy.* (XII. 132.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES MONTAGU].

169[8-]9, Feb. 11. [N.S.] Paris.—“If you have not the unhappy news already from Brussels I must tell it to you, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria died there the 6th, and so the succession of Spain is as undetermined as ever. I wish we were not so very warm in disbanding our army, for we shall hardly hold the balance of Europe (as we call it) whilst we have not the weight of one armed man to turn the scale on either side ; but of this one should write a book and not a letter. We abroad see things ('tis true) in another light than they do at Westminster ; and if we do but secure ourselves, I am satisfied ; but if we shall or no is the question. Our friends at St. Germain's are so delighted with what the Parliament is doing in England that they publicly drink their healths : there is no doubt but that France will give them a helping hand whenever there is a bare possibility of succeeding, but

*Prudens futuri temporis exitum*

*Caliginosa nocte premit Deus.*

This is only to my dear Master and friend, who will burn my letter, which I will take for answering it." *Copy.* (XII. 134.)

RICHARD POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698[–9], Feb. 6[–16]. Whitehall.—“There is a warrant signed for paying 750*l.* to Mr. Secretary Vernon for secret service, and will be received this week. He tells me he is to pay a good part of it to me for your account ; as soon as he does, you shall know what I receive from him.

“I am now to answer your last letter, which is rather an endorsement on Mr. Swinford's letter relating to what you imagine I have played the fool in. I have had a full swing of rambling and thought it high time to take up, but you have yet no occasion for it, if common fame be true that you are so well provided, live in a full swing of pleasure abroad ; this is indeed sufficient at present to keep matrimony out of your head, but I shall one day have you in. I was some time since more averse to that state than you can be, and ridiculed it as much, but I am at last caught. I will not tell you how I like it, but will leave that to your judgment when you come over.” (VIII. 381.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[8-]9, Feb. 16. [N.S.] Paris.—“The moment that this express is parting with my Lord Jersey's letters to Your

Lordship, I receive the favour of yours of the 30th past by the ordinary post, with the enclosed to Madam Mayercroon, which I shall send to her, it being impossible to have other access to her in the sad condition she now is in. Her beautiful daughter died on Saturday morning of a bleeding *partout* and a kind of small-pox, which never came out as they ought to do; Madam Mayercroon is so ill that it is a question if she will long survive it.

"The ball at Versailles is, I believe, quite put off; the *mascarades* they have amongst themselves at Marli are ridiculous enough. '*Masquez vous,*' dit le Roy; *et ils se masquent tous* : he treats them with all their masquing habits, which he hires out of Rue St. Honoré here. King James and his lady are at these entertainments; that is, they supped at Marli on these nights and return to St. Germain to lie, so this old Monarch of France trims between us as he used to do."

"The plans are not yet ready, my Governor having ordered some additions to be made of them: indeed, my Lord, he is but a civil trimmer. I shall send them and the pictures as soon as I can possibly get them." *Copy.* (XII. 136.)

#### THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698-9], Feb. 9-19. Kensington.—"J'ay bien receu la vostre, Monsieur, par laquelle vous me marquez la mort du Prince Electoral de Bavière; les gens où vous estes vont un peu viste en mettant le Ducq de Berry sur le trône d'Espagne, sans doutte en difficulté; vous jugez fort bien les affaires qui se passent, mais dans St. Steven's Chappel l'on n'y pense pas de mesme, et je ne m'estonne pas qu'à St. Germain l'on boive a leur santé.

"Je vous prie de donner cette lettre non cachettée à son adresse en main propre, et de rendre le service que vous pourrez; si l'on a besoin d'argent pour les amulettes, donnez en, je vous prie, jusques a cent pistoles, que vous pouvez tirer sur moy." (V. 12.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

No date.—"I can only by this post acknowledge the favour of your letter of the 9-19, and shall by the next give you an account of the delivery of the letter unsealed as likewise of that to the Chevalier de Lorraine.

"Your Lordship's picture is finished at Rygault's, my Lord Woodstock's is in hand, I can only repeat that I hasten him all I can and flatter him all I can, without which it is impossible to make him work.

"My Governor told me to-day at Versailles that, as soon as the plans were done, they should be put into my hands; I shall likewise take care to send them with the pictures. So much for your private commands; as to the public, these people could not conceal their satisfaction for what was



resolved in St. Stephen's Chapel; they had a remark upon every word in the King's speech, and the Paris Gazettier had given as ill a turn to it in the translation as he could. My Governor thought the Parliament would not thank the King for his speech; but as I have in part already undeceived him, so I shall do it quite upon the Lords' address, which we received last night. Our friends at St. Germain's are not so exalted upon the whole matter as they were last week: they are very often at Marli in the diversions there. There will be a ball we think on Monday next at Versailles, in all probability King James will be there: I cannot yet tell Your Lordship if we shall be there likewise or no.

"I tell Mr. Secretary that one of the Higgens, who has been here and at St. Germain's, is returned incognito into England, having kissed King James' hand before his going. Bayly is gone into the country with the scholar, and I know not yet what effect their being together will produce." *Copy.* (XII. 139.)

The EARL OF PORTLAND to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

[1698-9], Feb. 16-26. Kensington.—"Je suis en peine, Monsieur, de n'avoir pas reçu de vos lettres du 18me, cela me fait craindre que vous ne soyez malade. Les gens de la Chambre Basse ne raisonnent pas si juste que vous faites dans votre dernière du 11me, ni que font nos amis de St. Germain, qui boivent à leur santé avec raison. Je vous prie de faire tenir les lettres si [ci] jointes, et de me donner de vos nouvelles, car je suis inquiet pour la santé de mes amis." (V. 13.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[8-]9, Feb. 28. [N.S.] Paris.—"In my last I acknowledged the honour of Your Excellency's letter of the 9-19, and I herein send you the answer to the letter enclosed. In this and in everything I most readily obey your commands.

"The Duke of Berwick's voyage is variously talked of here, they will have it that he is to be a Churchman, and will be promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal. Quelle consolation pour des âmes vraiment Catholiques! Et quel honneur pour la véritable Eglise! I am glad his journey lies towards Italy, and shall endeavour to have an eye upon His Grace for fear of his going towards England for all his supposed devotion.

"Your Excellency will easily imagine the talk which is made here by Count d'Auvergne's being to be married to Mademoiselle de Staremberge, the gaining of a soul is an unanswerable argument for any man's doing a silly thing here; 'tis only the reformed church that is like to have so considerable a loss in this lady.

"There is the most unaccountable story runs here (and for as much as I can hear, it is true): Madame de Valentinois, being reconciled to her husband after long dissension, told him that she loved him better than she did any man, and that no man

ever pleased her so much as he, though she had had eight, which she named thereupon to her husband. This I own is very foolish to tell Your Lordship, but everybody talks of it here; the substance of this matter is that her husband will live with her no longer.

"I must detain Your Lordship a moment longer to tell you yet a thing more extravagant. On Tuesday, when we were at Versailles, people taxed me with being mighty secret and asked me how Your Excellency did, and when I had seen you; at last I found out that it had gone through all the Court that you were arrived incognito at my Lord Jersey's, that you had been at Versailles and were going to Spain, and that you had a private audience of the King, to which Bontems only introduced you.

"As soon as I came back to Paris the Président de Mêmes and others sent to my house to know if it were so. Your Excellency will pardon my troubling you with a thing so very odd as this is.

"The Duchess of Portsmouth is arrived here, and went away immediately to her country house with the virtuous Duke d'Elbœuf." *Copy.* (XII. 142.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[8-]9, March 4. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have so little to trouble Your Excellency with this post that I only take the pen to acknowledge the honour of your letter of the 16-26 February, and to tell you that I take care of the enclosed according to their addresses. We went on Monday to Versailles; the Monarch gave a ball in the great apartments, and last night there was a private masquerade in Madame Maintenon's apartments from 7 till 10, and after supper all the world was masqued in the Dauphin's apartments; this and the devotion and ashes we are in to-day is all at present.

"I have as well by last as by this post written some things in cipher to Mr. Secretary (he having the key) of which he will inform Your Lordship." (XII. 145.)

[1698-9, Feb. 26. O.S. ?].—"The Scotch have repossessed themselves at Darien; improve it in Spain.

"I received Mr. Broxton's\* of the 27th; I shall do all I can for him in the affair of Mr. Lenthall\*. I venture to say you will be more and more convinced of my zeal for Mr. Knight's [King James'] service in particular as well as of the faithful advice I gave those of his religion.

"The Scotch will fall out with Orpine [Orange, *i.e.*, William III.] if he does not comply with them in all things that tend to their settling at Darien.

"They will make K.W. call a Parliament in March or else they will sit and act without his consent.

"The House of Commons against Popery have ordered Bills to be brought in, which if they pass into Act, Popery

\* Probably cipher names.



in a little time will be extirpated here ; and in Ireland and in Scotland there will be rather worse than milder laws against them. Now these cannot be laws without K.W. consent, and so you may improve that matter, and set all foreign Princes and States to write to him not to make them into laws ; if he should, they may resent it and join an Act accordingly. No courtiers have yet opposed these resolves ; you may improve this, that K.W. friends are for these Bills, so that he may be said to promote it. A word to the wise, etc. If you don't improve hints given, or if you do it without success, it is to no sort of purpose to hazard giving hints. Can't these differences between the Danes, Swedes and Holsteiners be improved to a sort of general war or a religious war, of which some good may come in time ? Blow the coals, leave no stone unturned : has Kimpe [King James], or why has he not, some friends authorized and commissioned in Scotland in this juncture to offer terms and rewards and encouragement for them to act for him ? Remember, I tell you, the sematters may be done at the same time that you are working all over the world for his service.

"The Jacobites divided whether it be better for Mr. Kimpe's interest that Orpine be hindered going to Holland ; Kimpe ought to be consulted in it and advised upon and send word over. It is wished by the Jacobites here that K.J. would intercede to take off the persecution of the Protestants in France and indeed in all parts, and that it be published that he does it.

"People divided if it be best that K.W. go to Scotland or to Holland, let us know which is best for Kimpe's interest.

"Why do you not hinder K.W. interest in all Courts abroad, and let him carry all points ?

"Kimpe's affair of course must keep a Protestant air ; and still remember that he employs none that are hated here or in Scotland, or that are not advised by them ; otherwise it will be fatal to his family. I am doing all I can, so are others, to get Cole leave to come over. Duty to dearest M. and N. : love to all friends. I am a plain dealer, speak my mind freely whatever comes, though I know I do and shall suffer for it ; do not consider the present state of Kimpe and his interest ; I say again, let me hear if you receive this very letter." (V. 18.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[8]-9, March 11. [N.S.] Paris.—"In my last I told Mr. Secretary in cipher that I had heard the Duke of Berwick was gone for England ; but being assured that they had letters from him dated from Lyons five days after he left Paris, and that he was going on for Turin and Italy, I write to Your Lordship at large ; the design of his going is to remonstrate to the Pope the hardships which the Catholics are under in

England and to desire the Church's charity on that account. Some of his Grace's intimate friends think he has a mind to take orders. I sometimes write particulars concerning the Court of St. Germain's in cipher to Mr. Secretary ; if you please to have me write to you immediately the same thing, you have only to order a copy of the cipher to be given to you by Mr. Yard, or if you would have Mr. Secretary explain my letters to Your Lordship, you will intimate to me your orders in this point : in all cases, if His Majesty goes this summer into Holland, it will be absolutely necessary that you have a copy, for I shall be obliged to write to you often in cipher ; in the meantime I write this plainly, and hope it will have the good fortune not to be broke open in the way.

" Lord Melford is come in again and Lord Middleton quite disgraced. About two years since several letters were showed to King James as written in England and directed to Lord Middleton ; these letters mentioned that the Jacobite Protestants in England were ill satisfied with Melford's being at the head of the Councils here ; Melford's party have now found out that the letters were counterfeited here in Paris, and Middleton is accused of being privy to the cheat ; the effect of this which I could wish is that Middleton should come over again to us, but I leave this consideration to Your Lordship's better reflexion.

" I have intimated to Your Lordship what sudden joy some people here had upon the opiniatry of the Parliament in England, but that joy cools a great deal. The address of the House of Commons to the King to remove Papists and discontented persons from about London I have, and shall make a good use of, by letting the Court of Versailles see that the peevishness of the House is very far from favouring our friends at St. Germain's, and that, whilst we have such laws against King James and his adherents, and such addresses from our Parliament to put them in force, we are likely enough to preserve our liberties under His Majesty's reign and government without other strength than the united obedience and loyalty of all his subjects. This I say is the turn that must be given to our affairs here ; to have them bettered in England, if I were there, I would venture to say at large to Your Lordship what I just set down the *ébauche* of here.

" The people of England are wild, at ease, and separate from the commerce and knowledge of the affairs of Europe ; some that have a good deal of wit think too speculatively, for want of experience in relation to things abroad ; many are personally malicious at the Court because they are not in it ; the Ministers therefore should give His Majesty at once a plain, direct and honest account how this general bent of the nation is at present, and not tell His Majesty things by halves, letting him see the worst side of them when it is too late ; but if some of the Ministers be too deep in their parties' interest to do this, His Majesty's business suffers from their partiality, and



as the Scripture says, no man can serve two masters, so no man, I am confident, can serve a King of England, who ought to be master of all parties and persons in the kingdom, who is too much a slave to any party wherein he is engaged.

"With this His Majesty will be pleased to say the kindest things imaginable to the Parliament when he grants a thing, and the most like a king when he refuses ; thus did Henry the 7th and Henry the 8th and Elizabeth, who refused more things than any other of our Princes, and yet governed us best : and every word and syllable that the King speaks bears a great weight through all Europe, particularly in this Court.

"As to this project of an Act to restrain the number of officers in the customs, excise, etc., that shall sit in the House, it will limit the King's power more than any of his predecessors have been, and may have a worse effect in future Parliaments than can be seen at present. Men of good learning and experience should be a little encouraged to take notice and talk of this in their conversations in Westminster Hall, in coffee-houses, etc. ; the Ministers and great men about the King should find out such persons for this service.

"And it should be intimated that some of these men who are most violent in this matter are breaking into our constitution as much as those who in former reigns were for repealing the penal laws and tests, it being the same thing to the nation if we are hurt by bad subjects or by a bad King, and that we suffered as much by popular rage in '45 as by arbitrary power in '88.

"The Archbishop and those Bishops who have power should hint this to the clergy, and this may be said of the Tory clergy preferably to the other, that if they are in the King's interest, they will most heartily espouse his cause. The others, though they have been active for the King, were so because they were against Popery, and thought King James most against them ; but they were bred in latitudinarian principles, and are no great friends at bottom to monarchy, though in the hands of the most righteous Prince that ever reigned. This will be found true by all those brought up in Bishop Burnet's sentiments ; for my Lord himself, you will find that he will give *teste baissée* into everything that may please the Princess, that he may have the Duke of Gloucester more entirely his own.

"I will only observe further on this head that the King's speech as soon almost as he was on the throne, in which he said he would sustain the greatness of the monarchy, did him more service than any speech he has made since, and that the body and commonalty of the people of England love the glory of monarchy in general, and will keep up that of the King in particular who has done such great things for us, if they are rightly managed.

"Your Lordship sees with what nakedness and simplicity I dare open my mind to you ; I dare affirm a good deal of

what I say is truth, and I believe most of it practicable. I beg Your Lordship not to show it to anybody, neither to my friend Montague or to Mr. Secretary. If any improvement may be made of what I say to His Majesty's service and interest, I shall account myself very happy, and I hope Your Lordship knows me well enough to think that I do not write this out of a saucy desire to shew myself a politician, or an opinion of my own knowledge, but in the duty, zeal and respect that becomes the least of the King's subjects and the most humble and obedient of Your Lordship's servants.

"In August last I sent you a paper sent from England to the Court of St. Germain's. It was called *A Moderate Proposal in favour of the Prince of Wales, offered to the Parliament*; there is another paper just now come over, written by the same author, and privately to be dispersed to the Members of Parliament who they think may be trusted with such a thing; it is only to recommend the Prince's interest and does not make at all for King James; some things are to be altered in it here, and it is to be returned back into England. The medal, of which I send you one enclosed, is likewise dispersed amongst the Jacobites on your side. I have the honour of Your Lordship's letter of the 20 Feb.-2 March. I shall do as you command."

*Postscript.*—"I have power from Mr. Secretary to receive the 350 pistoles (*louis d'ors*) and shall by next post tell him and Your Lordship the joy the distribution of them caused here." *Copy.* (XII. 146-52.)

RICHARD POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698[-9], March 2[-12]. Whitehall.—"I find our town hath unjustly laid a scandalous story upon you, that Miss Cross was one of your domestics. Indeed I did not give much credit to it, for I did not think it an easy matter for you to be like Alderman Duncombe who keeps a pair in his house, and they live very friendly together. I shall refer myself to Mr. Swinfurt as to my enquiry after her, who, I find, visits her oftener than you do. I have no news to tell you but that our mighty Duke of Bolton was found dead in his bed, and thereupon Miss Crofts, your Irish Queen, is become an English duchess." (VIII. 389.)

The EARL OF PORTLAND to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

[1698-9], March 2-12. Kensington.—"Je vous remercie, Monsieur, de vos dernières lettres, qui ont esté longtemps à venir, je ne sçais pourquoi; j'en ay receu trois à la fois, du 25 et 28 Feb., et du 4 courant. Je n'ay pas encore receu de réponses aux miennes, dont je suis impatient, comme de mes portraits et plans. La Ch[apel]le de St. Est[ien]ne est fort despourveue de charité et de sagesse, je voudrois que l'on eût moins remercié et plus fait; je ne sçay pourquoy l'on n'est pas content à St. Germain, ils ont lieu de l'estre. L'on doute



fort ici que le Duc le Berwyck soit allé en Italie. Il est bon que vous ayez l'œil au guet ; pour moy je suis si las du monde que si il y avoit des cloistres de nostre religion je crois que je pourrois m'y retirer ; ce ne seroit pourtant pas par regret de la perte que fait nostre Eglise de Mlle de Starremburg ; vous avez demeuré trop longtemps à la Haye pour n'en pas cognoistre la carte. J'admire l'histoire de Madame de Valentinois ; on la croiroit impossible dans ces circonstances—non qu'une femme ne voulust avoir huit galants à la fois ; j'en ay cogneu une qui en avoit dix et neuf et ne peut jamais parvenir au vintiesme ; à mesure quelle en prenoit un pour rendre le nombre complet un autre la quittoit. Je vous prie de me mander les noms des huit, je crois en cognoistre plusieurs ; le mary ne devoit pas la laisser après la déclaration qu'elle l'ayme plus qu'auquun des huit. Je crois que vous me croyez fort secret d'avoir esté en France sans vous rien dire ; si les dames estoien[t] persuadées de cela, j'aurois aussi huit maistresses, si j'estois en âge d'en avoir grand besoin. Dites a Mons. le Président de Mesme que je lui pardonneray jamais qu'il m'aye creu à Paris sans le voir. Je croy que Mons. le Duc d'Elbeuf a trouvé un pucelage nouveau, il nous est bien obligé de le lui avoir laissé. Je vous prie de me mander un peu des nouvelles de la Cour ou de la ville qui divertissent ; vous jugez bien la raison pourquoi je vous faites cette demande asteur [à cette heure] ; nous en avons besoin.

*Postscript.*—“ Je vous envoie si[ci]-joint une lyste des noms de quelques jeunes gens de qualité d'Eccosse qui sont asteur en France, je vous prie d'en parler à Milord Jersey, il seroit bon qu'on les peut un peu attirer chez lui pour les tenir dans le bon chemin, et si ils n'y viennent pas, il sera nécessaire que vous les fassiez observer pour estre informé si ils ne vont pas faire leur cour à St. Germain.” (V. 21.)

JAMES VERNON to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

1698[-9], March 6[-16]. Whitehall.—“ I have received your letter of the 11th instant, and have communicated it to my Lord Portland, who will himself impart to you his thoughts upon it. Mr. Powys has not yet brought me your bill ; when he does, I will forward it all I can. I see your St. Germaines people are impatient to be at work. I hope, as they go on, one or another will give us notice of it, that we may be a little provided against them. If they have no other engines but prints, pamphlets and medals, we shall do well enough ; but their doctors and students are most to be taken care of, and if they send over commissions, it would be a seasonable service if we could have such notice of it as to be able to apprehend them. This perhaps is an opportunity wherein Brocard may signalize himself, and be entitled to greater advantages than are to be expected only from me. In the meantime I am very willing to furnish what is necessary for his support, and to enable him to appear. I hope likewise you have found

out some others that are rather more to be depended on. Whatever our enemy's design, it may turn to our good as well as our hurt if we have the same success we had last time, and have but timely notice how their game is to be played.

"They have made a seizure at Canterbury of some prints lately brought over of the Prince of Wales, and narrowly missed his medals. The importer escaped them, but I hear who he is; whether I shall find him I know not." (V. 27.)

The EARL OF PORTLAND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698-9], March 6-16. Kensington.—"J'ay bien receu hier au soir, Monsieur, la vostre du 1-11me. Je suis bien de voir que le Duc de Berwyck soit allé à Rome, parce que beaucoup de gens croyoit qu'il estoit arrivé en ce pais, l'on m'asseure aussi très positivement par plusieurs mains que Breyerley et d'autres gens de sa sorte sont ici; c'est pourquoy je vous prie de bien faire observer si il est encore en France, et de me le mander, car vous sçavez ce que l'on a toujours à craindre, particulier si my Lord Melfort et le party des prestres a le dessus à la Cour de St. Germain, et que my Lord Middleton soit en disgrâce. Je croy que ce dernier nous pourroit rendre de grand service si il vouloit, et je ne vois pas quel mal il nous pourroit faire d'estre ici, mais avant que de sçavoir ou demander les sentiments du Roy sur la licence qu'il lui faudroit, il seroit bon de sçavoir si il estoit disposé à le souhaitter et à le mériter; il faudroit que vous voyez si vous trouvez quelque moyen de le faire presentir, et d'employer quelquun sous main pour travailler sur son esprit.

"Je ne manquerai pas au besoin de demander au besoin une copie du chiffre de Mons. Vernon, et de m'en servir si vous aviez besoin de m'escire quelque chose en chiffre. Le Duc de Berwyck aura bien des mensonges à dire pour bien faire comprendre la persécution des Cath[olique]s Romains en ces pays, où ils n'ont que trop de licence. La preuve de cela est l'adresse de la Maison Basse au Roy; l'on m'a assuré depuis quelques jours qu'il y avoit plus de 500 Jésuites dans la ville. Je ne sçay ce qui est la cause que la joye des Jacobites se rallentit; la raison qu'ils en ont eue est tousjours la mesme; vous avez bien raison de dire que la nation Anglaise ne connoist pas son bonheur; mais ce qui est bien pire, c'est qu'elle ne cognoist pas son danger, et oublie ce qu'elle doit au Roy, et a soy mesme.

"Vos raisons sont bonnes et vos arguments de mesme, mais vous ne comprenez pas que les meilleures ne valent rien ici, et que plus grand politique s'y trouveroit bien embarrassé. J'ay bien receu la médaille dans vostre lettre, je guetteray si il en paroît ici; nous voyons tant de mauvais escrits que je ne pourray pas reconnoistre celui dont vous parlez quand il paroîtra. Je vous prie de bien faire observer tous les mouvements qui se feront où vous estes." (V. 25.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

169[8-]9, March 18. [N.S.] Paris.—“Your Lordship will have the goodness to pardon my last letter, and take the freedom with which it was written to proceed from its right motive. I would not be ruined or hanged for my sentiments, so I dare only tell them to Your Lordship, and beg you to burn them. His Majesty, upon the many occupations he has, must (according to my wise politics) e'en take one other trouble upon him; he must be his own Minister, and direct his Council, or at least some of them, what he would have done, rather than rely upon their advice as to what he should do. The Whigs have given him good words, and seem to do their best in Parliament for his interest; but if they do their best, or no, or only (as I say) seem to do it is the question, since it is evident that most of those members who have not been in former Parliaments, and who do in this compose that body which they call the country party, are those who have obstructed the King's business, and yet most of them are and have been always Whigs; on t'other side the Tories in these last affairs have voted against their principle, because the chief of their party are peevish, and the multitude of them follow their example, whilst these leading men are against the Court, right or wrong, because they are not of it: the remedy that is to be found to this evil is that in one and the other party some should be gained by His Majesty's goodness and kindness, and others made sensible of his displeasure; this was practised by King Henry the 7th and Queen Elizabeth with success, who, as I observed to Your Lordship, were our best Princes and ruled us best.

“The people of St. Germain's continue to think they have many friends in St. Stephen's Chapel, and, if things go on at this rate, make sure of returning to England. The Duke of Berwick, I am informed, left Turin the 24th of February and went to Venice; this appears by a letter from the Duke to Col. Hamilton, and I think we may rely upon the information. I am next to thank Your Lordship for your favour of yours of the 2-12. I have informed myself from time to time of the actions of those persons you sent as of all others here whom I have any reason to suspect; the Marquis of Montrose is gone to Orleans, he is under the inspection of a governor, who is violently a St. Germain's man, and the young gentleman is, I believe, in his heart so, too.

“Lord Nythsdale [Nithsdale] is chief of the family of Maxwell, a Roman Catholic, and cousin to Sir George Maxwell likewise here; he is likewise a St. Germain's man, though outwardly civil to my Lord Jersey and us; he has married my Lord Montgomery's sister out of the monastery at Pontoise, and is carrying her home to Scotland.

“The Earl of Ken'nule [Kinnoul] is a Roman Catholic bred here in France, a man of no genius; one sees him in all companies, and, I think, without great consequence,

"The rest mentioned in the list are honest men to their country and His Majesty's Government.

"Sir George Maxwell, who, I have said, is here, is a riddle, he came to my Lord Jersey's entry, hopes to get leave to return to England, yet is commonly with my Lord Clare and and Mr. FitzJames, whom they call my Lord Albemarle, and talks of going with the latter to Malta and Constantinople: he games, he drinks, and he converses with all parties and all nations.

"As to Mademoiselle Staremborg, they give out here that she is not to change her religion to be la Comtesse d'Auvergne, but this is, as I suppose, to make her doing so sometime after she is married seem to proceed from her own choice, and not from any worldly consideration. Your Excellency observes that having lived long at The Hague I must have known *la carte du pays*; I do indeed, my Lord, so well as to think that the Lady would fairly have turned Jew, if Suasso would have married her when he was a widower. The difference between a great Ambassador, that is, Mons. de Heemskirk and I [*sic*], a little secretary, in this point is that I only write this to my Lord Portland, whilst he says publicly at people's tables—'Allons! je la connois bien, elle est ma cousine; Messieurs les fils du Comte d'Auvergne ne doivent pas se fâcher contre leur belle-mère, car en trois mois de tems elle sera autant aux fils qu'au père': this is equally civil and discreet in a man of his character.

"I am ashamed not to have been able to send your plans and pictures sooner; my Governor assured me on Monday that I should have the former this week, and Rigault will, I think, be at last as good as his word in finishing the pictures; I will send them both as soon as possibly I can.

"The peevishness of our friends at St. Stephen's Chapel is sufficient to make any man wish for a cloister, but I hope in God Your Lordship is above all such thoughts, for 'tis from such men as you that the tide must be stemmed and the waves broken: and great and good men are most necessary to the preservation of the State in the most troublesome times, so that I hope, my Lord, for all your being weary of the world, we shall long enjoy you as our patron and friend, and good men continue to be obliged to you." *Copy.* (XII. 156-60.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, March 21. [N.S.] Paris.—"I troubled Your Lordship with so long a letter last post that I should not have written to you by this but to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 6-16. I am informed that 15, 84, 114, 32, 85, 58, 114 is still in 1055. I wish to God I could 583, 588. [*Cf* p. 274, *supra*.] I do my best in that affair and everything else relating that way.

"The Duke of Berwick is (as I am informed) at Venice.



"The enclosed lets Your Lordship know the common occurrences." *Copy.* (XII. 163.)

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1698-9], March 16-26. Kensington.—"Je vous assure, Monsieur, que j'ay leu vos dernières lettres avec satisfaction ; vos raisonnements sont justes, mais il y a peu de monde ici de vostre sentiment, pas mesme vostre meilleur ami, ou du moins si ils le sont, lui et tous ceux du Clubb n'agissent pas comme si ils l'estoient. Il n'y a point de 'Spirit,' à moins que ce soit dans un 'Committee of Elections' : du reste, quant il est question des affaires publiques, l'on ne fait rien que par manière d'acquit, sans feu ni ardeur, et à peine les gens peuvent retarder leur dîner, pendant que pour l'intérêt du parti ou d'un homme qui en porte le nom, l'on voit toutte la chaleur du monde, et comme si le salut de la nation en dépendoit, de quoy l'on ne semble pas estre sensible dans les choses véritablement essentielles. Enfin l'on est comme les gens malades de léthargie très dangereuse parce que les malades ne sentent pas leurs maux, qui ne se guérissent que par des remèdes violents. Dieu voeuille qu'ils ne soyent pas fatals.

"Vos lettres ne sont veues que d'un seul, là où ils vous font du bien. Soyez seur que je vous ayme trop pour en faire un autre usage. Il faut encore que je vous dise que le remède que vous proposez, quoy que bon, est quasi impraticable, parce que nos gens, quoy qu'ils l'approuvent en général ne scauroi[en]t jamais convenir d'auquune personne en particulier du parti contraire sans y trouver des exceptions insurmontables quant l'on vient à en nommer. Je ne m'estonne pas qu'à St. Germain l'on soit persuadé d'avoir des amis 'in St. St[ephen]'s Chapel'; je croy qu'ils ont raison.

"Je croy ce que vous me dittes de Mlle Starrenburg : Swasso est un bon parti à qui ne s'attache pas aux scrupules de religion. J'admire la belle prudence de l'ambassadeur parent de la dame ; il y a des petites maisons en France, où il y a des logements à louer.

"Je ne veux plus songer à mes tableaux, ni aux plans. Il en est de cela comme de toutte autre chose, beaucoup de belles promesses et peu d'effects. Mandez moy comment se porte Madame de Meyercroon ; dans son affliction je reçois si peu de ces nouvelles." (V. 33.)

MATTHEW PRIOR TO [CHARLES] MONTAGUE.

1699, April 1. [N.S.] Paris.—"By the last post we hear that my Lord Jersey is recalled, my Lord Manchester named to succeed him, and I ordered to stay here till the newest of these Ex[celle]ncies arrives here. I know not what my Lord Jersey is designing for in England ; but if it be to be Secretary of State, I presume I may be his Ellis, which is descending from the high rope to tumble more safely upon the ground,

and it is time for me so to do after what I have seen in foreign employments, and as far as I can see by my being ordered to stay only my Lord Manchester's coming, something of this kind is designed for me. I have written to my Lord Manchester, and upon his answer shall be ready to serve him with all the zeal and ardour which I owe to the blood of the Mountagus. For God's sake will you think of a little money for me, for I have fluttered away the Devil and all in this monkey country, where the air is infected with vanity, and extravagance is as epidemical as the itch in Scotland. My bounty money from the King is now due, five hundred pounds; if one could get a warrant signed for it till you thought a little of my arrears; for to be pawned in France and lose my hopes in England at one time is too much for any man to bear who was not born under the star of Colonel Powers. I beg you to help me in these whimsical circumstances under which I lie at present, though God knows all the return I can make you is promising to continue for ever with the greatest truth and respect, &c." *Copy.* (XII. 172.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF MANCHESTER.

1699, April 1. N.S. Paris.—“I might congratulate your being named to succeed my Lord Jersey, as I bear part in what I am sure will be for the good of His Majesty's affairs, as I rejoice in any honour that accrues to your family in general, or as I have a particular respect and (if I may dare to use the expression) a friendship for Your Lordship. You see, my Lord, how copious a subject I have and how easily I could send you on this occasion a panegyric instead of a letter, but my oratory shall go no further at present than to acknowledge the favour of your letter, and your kind discoursing of my affairs with Mr. Mountague, and to offer Your Lordship my best endeavours in your service here. I know not when Your Lordship designs to be at Paris, but I take it for granted it will not be long first, if you determine your coaches and equipage to be made here, since they may be making and your house furnishing, you being here; since you are not obliged to see anybody except privately, and you please yourself till you have had your public audience, and Your Lordship knows, your appointments commence from your taking leave of His Majesty; but this is a consideration Your Lordship will best judge of, and I will only say upon this head that the beauty of one's coaches and the *bel air* of one's liveries are things essential to a man's reputation in France. I presume Mr. Stanyan will come out again with Your Lordship; if so, it would not be amiss that he were here before Your Lordship, that I might remit to him the state of our affairs, and Your Lordship might find things in a method; and if a house-steward or some such servant were here, Your Lordship would find the advantage of it at your arrival, provided you do not design to be here soon yourself. You can hardly imagine



how different [*sic*] it is to get a house fit for your quality and character in the Fauxbourg St. Germain. My Lord Jersey was for want of a house in that quarter obliged to take up with one at the other end of the town, which is a most intolerable inconvenience. He had just remedied it by taking a new house in the Fauxbourg at Easter next, and in my opinion Your Lordship cannot do better than to take his bail and continue it; the house is perfectly fit for you, and in the best part and wholesomest air of the town, not far from where my Lord Port[land] lived, and by consequence near the Tuilleries, the Cours, the Comedy, convenient for Versailles, and for the foreign ministers and the English to come to you. My Lord has taken this house with the clause of six months, that is, you giving six months' warning to the proprietor as he reciprocally to you, you are at liberty to leave the house, the rent of it is 6,000 *livres* per annum, that is, at present, 400*l.* sterling, so that, if Your Lordship takes my Lord Jersey's bargain, you have a house till October, at which time you may renew the bail, or quit the house, as you please, for the expense of 3,000 *livres*; and I think, my Lord, you cannot do better; as to furniture my Lord Jersey would dispose of some of his to Your Lordship, such as tables, chairs, bureaux for books, escritaires, ordinary beds for servants, English pewter, *batterie de cuisine*, and such lumber as one hates to bring and yet must have. My Lord has eight fine grey horses (Dutch) which he would likewise dispose of; he has another set of black horses or mares (for, faith! I am not jockey enough to know which they are), which, I believe, you may likewise have, but I must beg Your Lordship to give me your answer by the next post, if possible, as to these horses, the house and household-stuff, for fear they should be disposed of otherwise. For such kind of reasons as these I repeat to Your Lordship that it would be necessary that you sent some agent before, who, knowing what goods you bring with you, may supply what you may want. In the meantime, my Lord, you have a very good *homme d'affaires* here, for my Lord Jersey at the same time that he congratulates Your Lordship's succeeding him, offers you his service, and for myself, my Lord, I hope you will command me as you would do one of your own domestics." *Copy.* (XII. 165-8.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, April 1. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have the favour of Your Lordship's letter of the 13-23, and by the same post we receive the news of my Lord Jersey's being recalled and my Lord Manchester named to succeed him. I have orders upon this occasion to stay till my Lord Manchester's arrival, which, I hope, will be soon after my Lord Jersey's departure, for I would fain have the honour to give Your Lordship an account of things here before the King goes for Holland, and be in England whilst I might have the happiness of seeing and being pro-

tected by my Lord Portland at my coming, since it was in obedience to Your Lordship's service that I went out of it. I shall leave the memoirs and journals so perfect in my Lord Manchester's hands that he will have it traced to him, and need only follow them. to be sure of being right. Your Lordship opened so fair a way that your successors cannot mistake, and I may return (according to His Majesty's present orders) as soon as my Lord Manchester shall be arrived here : in this and in everything I refer myself wholly to His Majesty's orders ; that is best for me which His Majesty commands, and what country, what condition, what employment so ever he gives me it is the glory of my life to take and to labour in for his service ; in England (possibly) I should not be useless. I hope, my Lord, you will not think it vanity that I say so, or that in my former letters I have touched upon some points infinitely above me ; I will excuse myself for all I have written of this kind upon my zeal and truth for the King's interests, and upon the confidence which Your Lordship's kindness to me did inspire me with. By that *un seul de mes amis* that saw my letters Your Lordship either means yourself alone or one other who had the greatest right and reason in the world to see them ; in all cases I am far from being in pain whilst my poor sentiments are in the hand of Your Lordship, who has known and kept the greatest affairs of Europe with equal secrecy and glory.

"My Governor and I had yesterday a long discourse of our English affairs ; he cannot forbear insulting a little and showing his satisfaction at the breaking our troops. Whatever I thought in my heart, I answered him by an historical account of our Parliament's proceedings in the reigns of those Princes whom we loved and revered most, of the nature of our government, and of the laws of our constitution, and insensibly led him to see that no step in the House of Commons was made in favour of the people of St. Germain, and that neither they or theirs were so much as thought of in the deliberations or votes of Parliament. My Governor is always with 1255 [Louis XIV.], and I dare swear pumps me to tell half an hour after the effect of his questions ; he is an excellent courtier, but if they had no abler heads than he, we might sleep in quiet.

"As to the plans, he told me that Mansard is working at them, that the King intended you should have them perfect, and according to the design which His Majesty is now forming, and that he takes it upon himself that you had them not sooner ; he bids me excuse to Your Lordship his not writing to you, but says he will write to you very soon, and he enjoins me to tell you very particularly that the King very often speaks of you and always with great marks of esteem. I would not have the Parliament know this for fear they should impeach my Lord Portland for being too well with France. One may see from the discourse of my Governor and 1438



and the former 1352 [Governor] of Namur that 1129 in 1454 writes all the twittle-twattle he can pick up: a little care should be taken of that Datter, and an eye should be held over those who frequent the conversation of that gentleman.

"Rigault is working at the last copy of my Lord Woodstock's picture. I do whatever I can to hasten him, but I had rather stay than let his men spoil the pieces. I have no news from any of your correspondents, and am not sorry for it; the least that is doing or projecting here the better it is; I am only to add the receipt of your packet of the 16-26. I shall take care of the letters enclosed according to your order." *Copy.* (XII. 169-71.)

RICHARD POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1698[-9], March 23[-April 2]. Whitehall.—"On Friday last your aunt, Mrs. Prior, was taken with a fit of an apoplexy, of which she died on Tuesday morning at four o'clock.

"Having now taken a house I am entering into the expense and trouble of furnishing of it. Pictures, if good, are very dear, if bad, they are the worse furniture I can have; but good prints make as handsome a show. I would beg the favour of you to speak to Mr. Swinford that he would so far trouble himself as to lay out about ten pounds in some of the best prints for me, and to bring them with him when he comes over, and if you please to let him have the money, I will give you credit for it in your account, or will pay it any other way as you or he shall think fit. I would not have the prints of the *Triumph of Alexander*, because those were lately given to me here."

*Postscript.*—"My Lord Manchester is preparing for France, and the news here is that you are like to stay there. But I hope otherwise." (VIII. 407.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF DORSET.

1699, April 4. N.S. Paris.—"Your Lordship will easily judge with what satisfaction I received your letter, and that, though I am a courtier, I speak an undeniable truth when I tell you that no earthly good can be more welcome to me than to hear of my Lord Dorset's health and welfare. My Lord Jersey (as I foresaw) is recalled and generously offers me the accompanying of his fortune. I have had too many proofs of his kindness already to doubt any way of its continuing; and I think I see it already destined by the higher powers that His Lordship will be Secretary and I his Vernon. I have already told His Lordship how weary I am of fluttering here abroad, and I think this is as fair an occasion as can offer for my getting home. I have had all that this sort of employment can give me, and I hope I have made myself so fit for that which is designed me, as to answer in some measure the care Your Lordship had of my childhood in making me fit for any; and as I heartily wish myself near Your Lordship, where

in spite of business some hours might be set aside for common sense, so I beg Your Lordship to contribute to it. My orders are to stay here till my Lord Manchester's coming. I must obey thus far, but cannot stay his entry and audience; this if Your Lordship would hint to Mr. Mountague (in case he should require it) would be a new obligation added to a thousand more which I already owe my Lord Dorset. I would make all imaginable haste home, first, because it is not reasonable (upon a suspicion that my Lord Jersey is Secretary) that he should be left without a *commis*, and secondly, because if I am in England, and in that post before the King goes for Holland, it may happen that I may be left secretary to the Regents; the latter of these reasons I would mention to no man alive but Your Lordship, from whom I would not hide the inmost thoughts and desires of my heart, though you see, my Lord, how much ambition and vanity is mixed with them. I shall perform your commands of all kinds, and desire you to send me any new commission you would have me execute, before I have the honour to embrace your knees and to tell you that I am entirely and eternally, etc." *Copy.* (XII. 178-9.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, March 27[–April 6]. Whitehall.—“I have received your letter of the 1st of April [N.S.], and don't examine how much you or my Lord Jersey knows of His Excellency's being designed to succeed the Duke of Shrewsbury, but it has been no secret here a considerable time, and I hope you did not receive the first news of it from Mons. Tallard's advices. I did not indeed mention it, because I concluded His Excellency would know it before I could write it. I think it so certain that you may build any measures upon it you would take, and need not write mysteriously about it. You need not doubt but I shall approve of what you judge most for your advantage, and assist in it if I can be of any use. But you must not think of removing before my Lord Manchester arrives; how soon you may get away afterwards, I leave to be adjusted between Mr. Montague and yourself. I understand you have writ to him on this occasion, and I suppose you will receive his answer by this post or the next. I do not conceive that it can be prejudicial to you in whatever you propose to yourself, if you stay till you have put my Lord Manchester into the course of his business, which I have further explained to Mr. Montague than I need mention here.” (V. 37.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, April 8. N.S. Paris.—“I ought last post to have told you that I had the honour of your letter of the 26th of March; the clearness, the right sense and the judgment of it convince me that I was not in the wrong as to some of my conjectures, and in some points enlighten me a good deal: it is astonishing, I confess, the conduct of those people



who think of everything aright but the safety and honour of the nation : in short such spirits are not to be dealt with. I dare say no more of it at this distance, but hope (according to what I had the honour to write last to Your Lordship) that I may have the opportunity of speaking more upon this subject, as I may have the happiness of seeing you, though I once more repeat that I pay an absolute and entire obedience to His Majesty's commands, and that I beg Your Lordship to think that I have no consideration of what may be for my private interest, but as I may serve the greatest man and the kindest Master in the world.

"There is no kind of news at Versailles ; two nights since threatening papers were set up on Pont Neuf before the pedestal of King Harry's horse against Pontchartrain and the Government, and that there were ten thousand men in Paris dissatisfied enough with the King to come and pull down Versailles. Bagatelles, my Lord. The whole people of France are oppressed and discontented enough, but saying and acting are two things in this country. The plans are at length done, and my Governor promises that I shall have them *au premier jour*, as he calls it, with a letter to excuse their having been retarded so long." *Copy.* (XII. 180.)

#### THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1699], March 30[-April 9]. Kensington.—"J'ai bien receu, Monsieur, votre très agréable du 1 d'Avril, N.S. Je serois très aise d'avoir la satisfaction de vous voir de retour ici, mais je croy que votre ami Mr. Montagu s'y opposera, puis qu'il est trop persuadé du grant besoin que Milord Manchester, pour lequel il s'intéresse, aura de votre assistance, comme j'en suis persuadé aussi, vous cognoissant comme je fais. Il y a des choses ordinaires dont vous pouvez lui donner des mémoires pour lui servir de règle, mais sur tous les incidents qui arrivent en ce pais là assez souvent, et sur beaucoup d'affaires où il aura besoin de votre conseil et assistance, ce n'est pas la mesme chose, et si j'estois Mylord Manchester, je serois en désespoir de vous perdre. Le Roy a leu votre lettre, et votre soumission à ces ordres ne vous sera pas préjudiciable. Je vous ay témoigné dans ma précédente la satisfaction que l'on a eu des sentiments que vous aves marquez sur les affaires de ce pais, qui n'ont estez veus que de celui seul qui a le droit de les voir. Vous sçavez que je vous veus trop de bien pour en faire un autre usage. Je crois que vous aurez eu de la paine à faire une bonne histoire de l'affaire dont vous avez esté obligé de parler a votre Gouverneur, que je crois comme vous beaucoup plus grand courtisan qu'habile politique ; sachant comme vous faites quel usage il fait de ce que vous lui dittes, vous pouvez en faire un bon usage, et je vous fieray bien avec lui. Je vous prie de lui faire bien des compliments de ma part ; les grands généraux ne sont pas tousjours grands ministres. Je suis bien aisé

que les nouveaux desseyns de Marly soyent adjoutés au plans, et le seray bien plus de le voir arrivé, avec mes tableaux. J'espère que le Parlement n'aura jamais d'autre sujet de me vouloir du mal, que celui dont vous me parlez, et je ne seray pas en danger de ce costé là. Les gens prennent tant de liberté de parler en ce pais si[ci] qu'il est difficile de faire observer les rapporteurs, et celui que vous dittes, qui escrit tant de fadaïses, fréquente tout le monde, et vous sçavez que tous les Jacobites sont autant d'espions, et qu'ils n'ont pas ce caractère escrit au front, quoy que l'on en cognoisse beaucoup. Il est certainement bon de ne rien apprendre des correspondents, pourveu que vous soyes assuré qu'ils ne se nesgligent pas. Mons. le Prince de Condé m'avoit ordonné de lui faire tenir un plan du labirinthe à Sorgvliet, que je vous ay envoyé; je vous prie de le lui donner." (V. 40.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, April 6[-16]. Whitehall.—“I have your letter of the 1st instant, but can have no hand in helping you away so soon as you desire. I signified to you His Majesty's pleasure for your longer continuance there, and I think it almost indispensable when I consider the conveniency of His Majesty's service. While we have not an Ambassador there, we should at least have an experienced subaltern minister, and not send a perfect stranger with a diminutive character. If His Excellency has better reasons for bringing you over, I wish they may prevail, but I think your longer stay there will be useful to the King and your being here before Michaelmas will be of no great use either to my Lord Jersey or yourself, if this summer be spent as the last was under the administration of Lords Justices. My Lord Jersey may bear a part in it, but the secretaryship will be Mr. Yard's province, he being in possession of it, and that admits of no colleague while it lasts. In my opinion, therefore, your business is to resolve upon staying there some months, and to press my Lord Manchester's coming over, that the time may be shortened; and for your revocation, leave the care of that to my Lord Jersey, whom you may depend upon that he will not prolong it beyond what is absolutely necessary. In the meantime I will solicit Mr. Montague to take care of your arrears, that you may have some compensation for absence.

“If the enclosed advice contain what news is extant, I am very well satisfied. I would not have him make news for us, as I believe he has with his old repeated story.” (V. 46.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, April 18. [N.S.] Paris.—“It is with the greatest sincerity imaginable that I acknowledge the particular favour of two letters from my Lord Portland of the 30th of March and the 3rd of April.



"As to public affairs there is little stirring; devotion employs the week, poor King James is running about, first to the Jesuits, then to the Benedictines. He dined yesterday with the Bishop of Autun. Thus, God be thanked, if acting with prudence would do him any good, he would not have the benefit at so dear a rate; and my Lord Middleton, who traces about with him, is perfectly out of countenance for him; as an English gentleman I sent to see them told me.

"The Queen is in the meantime doing her devotions at Challott [Chaillot]; they have ordered that no Protestant servant of any condition whatsoever shall be about their son.

"Burk parted from hence on Wednesday morning; I presume he has kissed your hand before now, and delivered you the plans and Mons. Villeroy's letter with another packet which I gave him for Your Lordship. The pictures I have, and shall send them over by the first of my Lord Jersey's household that comes over; I would have given them likewise to Burk, but they were too big for him to carry, for he went post. Your Lordship has always been so very kind to my affairs that I am sure you will pardon me mentioning them once more to you. My Lord Jersey upon a supposition that he is to be Secretary of State offers me a seat in his office; all that I can say in this thing is that with His Majesty's leave I would accept it, but my Lord Jersey plainly says that he neither can nor will stay long for his *commis*; so that if I am ordered to stay longer in France, that proposition is impossible.

"I have formerly said that, if His Majesty thinks it in the least for his service that I stay, I have no will but his command: but otherwise I know not where my small services will be more in their proper sphere than if I were in the office, and therefore I say by Mr. Mountagu's leave I would fain come home, and must beg Your Lordship to contribute to it, though by what I have written to Lord Manchester, Mr. Mountague and Mr. Secretary Vernon, I hope it is already determined that I either come hence with Lord Jersey or stay not long after him. I ask Your Lordship ten thousand pardons that I dare trouble you in this kind." *Copy.* (XII. 185-6.)

#### RICHARD POWYS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, April 10[-20]. Whitehall.—"On Saturday morning Mrs. Stepney went to wait on Mr. Chancellor to return her thanks for his favours to her brother. Amongst other things they fell into discourse relating to you, in which Mr. Chancellor said he found you were bent on returning home and depending upon my Lord Jersey, that he would not therefore press you to stay with my Lord Manchester, that he thought my Lord Manchester and he should be as able to take care of you as my Lord Jersey, that the most you could expect from my Lord Jersey was to be under him in the Secretaries' office, the

profits whereof are now very small, that he looked upon this as a degrading to you in the post you are in, and seeing my Lord Manchester is his relation he would not press you upon this subject, because you might look upon it as done out of respect to my Lord Manchester, without regard to your interest. Mrs. Stepney asked him if he would give her leave to acquaint me with what he had said, that I might take some notice of it to you, upon which he permitted her so to do.

"I will not pretend to give you any advice one way or other, you are the best master of your own inclinations, and know what will be most for your own good. I have faithfully given you the account I received as near as I can remember. I could heartily wish for my own part to have the happiness of being near you here; but I must observe to you the profits of the Secretaries' office are sunk so low, that Mr. Ellis hath seriously protested to me he hath never made 500*l.* a year since he hath been in it. Add to this the uncertainty and changes that you have seen in that office. Nor do I see how you can refuse my Lord Manchester without losing Mr. Montague, who hath always been a sure friend to you, and will, I am confident, always have a very good interest with the King. If I have said more than I ought to have done upon this subject, you will forgive me when you know I have no interest but your service in it." (VIII. 415—17.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, April 10[–20]. Whitehall.—"I have your letter of the 15th, and see more of your impatience to be coming over with my Lord Jersey, which in some considerations I can't blame you for, and I heartily wish the obstacles to it were not so great. It is my humour to deal plainly and sincerely with all men, and I am sure that is best among friends; I should only prevaricate in the King's business. If I would seem to be persuaded that your staying for my Lord Manchester's arrival was of no consequence, perhaps some of that Lord's friends may dislike your impatience on his account, as desiring he might be assisted by one of your experience, and one can't blame them for it. But the consideration I have is that the interval between the two Ambassadors cannot, nor ought it to, be supplied but by yourself; this is so evident and even to you, who have your view turned another way, that I need not say more of it. How long you need stay after my Lord's arrival is not the present business, but I think my Lord ought to take one with him who should ease you as soon as possible, and I believe it will be in my Lord Jersey's power to limit that time. Since, therefore, there is no intention of dividing you from your Lord, you need not be inquisitive what else is designed for making you amends. I told you in my last that what you had to do was to hasten my Lord Manchester's coming over, and to desire Mr. Montague that



he may carry a Secretary of the Embassy over with him. He has his eye upon one, who, I think, is so docile that you may quickly instruct him. I need not tell you it is Mr. Stanyan of this office, and as I must part with an useful man for the sake of the Embassy, I don't doubt but my Lord Jersey will be willing to expect one for a much shorter time.

"When you have taken a good resolution that is made a virtue or merit of necessity, you will write to Mr. Montague about the payment you expect, and you will soon see what a sacrifice obedience is." (V. 47.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, April 22. [N.S.] Paris.—"My Lord Neathsdale [Nithsdale] went from hence on Monday: before his going he had a private audience of King James, and (as I am informed) received a commission from him by which my Lord is made lieutenant of four counties in Scotland nearest his estate, my Lord having promised in the name of the gentlemen of these counties that they will be ready under his directions to obey at any time King James's order.

"One Morloy is, I hear, dispatched with letters from St. Germain for England. I have advised Mr. Secretary Vernon as much as I know of the place of his abode, and have written to Mackay at Dover to get him taken up, if possible.

"Nothing more occurs besides the common news which I take the boldness to send enclosed. I hope it is determined that I come back as soon as my Lord Manchester arrives here: Mr. Mountague may compliment me as handsomely as he pleases, but I will not begin the trade a fourth time except, I say, His Majesty commands me; and in that case, if it were to live in the Highlands of Scotland (which with respect to my Lord Selkirk's better judgment is not the happiest place upon earth), I should be very far from disputing it, or murmuring." *Copy.* (XII. 189.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, April 17[-27]. Whitehall.—"I have received your letter of the 22nd, and am sorry the bare naming of Michaelmas should make you uneasy. I thought it could not have altered anything in your design of being with my Lord Jersey. If he has another opinion of it, and thinks you may be spared sooner from Paris, I have nothing to oppose against it. I must own my chief consideration was whether the King would be so well served if you came away and left the business in the hands of an unacquainted and untried secretary, but that my Lord Jersey will judge better of when he is here. It will be a matter within his province which I shall not meddle with after his arrival. In the meantime I hope I may be excused for delivering my opinion freely according to the best of my understanding. If I thought you less useful there, I should be more indifferent in this point.

I did not mention Mr. Yard as if there were to be any competition between you, or as if it were any question who should be Secretary to the Lords Justices, which I am perfectly unconcerned in ; but I may be allowed to know that a Secretary of State barely as such will have very little to do for either himself or his *commis* while the administration is in the hands of Justices, and there is no other time when their under-secretaries can be so well spared. What I have aimed at was to show how practicable I thought it that you might keep your dependence on my Lord Jersey and yet allow some time to the conveniency of the King's affairs there ; but if my notions don't agree with other people's, I am not fond of them, and can be contented to see any other way taken.

"I have acquainted the Secretary of Scotland with my Lord Niddesdale's coming over, who had heard of his marriage and his resort to St. Germain. When he gets to Scotland, they may have something to say to him there. In the meantime, if he passes by Dover, I have taken care to have him searched ; and if he brings any commissions or letters that I can take notice of, I will secure them and the person too, or otherwise I will leave him to the laws of his own country.

"The Secretary will order some of his people to make inquiry after Danes and Achtmooty, but Mackye tells me he hears they have been at Rouen for some time subsisting upon a small pension that is allowed them.

"Macky has received your letter here in town about Marly, and is going down to Dover to look after that and some other matters. When I hear he is gone by Dover, I shall make some inquiry about him in his other quarters." (V. 49.)

#### JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, April 24[–May 4]. Whitehall.—"I have your letter of the 19–29 to acknowledge. I saw my Lord Manchester to-day, who could give me no account how soon he should be ready for his journey ; he said he had a letter from you by the last post, but you took no notice to him how much of your time you would give him, so that he did not know what he was to trust to. I told him what I thought your desires led you to, and presumed to give him my advice that he should consider whom he would choose to serve him in quality of Secretary of the Embassy, and propose him to the King, that he might be dispatched away to Paris ; and when he had been some time with you, he would judge of the business that was to pass through his hands, and be able to satisfy His Lordship within what time after his arrival you might be spared. My Lord gave me little answer, but I find you two have such different views that I can't expect to please either of you, which is the common fate of arbitrators, especially if they act impartially. Upon my Lord Jersey's arrival my Lord Manchester will explain himself, and that is the properest time for it. In the meantime I have read your letter to the King, that he may know your submission to his pleasure.



"I have not seen my Lord Albemarle since I had your letter, nor is it very material to your purpose, for nothing will or ought to be resolved till my Lord Jersey's arrival, and what he thinks fit, I am confident, will be ordered.

"What you write of a young man is easy to be credited by the father's behaviour. I will endeavour to see what passes between him and his correspondent.

"You will remember what you writ to me the 11th of March about a paper you had seen. We have it now in print, but I can't yet learn who have been the dispersers of it, the discovery whereof must lead us to the printer and author." (V. 50.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, May 6. N.S. Paris.—"I have omitted troubling Your Lordship for some time past, having had nothing considerable to write; the same reason might still be good, the greatest news we have being that Madame de Maintenon has had a fever and the Dauphin a cold; King James has likewise been indisposed. Your Lordship is well enough acquainted with these people to know that they blow up the least sparkle of anything done in England, and draw the most unreasonable consequences imaginable from it. I had the honour to dine yesterday with the Count de Marsan; Mons. le Grand, my Governor, Tourville and the Marquis de Gevres were there; the questions they asked and the reasons they formed about the Duke of Ormond quitting his post in the Guards were very many and very wrong; and it is with great satisfaction that I find our letters, received to-day, tell us that affair is accommodated. From thence the discourse ran upon a subject which I ask Your Lordship's pardon that I dare mention; you will know that it was your not going to Newmarket; and here their reasonings were as just as they were in relation to the Duke of Ormond; and I hope I shall be able to give them a like account of there being nothing in their surmises and guesses; all that I will observe to Your Lordship is that Mons. le Grand and Count Marsan seemed (and I believe are) heartily your friends; I cannot say as much of my Governor.

"Mr. Cockburn brought me the other day a recommendatory letter from Your Lordship, which has and always shall have the power of a command to me.

"I have told Mr. Van Leuven that the pictures must come over with my Lord Jersey's goods; I dare not venture them otherways; the Prince de Condé says he will himself thank Your Lordship for the little plan you sent him.

"Your Lordship will know surest and soonest how my small affairs will be determined, and you will accordingly dispose of your commands to me; in all probability I am to stay in France till my Lord Manchester comes, but not long after." *Copy.* (XII. 195-7.)

## ALEXANDER STANHOPE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 8. [N.S.] Madrid.—Giving account of a tumult that took place at Madrid on the preceding April 28, as follows :—

“The Corregidor, Don Francisco de Vargas y Lezama, being in the Plaza Mayor about seven of the clock in the morning, a priest came to him and complained of the great want of bread, as at the same time did a poor woman, to whom he answered very imprudently, they might thank God it was not double the price, although it be now above as dear again as usual, and to the woman in particular who complained of a great charge of children he replied, rallying, it was her fault to let her husband get so many, upon which she threw a pair of pigeons she had in her hands in his face, calling him *cornudo* and *ladrón*, and immediately all the rabble pursued him throwing stones, and had certainly killed him, if he had not, as fast as his horse could run, secured himself in the *Casa de Ayuntamiento* or Guildhall ; so [he] came off only with a broken pate. The rabble marched out with great noise crying out, ‘*Viva el Rey y muera el Conde de Oropesa, el Almirante y el Corregidor!*’ with this noise entering into the courts of the Palace, and up the King’s apartments, crying out, ‘Bread, bread!’ and ‘we will have Ronquillo for our Corregidor.’ His Majesty, hearing this noise, asked what the matter was ; at first they told him nothing but some idle boys ; but the disorder increasing, and it being impossible to dissemble the matter any longer, [they] told him it was a tumult of the people, who, wanting bread in the Plaza, came crying out to His Majesty to remedy it. The King bid the Conde de Benavente go and give them some money to quiet them, which he having attempted in vain returned to His Majesty, saying nothing would satisfy them but to have Don Francisco Ronquillo for their Corregidor again, as he had been three or fours years before, and then they had bread enough and wanted nothing. The King, looking out at the window and seeing more and more trooping together every minute, ordered that Ronquillo should be immediately sworn in the office of Corregidor ; and the Conde de Benavente went immediately to fetch him from the *Consejo de Hazienda* [Council of Revenue], where he was then sitting, and brought him with him to the Royal Council of Castile, attended by the rabble, shouting, ‘*Viva Ronquillo, Viva Ronquillo!*’ Being come into the King’s presence, he begged His Majesty would excuse him from accepting the employment, alleging that, though his zeal was great for His Majesty’s service and the public, he had so many superiors to hinder him from expressing it as he desired, that it could have no effect. To which the King replied, commanding him to accept it, as he desired, for the pacifying the tumult upon his own conditions, independent upon the Royal Council or any other superior whatsoever to control him. Upon this order he went down to the



said Council to take his oath, and the people, thinking it long in doing, came with great fierceness to the Council door, beating at it with their feet and throwing great stones, and some also in at the windows, repeating their former cry, 'Let Ronquillo come, we will have him for our Corregidor!' The Council were quickened to dispatch him by the melancholy account that another body of the mob were burning the Conde de Oropesa's house, and that, if Ronquillo did not appear immediately, there would be no saving it. He then came out as Corregidor, with *vara*, or white staff, in his hand, and mounting on horseback, went from the Palace, attended by the crowd, crying out all the way, '*Viva el Rey, Victor Ronquillo!*' and although by this pretence the fury was something abated, yet they soon began again to tear down the iron grates before the windows; some of them they got down, and about fifteen of them rushing in, but without arms, as indeed most of them were, the Conde's servants, as is believed, killed them all, for they have never appeared since, and 'tis said the bodies were thrown into a well. Then, having secured the doors and windows, they fired out of the house among the rabble, and killed five or six, one reformed *alférez* [ensign], whose body his companions took up and carried immediately away to the Palace, and went with it as far as the top of the stairs leading to the King's lodgings before they were stopped, crying out, 'Justice, justice!' and demanding the heads of the Conde de Oropesa and Almirante. The Sacrament in this confusion was brought out from several churches, with processions of all the Orders of Friars with crucifixes in their hands and a crucifix placed in every window as a security to the house. These holy things quieted them for some time, yet still they continued together in the same place. Ronquillo then thinking to divide them and draw them off, said:—'*Hijos*, children, let us go to the Palace, and I will intercede with the King for your pardon.' Above five thousand followed him, and all this rabble, going with him into the great court of the Palace just under the King's window, roared out as before:—'*Viva el Rey, muera Oropesa*, let the King appear, let the King appear!' At this noise, the Queen came to the window, telling them, '*Hijos*, the King is asleep.' The rabble answered in a great rage:—'We do not believe it, for this is no time to sleep.' At last the Queen, finding their obstinacy to see the King, retired from the window weeping, and called His Majesty, who saluted them with his hat and a lower bow than ever he used to make before [and] said:—'*Hijos mios*, I have given to the Corregidor the orders you desire with absolute power to do whatsoever may conduce to your satisfaction,' and at the same time, addressing himself to the Corregidor, said:—'And to you, Don Francisco Ronquillo, I give all necessary power to do or undo whatsoever may be for the ease of my subjects'; and the people replying that they desired His Majesty's pardon, and that they might not be punished for this

tumult, the King answered them :—‘I pardon you, nor shall you be punished either now or hereafter, of which I call God to witness,’ at the same time wafting a handkerchief in the air, after which he saluted them with his hat as before, and retired from the window. That part that remained before Oropesa’s house were still pressing to enter, demanding those fifteen of their company either dead or alive. Then the King’s pardon was publicly proclaimed by the *alcaldes* [magistrates] for what was past, for all that would retire home, and severe chastisement threatened to their further disobedience; notwithstanding which they still continued making a great noise and throwing stones (for they had no other arms) at the doors and windows. About ten at night some soldiers, being got into the house as a guard, fired again upon the people, killing three and wounding many. The Conde de Oropesa, who was ill in bed with a fit of an ague when his house was first invested, with the assistance of the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo (the only *Grande* that came near him in this affliction), by breaking a hole through a wall into another house, found means to escape to the house of the *Inquisidor General*, as did also his lady and children; and before they could get ready to be gone, the rabble pressed so hard upon the house as they were like to force in, which is the excuse I hear was given for the firing that killed the *alférez* and the rest. All the Royal Council of Castile, and many of the *Grandes* stayed in the Palace all night; the Almirante upon the first noise of the tumult went from his house in a mean coach, with two mules and curtains drawn, by a private way to the Palace; nevertheless by some who knew him, was saluted with *gallina* [coward] and *traydor* [traitor]. The Cardinal of Toledo was at Toledo, he of Cordova went among the rabble, giving them ill words and threats when they were in their highest ferment; they pushed him from one to another, till a body of priests and friars got round him and carried him off. In the morning at four o’clock all appeared quiet near the Conde’s house, the mob being separated of themselves and gone home, and about fifty reformed officers were placed in all the avenues near it.” *Copy.* (XII. 206–12.)

THE EARL OF PORTLAND to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

[1699,] May 1–11. Windsor.—“Je vous remercie, Monsieur, de vostre très agréable du 6me. La perte ne seroit pas grande quant deux des malades auroi[en]t pris le chemin de l’autre monde. Les gens veulent raisonner par tout et plus là où vous estes qu’ailleurs, je suis bien fâché d’y donner tant de sujet que celui de ma retraite, mais il n’y a point de remède. Je vous assure que par tout où je seray je seray vostre ami sincère, quoyqu’ inutile. Je ne croyois pas que vostre Gouverneur ne fust pas de mes amis; pour les deux frères je croy qu’il le sont entièrement. Je ne croy pas que vous resterez longtemps en France après l’arrivée de Milord Manchester.” (V. 51.)



MATTHEW PRIOR to [CHARLES] MONTAGUE.

[1699,] May 20. N.S. Paris.—“I am to acknowledge the kindness of your correspondence in the shape of a quarter on my ordinary and 750*l.* in part of my extraordinary. *I humbly thank your honor* is, you know, all the return I am capable of making. My Lord Jersey will, I presume, speak of my worship to you: if I come home as is designed, our project is to get something besides the seat in his office which may be permanent and atone for what I have at present in Ireland, which will certainly be taken from me unless I go thither, and to the effecting this I am sure you will be as glad to join, as my Lord to speak of it. I have a letter from Lord Manchester, whose commands I shall obey as I ought to do. The revolutions and changings of people’s employments and circumstances in England make great part of the discourse of Europe. My Lord Portland’s retiring is the present subject, which everybody excuses or blames as he thinks fit; I really have reason enough to be sorry for it.

“My friends in England have kindly married me to my Lady Falkland, and I am particularly obliged to the *Postboy*, who has printed it. I remember I jested with you once on that subject, but in truth never thought of it more than as a thing utterly impracticable. She is an old Troy that will not be taken in ten years, and though fifty strong fellows should get in to her by stratagem, they might e’en march out again at a large breach without being able to set her on fire, but one single sentinel as I am with a thin carcass and weak lungs might lie before her walls till I eat horse-hides and shoe-leather, unless you kindly sent me some refreshments from the Treasury.” *Copy.* (XII. 204-5.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to MR. TALBOT.

[1699,] May 20. N.S. Paris.—“I am glad to tell you, dear Sir, that I am able in some measure to answer the honour of your commands; the enclosed are the best Greek types here from Robert Stephens; the same that the Greek Louvre impressions are of; and which are only disposed of by the King of France’s own order. There is yet a middle letter between these two essays which I send, and a capital letter, better because bigger than the word Κωνσταντίνος. I have advanced so far by the intercession of some friends here and particularly of Mons. Clément, sous-bibliothécaire du Roy, and the Abbé de Louvois, as to presume that Mons. Pontchartrain and the Archbishop of Reims will consent for the good of learning in general that we may have what we desire of these characters; and upon a price agreed on, and a person sent over from the University for this purpose the thing may succeed; but the conditions they reciprocally desire from us are, that in the preface of some volume which we shall first print we shall own the obligation with some encomium of gratitude, that we shall give them in books from England what we propose

to pay them in money for these types, and keep up a kind of communication with them *propter bonum ac commodum reipublicæ literariæ*, and that we shall give them the way of making that ink in which the essays upon Horace and Virgil which you sent me are printed. You will be pleased to lay this before the University, and to do me the favour to add that in this or anything they have an absolute power to command me, and that, if I may contribute anything towards the improving and promulging the learning that flourishes there, I shall esteem myself less unhappy for having truanted so long in the noise and business of the world; you must give me leave to add the particular respect and friendship with which I am, etc." *Copy.* (XII. 198-9.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, May 20. N.S. Paris.—“I am so dead-hearted, my Lord, with your letter of the 1st instant that I know not if I can write sense or no. If the great respect which I bear to Your Lordship has made me never yet to dare to touch upon one certain chord, whilst I only heard talk of the thing by the doubts and surmises of other people, the concern I am now in, since you speak of it yourself, gives me an assurance which otherwise I should not have taken, which is to hope that all will yet be reconciled, and that I may long see my protector and patron at Court: after the resolutions of your own prudence and the advice of your friends what one can say at this distance would be very impertinent, but I should think that the nearness and friendship, which has been so long between His Majesty and Your Lordship, should be divided by nothing but your deaths, and this his service and your real satisfaction seem equally to desire: ‘il n’y a point de remède,’ dites vous, mi Lord, mais grand Dieu! n’y en a-t-il point aux maux que nous faisons nous mêmes? I dare not philosophise upon this saying of Your Lordship, but in everything there is such a mixture of good and ill that we must take them together, and if my Lord Portland will not suffer a Court upon these conditions, what is to become of those who are obliged to follow it upon harder? Your own family and your friends, my Lord, ought not to be forgotten upon this occasion, and the *Que diroit-on?* in relation to His Majesty ought to be a consideration at a time when my Lord Portland has thoughts of leaving him. You must pardon me, my Lord, that I venture to talk thus, and attribute it to the sincere desire I have that your affairs should go right and happy; and if there is a little mixture of interest to myself in this desire at a time when I know not well what will become of me, you will likewise forgive that too, and believe me in this one truth that, however my poor affairs may suffer by this great stroke, or in what station soever you may be, if you should retire (which I hope God will yet avert), I shall always remain with unchangeable truth and respect, etc.” *Copy.* (XII. 200-1.)



## LIEUTENANT MARK LYNCH.

1699, May 13[-23]. Paper headed :—The Information of Mark Lynch, Lieutenant of Foot in the Regiment of Albemarle, taken the 13th day of May, 1699.”

Alleging that about five months ago at Paris he, Lynch, became acquainted with one Matthew Wall, an Irishman, captain of a privateer in the French service during the late war, who told him at the latter end of March last that there was an opportunity for them to make their fortunes by joining in a design of burning the English fleet at Portsmouth and Chatham; as Mons. Pontchartrain would give them 50,000 *livres* for doing it. They and one Winter, a Swede or a Dane, whom Lynch never saw, but who was said to have been Wall's lieutenant on the privateer, were to take a house or lodging in Portsmouth, where they would be in seaman's apparel, and make artificial fires, or brimstone sheets as Wall called them, to set the ships on fire at the first opportunity of the wind and dark nights. They were also to burn the store-houses where the sails and cables were kept.

Wall shewed him two alleged commissions from the Morocco Ambassador for burning and taking English ships. Lynch ends by proposing that he should return to France to secure these commissions and further information about Wall and Winter, and hasten their journey into England; and place himself in communication with the English Ambassador. (V. 55.)

## [The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 15[-25]. Whitehall.—“It is very reasonable that you should have the maidenhead of the office, and you have it, for this is the first letter I write from thence; besides, whilst you are in France you are in my province, for Mr. Vernon will have it so. I have seen the Horse, but little passed between us, we are to meet to talk about the business. I have already prepared him for your coming hither, and I hope I shall get Mr. Stannion (Stanyan) away before him, though I do not expect that you should come till my Lord himself arrives. Mr. Vernon will send you directions about Mark Lynch; when you see him, pray endeavour to get out of his hands a paper that I wrote, in which I promise to see him safe into France; that being, he will want my paper no more.

“You will think of settling the best correspondence in France you can for the office against you come over. I wish you here, I assure you. I suppose my family will be here this night or to-morrow at furthest. It is impossible to imagine how unsettled I am, and how uneasy with my new employment.” (V. 56.)

## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 15[-25]. Whitehall.—“I gave you an account by last post of my Lord Jersey's arrival, he will now acquaint

you himself that he received the Seals on Saturday, and was sworn yesterday, and took his place at the Cabinet Council.

“ You have heard the whole story of Mark Lynch who came over with my Lord Jersey. His Lordship brought him to me, and he gave me the information whereof I send you a copy, you will find his secret is neither more nor less than what Mons. Torcy was informed of and communicated to my Lord Jersey, and that Mons. Torcy may be satisfied he had no more to say, His Majesty thinks it fit that you show them this information. You will perceive by it that this man has been imposed on by Wall, who, I believe, has been guilty of more tricks of this nature, and by the description given of him perhaps you will remember to have seen him or heard of him in Holland. Wall seems to have made a practice of discovering plots and stratagems that were of his own framing, and therefore I can’t but think him much more blameable than this poor deluded man, who still persuades himself that he was very cunning in diving into this mystery, and that he is entitled to great pretensions by it. One may judge of his abilities by his offering himself to go back to secure papers and commissions that are nowhere to be found, or if they were, it is a strong presumption in him to think he would be allowed to carry them on. On the other side we can do no less than suffer him to pursue his own windmills. It is not fit for him to stay here, and my Lord Jersey, as was reasonable, assured him of his liberty to return; he goes back with an imagination that he shall perform all he has undertaken, which might cost him dear, if there be not some consideration had of his weakness and simplicity; but that, I hope, you will manage in his behalf, that he be not undone by a bantering impostor. He will go away from hence in two or three days by the way of Dover; I will give him two or three lines to be delivered to you, and advise him to see you as soon as he can, that, when you have considered the circumstances of his case, you may think of some proper methods to prevent his ruin; but he must not be sent back hither, since we can do nothing either with him or for him.

“ I believe my Lord Jersey will write to you to get from him a paper that my Lord gave him under his hand.

“ I don’t trouble you with news, for that, I suppose, you receive from your own office.

“ I shall pay Mr. Powys the sum I told you of, out of which I suppose all disbursements will be discharged as well to Brocard as the rest.

“ My Lord Jersey will take care of all these payments for the future, and I understand he will write to you about it.”  
(V. 57.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 17[–27]. Whitehall.—“ I have yours of the 20th and 23rd: do with my watch as you will, or keep it till



I see you. I believe my Lord Portland designs to quit everything by degrees; he is already without the key, but still meddles with business, which gives him occasion sometimes to see the King, who will not dispose of the key in hopes to get his old servant back. I am sorry for what you say of our friend, but it is a very nice point to speak to him of. I fear there is too much truth in it. I find the King is very willing to have you come home, and I shall do what I can to dispatch Mr. Stannion to receive your instructions, though you must stay till my Lord Ambassador comes to relieve you. He says he makes what haste he can; he makes all his equipage here, which will have *l'air Anglois* undoubtedly. He told me that Mr. Montague would take care of your money concerns upon the receipt of your last letter. I wish everybody may do what I think will bring you over, for was I not Secretary, I should not be less glad to see you than I am. Mr. Lynch will ask you some subsistance upon my account; you may give him something, for I would not have him complain of me, and I suppose he will soon be taken out of your hands by Mons. Torcy.

"The sell almoniak [*sic*] and the drops which you receive, pray divide them in three equal parts and give to Mons. Tambenau, Mons. Villequer and Comte D'Evreux with my compliments to them. The family is just now arrived; il ne manque que vous.

"Pray remember the passport that Gardie wrote to you for.

"Pray make my compliment to Marquis St. Maurice."  
(V. 59.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, May 27. [N.S.] Paris.—"I was yesterday at Court performing the first acts of my Interregnum Ministry. Upon my alleging that the *réclameurs* of the English sloop sold *en Bretagne* had written to me again upon that subject, Mons. de Torcy assured me that the Court had written as effectually as they could to the *Procureur du Parlement de Bretagne*, that the *réclameurs* might have justice. This justice being rendered, if Mr. Seward and the others interested find any contravention in the judgment against the formal *statuts* and rules by which the *Parlement* proceeds in these cases, they may appeal to the *Conseil Royal* for a *cassation* of that sentence; of this I inform Mr. Seward very mildly. Mons. de Torcy has not ordered the taking up the two murderers, though the advice you gave him seemed particular enough.

"The next affair was that of Cooper. I had communicated to him the substance of Mons. de Marillac's letter to Mons. de Pontchartrain that, if any articles in Cooper's case were not thought to be sufficiently terminated by the *juges* that liquidated the whole, Mons. de Marillac would give Mons. de Pontchartrain the reason of what was done in every particular,

Cooper accordingly brought me yesterday an extract of the articles which he thought not fairly judged, which extract I gave to Mons. de Torsi, who will refer the consideration of it to Mons. de Pontchartrain, and the answer, which, I believe, will not be much more than what is already accorded, is the ultimate help he can give Cooper in this affair.

"Le Bas' pretensions are downright refused. Mons. de Torsy took occasion to tell me so in plainer terms than he had ever mentioned it to Your Excellency.

"For the seven last *galériens* for which you asked liberty, *néant*. They have deserted or are condemned for life (a good deal of which is true), and the King says he will release no more of these poor people. Mons. de Torsy will send your books to me as soon as they are bound.

"I am closeted and catechized about my Lord Portland's retreat by all the world from Mons. le Prince down to Callières. Thursday's letters are not yet arrived, they will tell us if my Lord designs to quit or no. Pomponne says the business will be yet accommodated, but this is Tallard's tattle.

"Let no man for the future value himself for having civilities showed him by this Court. Count Kniphuysen had on Sunday an order for the waters of Marly to play for him, Catinat was to wait on him and Breteuil, the house was open, chocolate and wine for his followers, and the same profusion of respect and tulips as the last year for my Lord Portland.

"This mighty civility is shewed to the Count for his being of Groningue, which province is not so well with the others, in so little things do these people shew themselves. The Count designs to go for England; pray remember he has been at St. Germain, and use him accordingly. I write to you as Secretary of State by way of prophecy as my Lord Arlington's picture pointed to the star.

"Puggies have communicated their compassion upon my account to their brother, and he has written a wise saucy letter in which he tells me in all circumstances he will be my friend. Lord, how mad I am with all the family! 'tis time not to detain you longer when one talks of these things." *Copy.* (XII. 214-17.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, May 30. [N.S.] Paris.—"Mr. Yard of the 11th tells me you are safely arrived at Windsor, and Mr. Vernon that the Seals wait for you at Kensington; we expect Monday's letters to-day, which may tell us more.

"*Swager* [brother-in-law, i.e., Portland], they say, will after all take consideration in his anger and be over persuaded to vex the King longer, as they think fitting.

"I have nothing worth troubling you with from hence; little *Gouverné* is parted from this town, in order to let the little children see him for nothing in England, and unfortunate Count Roussy has lost at Marli eleven hundred and sixty *louis d'or*.



"Bridgeman has done shaking his head in this world; Southwel, who was Clerk of the Council Extraordinary, succeeds as Ordinary; Vernon's son, green and gold, remains still an Extraordinary, and there may be a Povey, for ought I know, likewise Extraordinary. However the thing is 400*l.* a year and may be a certainty when more transitory honours pass. If you think it proper, you will (I am sure) ask it; may be you may rather secure me against Puggies' pity by making me such a thing as their brother is, and I would serve as an honorary in that commission till an advantage fell.

"Do as you please, the rule of my ambition shall be what you think proper.

"You have left an odour behind you that is very agreeable to my nostrils, and people talk so of your magnificence and economy that when you are a duke, it shall be put into your patent. Pizani buys six pounds of beef per day and one leg of mutton; the Marais is all up in arms, and the butcher will not serve him. I told Montdesert that they need not have made such a noise about the dresser-boards for that (as I heard) His Excellency had no great occasion for them. Good again! Adieu! my . . . Lord, as little Dick would have said. May all your affairs go as well as I wish them. I have not one word from Lord Manchester."

*Postscript.*—"I had forgot to tell you that my widow was scandalized at her being married to me by all the Gazettes in Europe.\* She is gone for England rude as a bear, and mad as hot weather can make her." *Copy.* (XII. 220-7.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 22[–June 1]. Whitehall.—"I have received yours of the 27th. I need not renew to you any directions about what was demanded before I came away. I know you will continue asking till you either obtain or have a flat denial, but I think you may very well press the taking up the two murderers, for it is really a shame to let a crime of that nature go so unpunished. My Lord Portland is gone to Windsor; he resolves never to take any employment, but to serve the King whenever His Majesty thinks fit; and hitherto he acts in business as usual, though I cannot think it will last long so. As yet both master and man think it will, but in my opinion—*n'en déplaîse à Mr. P.*—this way of proceeding must create a coolness which will end in an entire separation. The King intends to go for Holland Friday sennight.

"My Lord Tankerville has refused to be in the Admiralty, and the King this moment is endeavouring to get my Lord Bridgewater to be at the head of that Commission.

"I think I told you before that the King was very willing you should come home. I do not find that your friend Mr. Montague is against it. I hope you will find friends enough here not to repent the doing it. Mr. Stanion is dispatching, but I believe my Lord Ambassador moves more slowly. He

\* Cf. p. 342, *supra*.

talks a great deal, but concludes nothing. I believe I shall be a Governor, and shall pass my time this summer in Hyde Park : if you can come away before the warm weather leaves us, I will make hard shift rather than have you in town in summer : I believe John is writing below, but what God knows, for business here is little or none ; if there was less, I should not be sorry, for upon my word my new employment does not elevate me, though, I believe, it vexes others.

“ Pray let me know in what forwardness my looking-glass is. I thought Comte Kniphuysen had been long enough in France to be better known than I find he is. I long to have the swager [Portland] know how he has been entertained ; we have dined with Prince Miremont to-day. If such things often happen I shall get the gout.” (V. 61.)

The EARL OF PORTLAND to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1699,] May 22[–June 1 ]. Windsor.—“ J’ai bien receu, Monsieur, vos très agréables lettres, particulièrement celle du 20. Je vous crois si fort de mes amis qui je suis entièrement persuadé que tout ce que vous me dittes part du fonds de vostre cœur, ce qui m’oblige de vous répéter que je suis entièrement le vostre. Ce que je viens de faire estoit résolu longtemps devant que d’aller en France ; cependant vous estes témoing de la manière dont j’ai servi le Roy ; je feray de mesme tant que le bon Dieu me laissera la vie, et si l’honneur qui doit nous estre la chose la plus chère dans ce monde ici, m’a obligé de sacrifier mes intérêts et de prendre ce parti de changer ma condition, cela ne changera pas mon cœur. J’ay trop longtems servi le Roy et sa bonne cause, et aymé l’un et l’autre, et dans l’estat où je seray, je continueray tousjours dans les mesmes sentiments, considérant que les changements qui arrivent à mes affaires sont les effects de la seule chose en quoy le monde ne change pas, car il a esté sujet a l’inconstance depuis sa création. Pourquoi prétendrais je qu’il fust constant uniquement à mon esgart ? De tous ces discours que vous avez entendu dire, et des raisons ou prétextes que j’aurois pris pour me retirer, il n’en est pas un mot de vray ; il ne c’est [*sic*] rien passé depuis que je vous ay veu, qui m’aye obligé de quitter ; je puis dire que le Roy en est véritablement fâché, et cependant si vous pouviez sçavoir toutes mes circonstances, vous conviendriez avec moy que j’ay eu raison. C’est tout ce que je puis vous dire ; je vous prie d’avoir soin de justifier le Roy, qui ne m’a pas obligé de quitter, ni disgracié, mais que ce n’est que mon propre choix, et je vous conjure de ne vous pas montrer ami de la Fortune, mais de me continuer tousjours les mesmes sentiments que vous m’avez témoigné si souvent, et soyez assuré que partout où je seray, mesme dans la plus profonde retraite, vous y trouveriez un ami, inutile peut-estre, mais fort sincère.

*Postscript.*—“ Vous aurez esté surpris d’apprendre la mort de Mylord Westmorland, qui est beaucoup regretté.” (V. 62.)



J. SW[INFORD ?] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 22[–June 1]. London.—“I have yours of the 27th inst. [N.S.]. Mr. Cull tells me he has delivered the box to Sir William Trumbull’s housekeeper, who has sent it into the country to him. Madame Nancre’s gown has likewise been given to Monsieur Payzant, as it was directed, who will take care to deliver it to Madame La Varenne. *Président de Mesme’s* watch is with Quare, and will be done in a fortnight, when I shall send it by Mr. Stanyan, who says that he will be ready to go by that time ; he asked me about your coach and horses. I told him that they are very fit for him. I suppose he will write to you about it this post. As to Mrs. Skinner’s lace, it is at last found ; but Allen, the messenger, has been a great blockhead, for he delivered the packet to the master of the packet-boat, and he to the postmaster at Dover, and it not being in the mail, they at the post-house here examined it very closely, and broke it open and brought it to Mr. Hopkins, to whom it was directed, with a reproof for receiving such packets under his cover. He protested that he did not know from whom it came, nor desired to know ; and so it lay by him till I enquired after [it]. You will please to make an excuse to Mr. Hopkins.

“I delivered the tobacco-box to my Lord Dorset ; he is very well and longs to see you.

“My Lord Portland is still at Windsor, He was summoned to the Cabinet Council last night but did not come ; it is said he will soon go for Holland. He has only given up the key, which is not yet disposed of ; the rest of the places he keeps as yet, good reason why. Some say that the King will endeavour to make him take the key again, which we shall soon see. The other [Albemarle] is very great and more than ever. Our Lord [Jersey] is very well in favour, and so all will go well ; he told me this morning in presence of Yard to bring my *escritoire* to the office, and Rowley and I are to be in one room, and this is all he told me.

“I received but this afternoon the stuff for Comte Frise’s coat ; the silk for the waistcoat I shall have to-morrow, when I will deliver it to him with the toothpick-case. The captain was forced to tell the Custom-house officers that it was for himself.

“You will do very well to order Mr. Powys to pay the money upon the note I have from you, for your creditors begin to dun me.

“I suppose you will be sorry to hear my Lord Westmorland died last Friday night.” (V. 65.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, June 3. [N.S.] Paris.—“On Monday night I caught Mons. Pomponne alone at Versailles, the Court being at Marli. I gave him M[ark] L[ynch]’s information as I had translated it into French, and written it over in my own hand. I told

him what had passed upon L[ynch]'s subject in England, that I would inform him when L[ynch] returned, who would, as I thought, apply himself to me, and that they might do with him as they thought proper. Pomponne says, having read the deposition, that it was just the same thing as L[ynch] had said already here, that he would ask the King's pleasure about him, and speak to me again about it.

"Mons. de Pomponne had not known before that your province was the south ; *il en étoit fort ravi, car assurément les choses iront bien qui passeront entre les mains d'un si parfaitement honnête homme que Milord Jersey* ; but for my Lord Portland he is, as you know they all are, *au désespoir*.

"I have the honour of yours of the 17th O.S. I do not forget the passport ; but there was some religion in the case that hindered the King's signing or ordering the signing it on Sunday. I am promised it for to-day, and will send it as soon as I receive it.

"I have the Sal Almoniac and drops, which I distribute as your orders and your friends' vapours require ; these people have imaginary ills, but my poor Lady Sandwich has a real one, which is a continual fever and so bad a one as that her life is in danger. The ablest physicians here were yesterday in consultation with Morelli about her, and as far as I hear this morning, there is more fear than hopes of her life.

"My widow is run away like Medea in *Thésée* in great violence and heat ; a week's solitude (before she sees London), as her own fountains, may cool her.

"Mons. St. Maurice is much your servant ; the man has more sense than all this nation. What I wrote to you last post about being clerk of the Council was, I see, pure speculation and like those houses one sometimes builds without ever removing one stone, for brother Stanyan has it, so I have only to beg your pardon for having troubled you with an impertinence. Stanyan thinks it reasonable that he should be assured of an employment at home before he condescends to relieve me. Yard thinks it madness for me to return till towards Michaelmas, because he may be Secretary of the Regents in the meantime ; and Stepney has a thousand pounds a year at home for playing at one-and-thirty-bone-ace with the Electress at Berlin, and wonders what makes me think of going into England at all. This is the world, and makes one laugh ; but whilst I have the honour to be *de la famille*, I am infinitely satisfied, and it is the blessing of my life that they cannot dispute the justice I have to be, more than any man alive, your servant."

*Postscript.*—"I hear not one word more of Lord Manchester more than what you are pleased to tell me. I think he takes no more care to come to his Embassy than hocus-pocus\* to return from his. His John Trotts in green liveries not fit for them will never do here, but let him look to that. I wish His

\* John Methuen, recently appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Cf., pp. 80-1, 82, 110, *supra*, and Jersey's letter of Aug. 15[-25], 1699, p. 375, *infra*.



Excellency well and soon here. Mr. Mountagu has had mercy on me, but must have more.

"Enclosed you have one of the medals which the Jacobites are shortly to have in England. There is nothing stirring amongst them here worth sending." *Copy.* (XII. 224-7.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 25[–June 4]. Whitehall.—"I have had so little time hitherto that I have not told you how I like being here, and I will put it off a little longer till I am more at leisure. The King goes to-morrow sennight for Holland; according to the usual custom there will be some changes. The Admiralty is already settled: my Lord Bridgewater, Sir Robert Rich, Sir George Rooke, Lord Haversham and Sir David Mitchel. These five compose the commission, which before was of seven. My Lord Tankerville, I believe, will be of the Treasury under your friend. I said nothing last post of poor Lord Westmorland, but I am sure you know how much I am concerned for him. Lord Portland has been in town; he saw the French Ambassador, gave an account of his negotiation to the King, and is returned to his lodge at Windsor. I wonder I had no letter from you last post, methinks you should not plead the having nothing to say. I must mind you again of the passport that Gardie wrote to you for from Calais. *Mes compliments je vous prie à Mons. Vryberg*, and to others, if you think they deserve it. I am what I have been since first I knew you."

*Postscript.*—"I am mightily at a loss, Gaugain being gone to his pupil in Holland; pray give me your advice upon that matter." (V. 66.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, May 29[–June 8]. Whitehall.—"Your letters of the 30th of May and 3rd of June arrived yesterday. I suppose you have seen L[yn]ch by this time, and that he himself is sensible how he has been imposed on. He will give you the best description of Wall and where he may be met with, if you have a mind to renew your acquaintance. By the account he gives of him it should be the same you have seen in Holland.

"You will have an account from other hands that Mr. Stanyon is making himself ready for his journey. I wish my Lord Manchester may give you the same satisfaction in his diligence. Now I have parted with all I can to accommodate you, and have no longer the care of the province on my hands, I have no more to do but to wish you here." (V. 67.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, June 10. N.S. Paris.—"The great respect which I always have had and shall always continue to have for Your

Lordship was the reason that I durst not trouble you upon a subject of which only your own prudence is the proper judge ; and what I have ventured to say of it was from my wishing well to His Majesty's service in general and to Your Lordship's affairs in particular, and my desire that everything might go to your satisfaction, which I pray most heartily may be yet effected, and that is all I can possibly contribute to it.

"Mons. le Grand is at Royaumont. I make Your Lordship's compliment to Count Marsan, who is, I think, very heartily your friend.

"My Governor has very wild notions which no reasoning will drive out of a head of 60.

"I was yesterday at Court ; there was no manner of news. I went afterwards to St. Cloud.

"Monsieur asked very kindly concerning you ; he says, *tout cela se raccommode* ; I told him I wished with all my heart it might do so, but that I had reason to fear it from Your Lordship's last letters ; my Lady Portsmouth is at St. Cloud for four days ; I have given her the letter.

"I confess I had rather hear Your Lordship talk of Admirals and Chamberlains than of the dearness of grain and the scarcity of corn ; one may plant and sow, my Lord, when one is good for nothing else, and I had rather have seen you cultivate men by your orders and see them promoted under your protection than know you have the best gardener and the finest fruit and flowers in Christendom." *Copy.* (XII. 238-9.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1699, June 1-11.] Whitehall.—"The King goes away this evening by reason of the heats, or to-morrow morning, and it is easily to imagine the hurry I am in. I go with the King to Margate ; when I am come back, I will write to you more at leisure of everything. The Commission of Ireland is changed : Duke of Bolton, Earl of Berkeley and Earl Galloway are of it, what will become of you I know not ; as to your concerns in that kingdom you may be sure I shall watch your interest there and everywhere that I can. Your Ambassador I find has a mind to saunter here a little longer, though I shall press his going as much as I can. The King has given him 3,000*l.* extraordinary for his equipage. The *beau Stanion*, I believe, will quickly be with you. I know not if I have acknowledged yours of the 30th of May, and 3rd and 6th of June.

"My Lord Portland is in town ; that *entre deux*, as you say, I think cannot last. I am really very glad that Lady Sandwich is better. Since I am here I think her more in the right as to many things than ever ; *on n'est guère poli ici, je vous assure, mais que faire !* Pray make my excuse to Mons. St. Maurice for not answering his letter ; this hurry will not last always. I am faithfully yours." (V. 68.)



## JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 5 [-15]. Whitehall.—“I have your letter of the 10th inst. to acknowledge, and can't but wish that M[ark] L[ynch] may come off with being laughed at. Easiness and credulity seem to have been his greatest faults, and his intentions were rather to prevent mischief than to join in it. His hopes to make a fortune by it are certainly more pardonable than Wall's impudence, who pretends to recommend himself by making a jest of both nations.” (V. 69.)

## [The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 5[-15]. Whitehall.—“Stanyon is dispatched everywhere, and as I am told will set forward next Saturday. My Lord Manchester talks of doing the same the end of the month, but I scarce believe it, for he seems much embarrassed with this great affair. I have orders to press him, which I shall not fail to do. I do not wonder at his endeavouring to persuade you to stay where you are; though we both desire to have you, I doubt if it proceeds from the same motive. But to be more particular in what relates to you, I will first tell you that I cannot disagree with those of your friends who think that the employment you have gives you a title to something better than a desk to write at in the office; but on the other side I cannot think that it is for your interest to stay abroad unless you ambition an envoyship to some *petit-prince*, which you may as easily obtain from hence. But if you desire to be settled at home, I know no so sure way as the first getting hither. The King is willing you should come; and be assured that you shall be very welcome to me; I wish it may be always as much your interest as it is my inclination that we may never part. I have spoke to my Lord Berkeley to secure you your office in Ireland till the King has done something for you here; he will be your friend. The Duke of Bolton, though in the Commission, does not think of returning very quickly, nor will not be much pressed to it; I do not doubt but he may be made your friend if there is occasion for it, so that I think we have two to one of our side. I say all this because I heard at my first coming that the Justices had said that the business could not be done with one secretary, but that was perhaps in order to say that the three Justices should likewise reside. Since I am no more in the Commission, and the Duke desirous to saunter here, I suppose all this will be at an end. Now that I have told what relates to yourself, be assured that I shall be watchful in everything that relates to you. Your widow is got to her retirement very angry, I am told, at the report of her marrying; she was very ill at Dover, but the proverb will save her. I hope my Lady Sandwich is quite recovered. At Paris I did not think I was so much her humble servant as I find I really am, but one never knows a happiness till one misses it. Pray persuade her to come home, but only because it is home. I promised her to

talk of Paris to her, and I shall very faithfully keep my word with her. My Lord Portland stays here till a yacht returns from Holland for him. I am glad that France begins to be a little reasonable upon his subject ; to do him justice, they cannot be too much so ; as for the Maréchal your friend, let him still ask questions and be never the wiser. I always thought Brown mad, but why he is at Calais I cannot tell ; I never saw him since we parted at Chantilly ; Mr. Swinfort writes to him to go to Paris. The Horse\* nor his man must not be too much trusted with the faithful, but of that when I have another way of writing, for I know not if Brown is still at Calais. I will write what I think you can hear from the office, but nobody can tell you how much I am yours." (V. 70.)

[THE EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 8[-18]. Whitehall.—“Now that the King is absent, I hope there will happen little news to send. Tranquillity is what everybody desires till Parliament, and then it cannot be expected. I will write to you by Mr. Stanyon about the faithful.

“I have heard nothing about my Lord Ambassador since the King went ; you know that now appointments run on. My Lord Portland and the French Ambassador stay here for the return of the yachts to convey them to Holland. The French Ambassador has demanded one Girard Bedford, prisoner in Newgate ; I am to tell him that he shall be released provided they will release Peter Peraut, who[m] we have formerly asked without success ; but he has a poor wife here who moves compassion, and I should be very glad if they would allow of this exchange. If you should have forgot<sup>d</sup> the case, the enclosed paper will inform you, but may be it will not be proper for you to move in it till you hear that Mons. Tallard has wrote about it.

“I do not expect to be much in the mind of people in France, but I would not have Mons. Torci forget me till he sends me the books. *Je voudrois que vous me commandies une paire de seaux d'argent de la valeur de 1600 ou 1700 francs d'un autre façon que ceux de Mons. de Breteuil, mais faits par le même homme Balain.*

“I go this evening to lie at my lodge to be out of the dust. I am sorry I cannot have your company there.” (V. 74.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, June 20. [N.S.] Paris.—“The post comes in now so regularly that one always receives Monday's letters on Saturday mornings about an hour before the post goes away again. It is so with me this moment, I receive the favour of yours of the 5-15 and am glad by it to hear that Your

\* A cipher name, standing apparently for Lord Manchester. Cf. pp. 356-7, 362, 369, *infra*.



Lordship has received all mine. I grow very peevish with my friend's sentiments, envoyships, strange stuff, to go hern-hawking with a Duke of Zell or succeed Stepney when he is weary of soliciting for Dankleman's pardon. I will live with you, my Lord, with a desk, or without one. I lived with you at The Hague, I returned with you into England, I was to have gone with you into Ireland, I stayed for you in France, I long to come to you in England, and I will never go from thence till you send me. My obligations to you are unspeakable, and so is my zeal for your service. What would people have? This is my case, I will print it, and shew it to mankind, and I will be happy in receiving your commands, whether they will or no. So the Horse need not neigh any longer or his man be discreet in a coffee-house (as I hear he is) upon that subject. Your speaking about my Irish affair, and endeavouring to settle it to my advantage is but an ordinary effect of your goodness to me, and what I am convinced of by ten thousand instances; but your writing two pages to me so particularly about it is what I could not expect even from you. I dare not be eloquent upon this subject, I know you would presently say, 'O good Mr. Prior, no compliments!' but you cannot forbid me thinking of it as I ought to do, for all the absolute power you have over me. *Parlons d'autres choses.*

"My Lady Sandwich is out of danger, but looks thin and has so many abbés about her that to answer their fine nonsense exhausts her spirits, and will give her (literally, as the widow says) a relapse. My Lord is eclipsed for this five days past, but this is a great secret, they always say he is rid out or gone a-hunting, but we think he is gone privately to England for coin, and that, if he had not done so, his honour would have been in the same circumstances with Davenant; 'tis incredible to think what these people have run out, or what a dog the Abbé du Bois has been to them. Madame Ficquett had her beautiful head struck off yesterday, and has done me the favour to make half my news' letter this morning. I had not the heart after all to see the execution, but those who had said no heroine ever died with such resolution. She underwent the tortures without confessing of her lover, though everybody thinks he was concerned in the thing. She was not bound upon the scaffold, she tied up her own hair, and would let the executioner touch her no otherwise than just to cut down her waistcoat, that he might separate her head with more ease. She had one stroke that cut her head about half off, and tumbled her along, and the fellow gave her seven blows when she was down. These are great particularities, my Lord, and good instances of my diligence in informing myself of what passes in my province. Farewell, my Lord, my affairs can never go wrong, whilst you continue me the favour to be absolutely your servant,"

*Copy.* (XII. 255-8.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 12[-22]. Whitehall.—“I have received your letters of the 13th and 19th June. I have sent to inquire after Wallis, and when I know where he is, I know not what to do with him.

“The Commission for Ireland could not agree with one of the same nature for England, and Secretary at the same time. To have taken the power out of Crop’s\* hands would have made too great a change at present in that Government. I do not believe he will be able to hold it long if the Parliament here is not diverted by something nearer to us, but that shall not be my concern provided the whole goes well. I am glad you have writ to the little Duke and Earl Berkeley. I hope your affairs in Ireland will continue as they are till something here is found for you that you may depend on as a settlement, that Puggies may pity you no more.

“My Lord Manchester says he will certainly go the first week in July, how he will answer all your Maréchal’s questions God knows. Mr. Stanyon goes to-morrow, he is to be the bearer of this. I know little more of him than his figure, and that, I suppose, will please the ladies. I think that you had not best trust him with all the faithful at first since I am to pay them, and that you can find any other way of corresponding with them. I suppose you intend to turn old Jannison over to my Lord Manchester. If you can engage him to write to you when anything of consequence occurs, well, he shall be considered for it. I think you have two more of the faithful; the best of them keep to yourself, and settle a correspondence with him either by Mr. Stanyon or any other way, if you can find one that would be better; the other faithful I think you should discover to Mr. Stanyon, when you have known him a little while and that you see he is fit to be trusted; but now that I have told my opinion, you know I leave the management of this to you, only pray take care to settle some good correspondence, that one may not be wholly ignorant of matters there. I fear that, when you are come away, we shall never hear from Comte St. Maurice, at least not anything of moment. I wish you could engage him in a correspondence, but you must have a care of what you propose to him, for he is a man of honour and I fear will not be a spy, though he is dissatisfied where he is. I hope by this time you are got rid of Lynch, for at long run we know what is to be his fate, and in the meantime it is so much money thrown away. Master is come from Cambridge to see us; I am in the greatest pain about him in the world; I am sorry he ever went thither, and I know so little what to do with him, that at present he must return thither. I have already writ to you about this business, which is a very great burden to me, and am impatient to have your advice on it. He improves so little, or rather loses his time, where he is, that I have some thoughts of sending him the latter

\*A cipher name standing apparently for the Duke of Bolton. Cf. pp. 369, 375-6, *infra*.



end of the summer to Geneva with Mons. Girard till some better body can be found to send to him, which, I think, is not likely to be unless Lord Strange comes home, or that Gaugene can or will disengage himself. I cannot tell what to say to my picture, but that scarf, elbow-chair, *portefeuille*, and scrivener's shop is such a *mélange* that I should never have thought of. I love things more simple, and would have been contented to have leant upon a table, but do not be uneasy at what I say, for I think, as you do, that if he alter it, he will make it worse.

"I have had a letter from Breteuil, but what is worse I must answer it when I have leisure. A Secretary of State makes friends in France and enemies here, that is the difference; and was it not as you say, *il faut passer par là*, it would be impossible to endure it. I know not if France makes any return to me or not, but I own to you that I like it much better than I dare own.

"Your widow is come, and I believe has ventured her pretty person in the dust of London, for I hear that some of the women have seen her. She says my Lady Jersey is not dressed in the fashion, but 'I am right,' she cries, meaning her own person. Pray desire my Lady Sandwich to make haste over to befriend my Lady Jersey, for your widow says she has neither *mantoue* [*sic*], petticoat, *commode*, nor anything in fashion. Judge what a mortification that is for a lady so newly come from France.

"Pray thank Mons. Tamboneau for remembering us and everybody else that gives you the trouble by such an inquiry. If you find that Comte Marsan will not think it too great a freedom in me, I would send him sack by the Ambassador, but you must enquire this out with a *politesse française*." (V. 75.)

#### LORD GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 13-23. Au Château de Dublin.—"Depuis que nous avons su que nous ne devons plus espérer de vous voir ici, et que vous étiez destiné, en quittant la France, à venir servir le Roy, dans l'office de Mylord Jersey, nous nous sommes cru obligés de pourvoir au poste, que vous deviez remplir en ce pays, et nous avons jugé que nous ne pouvions mieux jeter les yeux que sur Mr. May, qui en a si bien fait les fonctions en votre absence. Je vous assure, Monsieur, que c'est avec beaucoup de regret que je me vois privé du plaisir, et du secours, que je m'étois promis, quand nous vous aurions auprès de nous; mais j'espère au moins que nous entretiendrons correspondance." *Signed*.

*Endorsed by Prior* :—"My Lord Gallway's sentencing letter, acknowledged the 1-11 July, 1699." (V. 78.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, June 24. [N.S.] Paris.—"I am so afraid that these people break open my letters, and so desirous to get rid of

Mr. Brown that I take this occasion to send him away and to speak to you freely of our affairs here.

"First as to Marc Lynch; the man was with me on Saturday night, he said that the Tuesday before, which was yesterday sennight, he was at Versailles with Wall, that Wall did there speak with Mons. de Torcy above stairs in his own apartment, by the same token that Mons. de Heemskirk dined that day with Mons. de Torcy, and that Mons. de Torcy spoke with Wall just as he rose from dinner, that Wall spoke with Mons. de Pomponne that same day in the apartment below, and that Wall said to Lynch that the subject of his discourse with each of these Ministers was to concert the affair which Lynch has already declared, but that he [Lynch] knew this only from Wall's having told him so; that Wall had an audience the next morning of Mons. de Pontchartrain, and that Pontchartrain had ordered Wall to come as [on] Friday last to his house of Pontchartrain, where he might discourse matters more fully with him. Lynch added that he would go with Wall accordingly on Friday to Pontchartrain. Yesterday I had audience of the Ministers Pomponne and Torcy together, and (to show you how able a Minister I am) I first described Wall as well as I could from the detail Lynch had given me of him, desiring to know if upon any account of arrears of a ship given to him in the war, or by way of solicitation for anything relating to the marine, such a man as Wall had been with either of them; they both said that neither that day, or for some weeks before, any Englishman had had any audience from either of them, or that they could call to mind Wall or any person of his character. From hence, my Lord, it follows that there is knavery mixed with Lynch's folly, for Lynch (as I have said) told me that he saw both Pomponne and Torcy at a distance when Wall came from them, though he did not hear what Wall said to these Ministers, whereas they both perfectly say that they neither spoke to or saw Wall; and Wall speaking to three several Ministers of France upon the same subject, and which ought in itself to be the greatest secret, and Pontchartrain after this appointing Wall to come to him alone at his country-house is, as I think, a perfect chimera. I have not seen Lynch since Saturday. I have given Mons. de Torcy an account where he lodges; they will have an eye upon Wall, and Lynch will not be taken up till Wall is. Lynch, I expect, will be with me again, though I think from what has been already said one may reasonably conclude him a cheat. You will be pleased to send me your opinion as to my procedure in this affair, and your commands as to how much farther I should carry it.

"As to the faithful, here is first Bra[conier], the man that having done service during the war, was suspected here and put into the Bastille, where he remained four years; he addressed himself to my Lord Portland, and was told by him that from me he should know what the King of England



designed for him ; his affair is only with one correspondent, who has promised, if anything very considerable happens, to give notice of it to Mons. Bra[conier], and for such notice given this correspondent expects a very great reward. My Lord M[ancheste]r, I think, need know nothing of this correspondence, since as to smaller matters Bra[conier] will write to me, and if an occasion of consequence should happen, he will come himself ; I add to this that neither the correspondent or Bra[conier] desire to have to do with anybody else. I have given Bra[conier] fifty pounds of the last money Mr. Vernon returned me, and will give him something more before I come away, as that money may hold out, and he must have money from time to time transmitted to him ; but of this I shall have time enough to speak with you when I have the honour to see you. Brocard, as we call him, is Tr . . . , an Irishman encouraged by Mr. Vernon ; his pretended business is merchandise of English things, as stockings, hats, etc., under which notion he gives our friends at St. Germain an account of things in England ; he is well with them, and particularly with my Lord Middleton's party. It was this man that amused us all last winter with a story of a fellow sent into England by Frank Stafford ; however, though he has not been very useful, he may be so : he costs us between two and three hundred pounds per year. I think to give him two or three addresses under which he shall write to me, and since upon pretext of business he may come once or twice a year into England, I will encourage his so doing, the chit-chat of St. Germain being his forte ; and if anything extraordinary should happen, he may write it and bring it to Mr. Stanyan, who may dispatch an express. I will therefore let Stanyan see the man, and tell him only that when that person brings him a letter, Stanyan should accordingly send an express ; or Brocard shall enter as far with Lord Manchester as you think good, though I find him most willing to close with the method which I propose.

"Baily, who is Jo[hnstoj]n, and related to the Secretary of that name, has a great mind to be at home, and has written to Mr. Alexander Johnson for that purpose ; he is a parson disguised, a cunning fellow and a true *débauché*, he is upon the merit of 2 *louis* a week, and picks up what they are doing at St. Germain ; for the time he will be here, I will turn him over to Stanyan if you think good.

"Jannisson as to his ordinary correspondence of who goes and who comes, may he not be given over to Stanyan and paid by my Lord Manchester, as they may agree the matter ? But when he knows anything of more consequence I have ordered him to write it, under cover of some names I will give him, to me.

"My widow Langlois and her two daughters Stanyan may have ; I think the old woman is a cunning jade as lives, and will pump him in his turn if he is not upon his guard ; if he

visits her, as he should do, he may know something of most of the rogues and priests about Paris that have any dealings at St. Germain. One of the daughters will jilt him to death if he is very civil and says fine things to her, but if he claps one hand upon her mouth and t'other up her coats, she will eat him *bouveau* and lay with him (as I have heard say), but this is his concern.

"The poor people of St. Germain, especially the Protestants amongst them, had rather venture hanging for coming home than be sure of starving for staying there. Amongst these some have applied themselves to me: the suspended Bishop of Galway in Scotland, who has a mind to try if in Ireland he could get bread (he is a scholar, has the reputation of an honest man, and, I think, is neither designing or capable of doing harm); Menize, a scholar and a man that (as you see) does not want, since he would take the oaths; there is another scholar, one Hamilton, in the same condition. I can only say in this case that if these men had the King's mercy, he would be better beloved at St. Germain than King James is; I am too young a politician to say *pour* or *contre*, nor would I pretend to intercede with you in a matter of this nature. I will only say that, if any of these people did come, home, I would have them own the kindness to you, because I would have everybody love you.

"I shall obey the directions which you give me in yours of the 8th as to Gerrard Bedford to be returned for Peter Perauld, who is very happy to find a case so parallel to his own, for yesterday I asked Mons. de Torcy for an answer to the memorial you gave in about some galley-slaves, and to which I had added some others, which came to my knowledge since your going, and Torcy told me there was no answer, and that we had asked for a great many, but Adams told me plainly by way of an *entre nous* that they would give up no more galley-slaves, and that it would be in vain for my Lord Manchester to give in any memorials upon that subject.

"I spoke to Mons. de Torcy concerning the two Irishmen suspected to be companions in the murder and piracy at St. Malo. He said he had already spoken to Mons. Pontchartrain to give orders for their arrest, but did not know if those orders had been executed. He took a note of it, that he might remember to speak again. I do not see that he is much in haste about this arrest, and I think it is pretty indifferent to Mr. Leward if the thing be taken notice of or no, provided the cargo be retrieved. You will see by the man's letter to me that he complained, as most English people do, without a cause. I hear nothing from my Lord Manchester, and nobody asks if he is to come or no. As to private matters I have found an original of the Duchess of Burgundy of Lar[g]jilières; 'tis very like her. I have obliged him to let me have a copy of his own drawing, and it will accordingly be done. The three boys have not been drawn these two



days ; Troye did them last ; they are not very like, or if they ever were, the children are so changed that they are not so now. If you would have copies taken of them however, you shall be obeyed. The King and the Dauphin you remember you will have from Rigault, who does not much advance your portraits.

"I will bespeak the *seaus* ; those for the Baron will be done in a fortnight ; about that time it will be convenient (if you please) to think of money for the *glace* for Rigault, and for the other commissions which you have given or may give me." *Copy.* (XII. 263-72.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 15[-25]. Whitehall.—"I wrote last post to you by the *Beau* [Stanyan]. Pray take care what you say to him about your coming back. I find the Horse and his man would fain continue to keep you there till the audience is over, and I think they have more a mind to do it, because you have no mind to stay, but it is best to be easy in this matter and say nothing, and I think it will not be in their power to keep you longer than was first intended. I suppose Mr. Blathwayt will not venture to send you an order to stay without first acquainting me with it. You see I might have spared this letter by what is in it, but I had a mind to acknowledge yours of the 20th and to tell you that I am yours." (V. 80.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 19[-29]. Whitehall.—"I think as to the affair of L[ynch] you are to let the French Ministers act in it as they think fit, taking always care that the cheat that was designed for us may be punished as well as that which was designed to their prejudice.

"As for the faithful, I think what I wrote by the *Beau* to be almost your sense in that matter, so I need say no more than to advise you to keep the most useful to yourself, and turn the other over to my Lord Ambassador.

"I can say nothing of the Bishop nor of others in his circumstances, till I have a little considered of it.

"You may speak about Peter Perault, and Gerard Bedford, to the Ministers, for I have now proposed the change to the French Ambassador.

"I like very well to have a copy of the Duchess of Burgundy's picture, since it is like, and since those of the boys are not like I do not desire to have them. I will take care to send you money for the things I have writ for. Pray tell Mons. Rygault that the six weeks are near being expired. Mons. de Vilat, a French officer, has desired me to speak to you to bring him over between four and five hundred *louis d'or* in specie, which I think you will not refuse.

"The Comtesse de Maillé has writ to me for a pass to come into England. Pray let her know that a pass from me will signify nothing; if she intends to come into England, she must get a license from the King.

"I know Mr. Yard sends you the news of the town, though I cannot help telling you that poor Madame Mazarine is dying, if not dead. Your widow did us the honour of a visit this afternoon at the lodge; she is not likely to die, I assure you. She has had a brother dead since she has been here, the town says he has left her money. She was dressed all in white, a mourning becoming her age and person and very proper for the season.

"By this time the Irish Parliament is dissolved without calling another, so that for some time there will need neither of justices nor secretaries.

"The enclosed papers will inform you of the reason of the delays of the letters to Paris; you must speak to Mons. Pomponne about it, and desire that a courier may be always ready to bring away the letters as soon as they arrive at Calais (according to the Article), and that they may not lie at Calais till the ordinary post goes, which sometimes occasions a delay of twenty-three hours, if the packet comes in just after the post is gone, for then the letters stay till that post goes the next day." (V. 81.)

The POSTMASTERS-GENERAL (R. Cotton and Tho. Frankland)  
to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, June 19[-29]. General Post Office, London.—"We have enquired into the cause of the irregular delay of the English mail between Calais and Paris. It proceeds from the methods of conveying it; for they send it by the ordinary Calais post, which goes out about three in the afternoon every day, so that, if the mail be landed at four the day before, it may lie twenty hours before it is despatched. This is directly contrary to the obligation of the second article of the Post Office Treaty concluded in June last between the two Offices of England and France."

"Upon several occasions we have applied for redress to Mons. Léon Pajot who signed the treaty; but he having for these many months affected an obstinate silence, we now think it proper to address ourselves to Your Lordship and to desire Your Lordship to write to His Majesty's Minister at Paris to insist by a memorial to Mons. de Pomponne (with whom as Postmaster-General the treaty was made and ratified by him) that the delay of the mails may be remedied."

"We for our parts have exactly complied with our obligation in this particular; for whensoever the French mail arrives at Dover, it is immediately horsed and carried for London."

*Copy endorsed by Prior*:—"A Mem[orial] drawn upon this letter and given in to Mons. Pomponne, July 3-13, 1699." (V. 82.)



[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 22[–July 2]. Whitehall.—“I have received yours of the 27th. I find that Mr. Stanyan was not then arrived, though he said he would be as soon as the post. I am glad to hear that Mr. Montague has been as kind to you as you desired, but I do not know why you say he has reason to be angry at your coming home, for I should be sorry to have you do anything that reasonably could be found fault with. I do not hear that my Lord Manchester is in such forwardness to be able to go so soon as he says.

“If what Mons. Adams writes you had been sooner put in execution, neither of those rogues would have escaped. I send you back his letter not knowing but it may be of more use to you than me. Pray take care of your eyes, for I shall have use of them, though it is but to walk about.

“I go to-morrow to see a place near Tunbridge called Summer Hill; I believe I shall buy it; you see what trifles I write; but here is nothing else; I wish it may continue so, though I am always put to it to know what to write to you. My compliments to all my friends from Comte Marsan to Tamboneau; they are a good sort of people to live with, though the swager likes none of them nor their way. I suppose they will bear it if he retires in earnest. It is no secret that Lord Sandwich is here, though I have met with none that has seen him. John lies in town, because of the office, but with whom you may guess. Kat’ lies at Hyde Park. In talking just now with Mr. Montague about you, for I have seen him at Council since my letter was begun, he said he hoped he should see you here by the latter end of July; that being, you need not trouble yourself what his son-in-law says. Madam Mazarine died this morning at eight o’clock, after giving some hopes of her recovery these two or three last days. It is what we all must do, the later the better.” (V. 83.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 26[–July 6]. Whitehall.—“I have received yours of July the 1st. I am glad the *Beau* is come to you. I find you learn little from him; I fear he is mistaken even in my Lord Manchester’s journey, and that it will be the end of next month before he gets to Paris at soonest. I believe it is necessary you should have some letter of revocation, and it shall be taken care of. It will be most civil to my Lord Manchester to send that letter by him. I reckon that it will be necessary that you should stay a fortnight after my Lord’s arrival to carry him to his private audience, and to show him the way to Versailles. I am not against your coming home by the way of Holland, since you have a mind to it, and that you say it shall make so little difference in your return hither; if you continue in the same mind, let me know some time before you come away, that I may acquaint the King with it, who, I suppose, will not be against it.

"Pray take care how you enter into matter with the Comte, for it is a very nice matter and better not attempted than ill done. Master is returned to the College, I am in the same uncertainty I was about him ; I wish you had an answer from your two friends on this subject, but I scarce expect that Gaugain should disengage himself.

"I hope that what is now in hand for me at Paris will be done before you come away, for I shall not care to leave the charge of them to any other. Pray make Madame de Croissy some compliments from me when she sees the glass.

"I suppose Clément, the library-keeper, must have something like a present for the stamps, which you may do at your discretion. I will send you money time enough for everything.

"I know not what it is, but I cannot bear Mr. Stepney any ill will ; for his ill nature I pity him.

"I hope Mr. Stanyan will be satisfied that you thank him from me for his letter without any other answer. Pray do as much or more to Mr. Davenant for his civil letter to me." (V. 84.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 29[–July 9]. Whitehall.—"I have received your letter of July the 4th. I am very glad to hear you are so fairly rid of Lynch without his knowing you were in a plot against him. I think you did very well to tell Mons. Pomponne that His Majesty would leave him to the justice of that place, neither do I believe that you will receive any orders to the contrary. I suppose they will tell you from time to time how they proceed against the parties. On your side, pray observe if Wall is used as a criminal, or as one who discovered and is only clapped up to blind others.

"I had yesterday a visit from your Ambassador whilst I was in my retreat at the Lodge. The old Maréchal never asked so many questions ; in all his discourse I could not find when he intends to be with you. I told him that it might happen that he would not have his private audience before the Court went to Fontainebleau, if he was not at Paris at least a fortnight before it removed thither. I could not bring him to fix any time ; the appointments now run on, and I believe the latter end of the next month is the soonest that he thinks of going from hence.

"Brown tells me that he is sure that Arnold, who was in prison at Calais, is removed to the Bastille. I wish you could find out if it is so, and what reason is given for the keeping him a prisoner. I am told that the French will not suffer any English to stay above eight days in any of their sea-ports, for fear we should have any correspondence that gave us an account of the trade that the French drive with the English for wool. I do not see how they can banish anybody, unless there is some crime laid to their charge. This method



is not friendly, I would have you touch upon it to Mons. Torey to hear what he says to it, but not by way of a formal complaint, because I am not very sure it is true in every place, but I really believe it is practised in all ports over against Kent and Sussex.

"I hope Mr. Hill has sent you a direction to send his letters to him whilst he is at Turin." (V. 85.)

JAMES VERNON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, June 29[–July 9]. Whitehall.—"I have received this day your letter of the 4th of July [N.S.]. I think it is very fair that Wall should be taken up as well as Lynch, and I hope he will be as strictly examined, that the bottom of this roguery may be brought out; I believe they will communicate to you what account he shall give of this intrigue. I wish you were allowed to send him cross interrogatories, and that he be obliged to answer them, for then perhaps the banter would appear.

"I have taken into my office one M. de Vrigny, a fellow student of my son's at Utrecht. He expects some papers that are of concern to him from some of his relations. If they are brought to you, I desire you will receive them and send them hither by the first safe conveyance." (V. 86.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 3[–13]. Whitehall.—"I have received your letter of the 8th; by this time you know if by mistake the French letters were sent to Ostend, I have not seen yet any of our postmasters to inquire here if it was so.

"You say nothing if your successor likes Versailles, I guess how he will be liked. My Lord Manchester never comes to inquire after his instructions.

"Mons. Tourtone has orders to let you have what money you want to pay for the commissions I have troubled you with; you must draw bills upon me for the money you take at double usance, to make the payment more easy to me.

"It was dulness in me not to understand the word *reason* and not any design to criticise.

"I hope Summer Hill will be bought, and whatever it affords is at your service; if you get hither before the fine weather is gone, I will punish you with a retreat thither for a day or two.

"I wish you could send me the model upon paper of a little size dish for porridge, I think it is like a little basin." (V. 87.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

1699, July 13. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have dared to speak so much to you in relation to a thing infinitely above me, and for which I now see no remedy, that I will only trouble Your Lordship at present upon the subject to tell you that I wish

all things should succeed as you would have them, and that you are safe arrived in Holland, where I hope in my way home to assure you of the sense I have of your favour to me. I wait my Lord Manchester's coming, and I believe may do so this month yet ; after which I am ready to put off these plumes with which I flutter about Paris, and to return home to labour under the protection of my good friend and patron, my Lord Jersey, in an employment of less noise and figure, and though my inclination did not oblige me to this choice, the hard usage which my Lord Gallway threatens me with would force me to it, for though I am yet actually in France, and by the King's order intimated to the Lords Justices upon my coming abroad that my pretences should be safe in Ireland, my Lord Gallway writes me word that they have thought fit to dispose of the secretaryship to Mr. May, who is second secretary, and acted as deputy from me in the employment of first secretary as long as His Majesty was pleased to dispense with my service. His Majesty does as yet most certainly dispense with it, for I am where his orders retain me, and where Your Lordship's goodness and choice brought me, that is, at Paris ; my Lord Gallway is but one of the three governors, and the three conjointly have not the power of making the secretary, but only of recommending him to His Majesty, who chooses him, and who dispenses with that service as with any other as his pleasure is. Mr. Poultney is Clerk of the Council in Ireland, yet has lived constantly since my Lord Rumney's time in England. Mr. Stepney, Mr. Blathwayt (and almost everybody else that has any employ) are excused from the functions of it when His Majesty's service and orders retain them in a foreign country : yet I alone am destined by my Lord Gallway to be a sacrifice that Mr. May may be first secretary and Mr. Bouhereau (who is my Lord Gallway's countryman and secretary) may be made second secretary of the kingdom.

"My Lord Gallway has neither by word or warning said once that this storm was coming, but it is easy to know that he did not think good to endeavour to undo what my Lord Portland thought good to do, whilst my Lord Portland was in the Court ; but immediately upon my Lord Portland's retiring, down with Mr. Prior ; so when the pillar is removed the ivy that depended upon it falls. I write this very plain, but I know to whom I write it. I know not if His Majesty has yet heard of this thing, in which my Lord Gallway so absolutely determines, but I believe I can intercede with Your Lordship (for all what my Lord Gallway thinks to the contrary), that this storm may not fall upon me till I come into England, and may have the liberty to plead my own cause, and that therefore till then the thing may be upon the foot it now is, Mr. May acting as my deputy ; and this can be no prejudice to His Majesty's service, unless it can be imagined that Mr. May has more sense when he acts for himself,



and without my deputation than when he acts with it; or else, if my Lord Gallway will actually have any other person for first secretary, Mr. May or that other may be obliged out of the profits of the office to allow me some compensation for the validity of my pretensions till His Majesty shall be pleased to order otherwise, in which case there will remain a fair income for Mr. May, or any other, and His Majesty's business will be as well done as if his poor secretary at Paris were sacrificed to the humour and arbitrary will of my Lord Gallway. I throw myself wholly upon His Majesty's goodness and stand wholly to his decision; he is too just to let me lose, and I am too happy if he pleases to take my cause in hand. I will only add to Your Lordship that I have endeavoured to live in France as becomes the character with which I am honoured, which without Ireland I could not have done, notwithstanding His Majesty's extraordinary goodness to me by Your Lordship's intercession. No man can wish better to another's affairs than I do to those of Your Lordship, and in what place or circumstances soever you are, no man living is more devoted to your service." *Copy.* (XII. 304-7.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, July 15. [N.S.] Paris.—“One of my letters is to the Secretary of State, the other is to my Lord Jersey. No examinations have as yet been taken of W[all] and L[ynch]; they are both used alike as yet in everything. Arnaud\* is, I believe, in the same case with the two I mention, at least there is an Englishman there, and according to the best description I can hear made of him it appears to me to be the same. I shall endeavour to know more, but the reason why a man is put in prison here is, Your Lordship knows, very difficult to find. I think there are fifty stories told, and as many reasons given about the business of W[all] and L[ynch]; few of them wholly false and not one of them perfectly true.

“I have forwarded your letter to Mr. Hill at Lyons according to a direction he sent me.” I touched upon the English not having leave in the French sea-ports longer than eight or ten days as of what I had heard from people that came from Calais and Bo[u]logne. Mons. de Torcy said at first that the King did not hinder strangers landing and staying in their ports to traffic, but would not have them establish and live there. I went on to tell him by little and little that by the Articles of Peace, they might live and inhabit, and that the time of their stay was not limited by any number of days, and that this prohibition was particular to the English. At last he seemed to intimate as if we got off the *réfugiés*, and that therefore their King would not let us be near the coasts, but he did not much insist upon this reason, but gave me

\* Cf. p. 370, *infra*.

one much better, which was plainly that the King of France would have it so, which is an admirable reason for a General to give at the head of an army in time of war, but a very bad one for a Secretary of State in peace.

"As to the wool, the Owlars come to Calais as regularly as the letters, and meet all encouragement at their arrival there.

"Adams gave me a slyer reason for this order against the English staying in the French sea-ports, as if it were done upon our asking it, and to take off all pretext off the French encouraging what should look like an invasion, a descent or correspondence held by the Jacobites from these places with their friends in England. Your Lordship sees the invalidity of this reason, and knows that we never desired any such complaisance from this Court; however, I took it as current coin, that he might think what I asked was from myself, and not by command.

"I give Your Lordship many thanks for granting me leave to return by way of Holland. Your successor makes so little haste that the King may be in England before His Excellency arrives in France, but the appointments run on, and consequently the Embassy is performed. I have ventured to write to Loo that my complaints may prevent Crop's representations. I think I was right in so doing. I thank God I can hate and love, and the objects of my different passions are the Earls of Gallway and Jersey. I wish I may vex the one as heartily as I shall always endeavour to obey the other." *Copy.* (XII. 310-12.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 6[-16].—"I have yours of the 11-1. Crop, is (as the swager says upon other occasions) impertinent; I will write about you to-morrow to my Lord Albemarle. The only thing to be done in this business is to keep it off for some time. My Lord Berkeley resents Crop's usage to him (being absent) in this affair; when he gets into Ireland he will certainly serve you. What you have writ to Lord Gallway is right, and I think he cannot justify putting you out but with the King's leave, which, I hope, he will never have till something else is got for you. Pray do what you can for Perault, for his wife makes one's heart ache when I see her.

"Your poetry of St. Germain's is the devil; pray make my compliments to both courtiers and men of the robe that remember me.

"Madame Maillé will do very well for the Horse.

"Pray inquire if the Duchess de la Force, *réfugiée* here, is not allowed something from her son by the King's order; Tamboneau can tell you.

"You once told me of a correspondence which Madame le Cocque kept, which I have forgot and would willingly know.

"The Parliament will be prorogued to the 24th of August. The Council has sat late and I am a little in haste." (V. 88.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, July 18. [N.S.] Paris.—“The 1115 [captain] of the 630 [seamen], the 1228 and other 1115s [captains] that will shortly 362 [put] out from 1127 [Calais] have received 1162 [orders] to 1232 [deliver] any 1453 [English] 630 [seamen] 221 833 414 221 [to parties of horse] who shall 1054 [carry] them to 409 404 167 [the Bastille]: this I am well assured of.

“The 1237 [French] will certainly 1104 [aid] the 1402 [Spaniards] in opposition to what the 1069 [Scotch] pretend to do in 1144 [Darien]. I know not how far we pretend to be concerned in that affair; they say at Court the 1237 [French] 1540 [Ambassador] in 1454 [England] had given you to understand 1255s [the French King's] intentions upon that subject.\*

“Mons. de Pomponne is at Marli and was not at Paris yesterday according to his word; so I have not his answer in relation to the post.

“I have seen the copy of an order from Your Lordship to me concerning Cowper. The original the man has not yet received. I must begin again in his case by giving in a new memorial to signify our dissatisfaction of the liquidations made by his judges; and that is all I shall do, I suppose, in it during my ministry, I wish my Lord Manchester may have better success in this affair than at present I can imagine he will have.” *Copy.* (XII. 314.)

## [The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 10[-20]. Whitehall.—“It is to be wished that the Spaniard could beat out the Scotch at Darien, for that colony gives a good deal of trouble here; the English are apprehensive that the Scotch settling in those parts (with the advantages granted them by Act of Parliament) will be a prejudice to trade here. Many applications have been made to the King about it; His Majesty was not privy to the design, and is resolved not to protect it; orders are sent to all the governors in those parts not to have any correspondence with the Scotch. This is done both in regard to the trade of England and to some Treaties made with Spain relating to America; so that in your discourse, though without affectation, you are always to make this interest of the Scotch company to have no relation to England, and what the King does not intend to protect; His Majesty has already signified the same to the Court of Spain. The forbidding our English to stay in their seaports above eight or ten days is a very odd proceeding; and so is the putting English up in the Bastille without giving any account; it is certain that Arnold† is there, and much to my sorrow his wife here with two children.

\*The interpretation of the cipher is perforce conjectural. Cf. Jersey's letter, *infra*, and Luttrell as cited.

† Cf. Luttrell, *Brief Relation of State Affairs*, iv. 534, 543-4, 547.

I can give you no other directions in these matters than I have already.

"I hear that my Lord Middleton's lady is gone over to you under the name of Morice.

"When I wrote to my Lord Albemarle about your Irish affair, I did suppose you had done it before. I am glad to hear I was not mistaken.

"My Lord Manchester has been with me this afternoon, and I find that he will certainly go from hence the latter end of the next week ; he will go post from Calais for fear he should not see the King before he goes to Fontainebleau.

"I will send you a letter by my Lord Manchester for Mons. Torcy ; I will take that occasion to thank him for my books ; I am glad they are fine ; pray give my silver watch to Clément. Madame Croisy has writ over that she has heard nothing of you nor my glass. I suppose you have seen her by this time ; pray leave none of my things to do when you are come away." (V. 90.)

#### LORD GALWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 11[-21]. Au Château de Dublin.—"J'ai été fort surpris, en recevant votre lettre du 1<sup>er</sup> de ce mois. Nous n'avons jamais conté que Mr. May fut votre député. Je croy que l'employ de Secrétaire n'a jamais été exercé par député, et il me paroît de nature à ne pouvoir pas l'être. Mr. May étoit notre second secrétaire, pendant que vous étiez le premier ; et exerçoit, pendant votre absence, pour les deux charges, attendant toujours que le service du Roy vous permettroit de quitter la France et de venir ici, jusques à ce que je reçus une lettre de Mylord Albemarle, du 29 Avril passé, dont voicy les propres mots—

'La charge de Secrétaire des Lords Justices va être vacante par l'employ que l'on destine à Mr. Prior dans l'office de Mylord Jersey.'

"Nous avons promis, depuis longtems, à Mr. May, qu'il aurait ce poste dès que vous seriez pourvu. Cependant comme nous vous avons donné cette place, après que Mylord Sunderland nous avoit dit que Sa Majeste seroit satisfaite de ce choix, nous avons différé l'exécution de notre promesse à Mr. May, jusques à ce que Mylord Duc de Bolton en eût parlé luy-même au Roy, qui luy dit qu'il approuvoit notre résolution. Sur l'avis qu'il m'en donna, je crus que je devois vous en avertir. Je suis bien fâché que nous n'ayons jamais profité de votre présence dans ce royaume, et que nous n'ayons plus l'espérance de vous avoir. Ce qui m'en console, c'est que ce n'est que pour vous mettre dans un beaucoup meilleur poste, dans lequel nous aurons une perpétuelle relation avec vous. Je ne croy pas que vous ayez jamais cru pouvoir garder l'un et l'autre. Cela ne me paroît pas practicable, et ne convient point du tout au service du Roy, et par conséquent



ne nous peut pas convenir. Je vous prie de n'y pas penser."  
*Signed.* (V. 92.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 13[-23]. Whitehall.—“I have received yours of the 8th-18th. I hope the first part of it is nothing but what is always done upon the like occasion.

“The French Ambassador never spoke to me of that business, the Court there says he did.

“When Mons. Pomponne speaks to you about the business of the letters, pray let him know that our letters for Italy are sometimes stopped at Lyons three or four days, and by the Treaty the French are obliged to forward those letters with all dispatch.

“I think Cowper has been ill advised in his business ; I wish my Lord Manchester may have success in it, though I had not.

“You must act in the business of W[all] and L[ynch] as you have begun, and as I have writ to you already.

“I believe the King will speak to the French Ambassador upon the business of the English not being permitted to make any stay in the French ports.

“Licences cannot be got for those people you mentioned in yours of the 24th past.

“You have leave to go to Loo if you please. You may make it an excuse to leave my Lord Manchester soon after his private audience.

“I hear my Lord Sandwich is gone back ; I hope it is to fetch my Lady.

“One Colonel Wakeline with ten horses is lately gone over ; you will have an eye upon him.

“I find I am not like to have my *glace* by the time you leave Paris, which is a very great disappointment to me, for I depended on it to adorn my house in the winter ; besides, when you are come away, nobody will be there to take care of it that I care to trust ; and I fear I shall find another inconvenience in the not having it, for I have already entered it into the Customs House as part of my goods left to come with you, and if it does not come till long after, I shall pay custom for it as a new *glace* out of France, which will be half the value of it ; pray intercede with Madame de Croisy to give all the dispatch possible in this trifling affair, for I had almost as willingly be without the glass as not have it against the winter. I say nothing of the other things, for I think there is no question but they will be done at the time you come ; my *seaux* must pass for your plate that has been used, or else, I believe, they must pay custom both coming out of France and entering here.

“I depend on the Office and John to send you the common news of the town, pray let me know how they perform.

*Postscript.*—“If you don't come quickly away, Boileau and that flattering country will spoil you.” (V. 93.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 14-24. Loo.—“I am favoured with yours of the 17th inst. and enclosed occurrences, not doubting but you and your successors will do all that you can in the business recommended to you. I am now expecting an answer to my letter concerning the Irishmen, that is, that you would give me the best account you can from your enquiries of their life and conversation while in the service of France, that their intentions may be the better judged of here.”  
*Signed.* (V. 96.)

The EARL OF ALBEMARLE to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

1699, July 27. [N.S.] Loo.—“Je suis tousjours content quand je me puis flatter d’avoir quelque part dans vostre souvenir, et puis que vous m’en assurez, j’ai lieu de vous en remercier; et je vous assure, Monsieur, que vous serez receu à bras ouvert, ce sera alors que nous nous expliquerons ensemble sur toute chose. Le Roy vous accorde la permission de passer par icy à vostre retour de Paris, ce qui m’en donnera l’occasion. Ainsy j’espère que le grand Manchester arrivera bientôt afin que vostre départ soit d’autant plutost. Croyez moi toujours avec passion de tout mon cœur, vostre etc. (V. 98.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 21-31. Dieren.—“I have laid the contents of the 14-24 inst. before the King, who has thereupon ordered enquiry to be made after O’Bryan at Brussels; and I am further to desire from you an exact description of his person, that he may be the better found out.

“You may chance to meet Mr. Stepney at Loo as well as other good company of your best friends.” (V. 97.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, July 24[-August 3]. Whitehall.—“I have yours of the 19-29th. Mons. de Pomponne’s answer to our Postmaster’s complaint is sent to them; I do not know what they will say to it, but I believe there is nothing more to be done in this business but to make Pajott careful, as he has been since the complaint. On my account I do not expect Mons. de Torci should dispatch anything, but methinks it should be every minister’s care and desire to make an end of business when they can; I suppose what fragments my Lord Manchester finds will remain so to his successor.

“I thought the merchandises seized by du Bart in the Dantzic ships were already granted to our merchants, though not delivered, but I find the French can easier undo than do. I suppose the merchants, when I see them to tell them their doom, will still have something to reply.



"I believe they will mention no more the business of Girard Bedford since nothing can be done but by releasing of Perault ; unless the interested in the affair of Captain Mansell, as you have proposed, will prosecute his murderers, I do not expect justice to be done otherwise. My Lord Manchester has orders to speak about Arnold. If those proclamation men are gone towards Flanders, as you say, it will not be hard to meet with them.

"When you write those things to Mr. Blathwayt, I suppose you write them at the same time to my Lord Albemarle, who is immediately about the King. If you could get the names of those Scotch subscribers, it would be of use. I am glad to know the names of those that have the management of the money for the poor here, though I know not what to do with them—as you say here is rare doings, but how to help it ! By this time I may wish you joy of my Lord Manchester's arrival. Joly is gone his gentleman of the horse, and has married Tom's cousin ; pray be kind to her, and do not call her Sarah but Mrs. Joly. You were in the wrong not to let me know that you had writ Mr. Montague word of your journey to Holland, for I made it a secret till I had the King's leave for your going thither ; whatever conjecture you make of what I said to you lately about your journey pray keep it to yourself." (V. 95.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, August 7. [N.S.] Dieren.—"We should be glad you could send us some proof of FitzGerald's being lately at St. Germain—I mean this Henry FitzGerald, for that he avers the contrary. Pray assure His Excellency the Earl of Manchester of my most humble respects, and Mr. Stanian of my service." (V. 101.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, August 4-14. Loo.—"I should hardly take this way of troubling you after the receipt of your last favours of the 3rd and 7th instant, by which I understand we shall so soon have your good company here, were it not to let you know that Mr. Marmaude, Mr. Hill's secretary at Brussels, is indeed in pursuit of O'Bryan mentioned by you, but without success, since he goes by another name, and that there is no description of his person ; so that, as I have already desired you to get such a description, it is now become necessary that you furnish Mr. Marmaude with it as soon as possible, whether this find you at Brussels or otherwise." (V. 99.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, August 15[-25]. Whitehall.—"I have received your letters of the 15th and 19th instant from Paris. I did not write to you these two last posts, supposing you on your

journey. This, I hope, will meet you at Loo. Till we meet I will say nothing to you of France, only that the Ambassador does not *voir jour*, and that you guess right as to the other *jours* we have lately mentioned.

"Mr. Blathwayt writes me word that by order of His Majesty he was writ to put the 'holx\*' in Ireland; you will say that it is not for your sake that I am glad of it, but vain to have got the better of monarchical Crop."

*Postscript.*—"Since I wrote the other side, I have received your letter of the 22nd from Paris: had I thought you would have stayed there so long, I should have writ to you the last posts, but now everything that I could say must be deferred till we meet." (V. 102.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, August 22[–Sept 1]. Whitehall.—"I have received your letter of the 28th, your farewell from Paris. I cannot judge when you will be at Loo, not knowing how much your curiosity will make you saunter about Flanders, but I write this in hopes it will not be long before it meets with you. I have lately had a letter from Crop, who, I find, is not satisfied with what I wrote to him by the King's order in your affair; he intends to write to His Majesty about it, and by that means hopes to gain his point. This arbitrary spark I believe will be so troublesome in this business that the King will be forced to do something for you in England, by way of accommodation; if that happens you are more obliged to Crop than he intends. If you like of it, I shall do what I can to promote such an accommodation when I see you at Loo; for now I may tell you that there you may expect me, and I hope it will not be long before we meet; till then I defer a thousand things." (V. 103.)

Extract of a letter from Lord Galway to Mr. Blathwayt.

1699, August 24[–Sept. 3]. Dublin.—"Nous avons reçu les ordres du Roi par votre lettre du 8<sup>ième</sup> de ce mois à l'esgard de Mons. Prior. Nous avons donné la place de notre premier Secrétaire à Mons. May avant que le Duc de Bolton partit d'ici; nous n'avons point nommé de second; il y a quelques temps que my Lord Jersey me fit savoir que le Roi voulait que Mons. Prior fût notre premier secrétaire, jusqu'à ce qu'il fût mieux pourvu. Je me suis donné l'honneur d'écrire au Roi pour lui représenter ce que je crois de son service et de notre droit dans cette affaire. Si Sa Majesté nous commande après cela d'ôter Mons. May et d'y remettre Mons. Prior, nous savons que notre devoir est d'obéir à Sa Majesté, mais nous attendrons encore une fois ses ordres." (V. 113.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Sept. 5[–15]. Whitehall.—"I have yours of the 8th and 11th. I have not time to answer them so particularly

\* Cf. Prior's letter of June 3. N.S. 1699, *postscript*, p. 351, *supra*.



as I could wish. I find you are mightily pleased, and who would not be so with so gracious an audience, I wish it may last. Poor Stepney! but to be more serious I am getting ready to depart as soon as the orders come, and you may expect me at Rotterdam the first fair wind after; I long to be on the other side, for I have a thousand things to say, I hope for all our goods.

"I send you a paper given me by the Spanish Secretary; the same has been given to all the Justices, I think it is complaining to the nation of what His Majesty is doing; I would not have you show the paper, unless the Honourable shows that which is sent him for the King. I have had a letter from Lord Berkeley, and I find Crop will not be quiet, but you will know more of that where you are. Farewell, I long for the arrival of the courier from Vienna." (V. 104.)

[The EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Sept. 12[-22]. Whitehall.—"I have yours of the 15th and 18th, but no orders yet for my voyage, which perhaps may not be, since it depends on the resolutions of the Court of Vienna: if orders should come, I scarce could get to The Hague before the time they say here the King will be there, unless the wind is very fair. I thank you for your care about a lodging for me; I believe it is more than those will have that send for me, or else sure I shall be lodged in the old court, if old Romney has not all the room. I think I told you that Crop was not quiet, but I never knew impertinence of that kind resented as it ought to be. In expectation of seeing you, I cannot settle to write to you as otherwise I should. If you do not see me, you will be troubled with the care of some commissions that I have already writ about. The *seaux* are very fine, but what is not so that comes from thence?"

*Postscript*.—"I believe I have eight mares at The Hague, and I desire you to speak to Mr. Ireton to get them over with the King's equipage. If I do not come myself, I will send a couple of servants to take care of them." (V. 105.)

H. MAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Sept. 12[-22]. Dublin Castle.—"I have the favour of yours of the 8th inst., N.S., and do according to your desire send you enclosed [*missing*] a monthly account of the fees from the time we accounted last to the end of April, about which time the Duke of Bolton and my Lord Galway were pleased to declare me their first secretary, as I think I acquainted you in my last, and I have by this post sent Mr. Powis a bill for two-thirds of those fees.

"If it shall be thought fit to turn me out of that place, I shall always receive the commands of my superiors with the respect and submission that is due, but for the time their Excellencies have declared the employment to be mine, and

that I remain in it, I cannot for my life think myself accountable to anybody but them. I am sorry we happen to judge so very differently, and am, etc." (V. 106.)

THE EARL OF BERKELEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Sept. 14[-24]. Dublin.—“I have received yours from Loo, which I did not answer by the first opportunity because I have written fully of the matter to my Lord Jersey, which, I do not question, will be communicated to you. I am very sorry that Lord Galway and you differ so widely in this business, for he takes it upon a foot which makes me wholly incapable of doing you any service in it; for he says that Mr. May was put in possession of the first secretary's place before I came into Ireland by the Duke of Bolton and himself, and this by the King's order by my Lord Albemarle, who writ that they might dispose of the first secretary's place by reason you were provided for in my Lord Jersey's office. I suppose the Duke of Bolton will agree with Lord Galway to justify that the place was actually disposed of to Mr. May, because he has writ to me in behalf of one Cob for the second secretary's place; but by the way that recommendation makes it plain that, whatsoever the first was, the second place was not disposed of. My Lord Galway has again writ to the King upon the receipt of your letter to put him in mind how the matter stands, as he takes it. In short, if the King will have you put in again, I will make no remonstrance of the undoubted right of the Government here to put in their own secretary; but if His Majesty thinks you never were out, I shall obey him in continuing you in, according to the orders received from my Lord Jersey and Mr. Blathwayt; but if it should be in our power to make a choice, you shall have my voice though you execute the place by a deputy, and this is more than I would say to anybody but Mr. Prior, to whom I am, etc.” (V. 107.)

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Sept. 19-29. Loo.—“I have both your letters. Your arguments are categorical and so ought the conclusions to be, but 'tis not always as one could wish. This day my Lord Albemarle and I pleaded your cause to the King, who was mightily possessed by the Duke of Bolton and Lord Galway of their right, and 'twas much we could bring the matter to bear so far as you find in the enclosed copy of an order I now send to your Lords Justices. I have shaved close, if not strained a point, in the framing of it. However, you must look upon yourself now *in statu quo*, and having made your lodgment there, fight the rest out with all your friends and interest, for which you have time enough, and my consulate being soon at an end, I can only give you my further wishes.

“The Spaniards are worrying of us with protests everywhere, but Canales would have the earth open, etc. *Flectere*



*si nequeo*, etc., as you will see by a paper my Lord Jersey will bring with him. The Scots have quitted Darien, which should pacify them a little. I suppose we shall see you here in good company before the week be at an end." *Enclosure.* (V. 110.)

*Enclosure.*

W. Blathwayt to the Lords Justices of Ireland.

1699, Sept. 19-29. Loo.—"His Majesty, being informed of what has been done by Your Excellencies in reference to Mr. Prior, does think fit that everything that may concern him in that office be put into the same condition in every respect as before Your Excellencies' intentions to make any change in the said office, and do remain so until His Majesty shall otherwise determine, wherewith I am commanded to acquaint Your Excellencies." *Copy.* (V. 111.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Sept. 20-30. Paris.—"I think it proper to let you know that the gentleman that uses to write to Lord Portland has been several times with me, and says that some affairs suffer by reason you have not supplied him. I have let him have some which I may pay myself again upon what shall be ordered him. I have also supplied twice one who[m] you shewed to Mr. Stanyan, though I never saw him; I fancy he is capable of doing service, though I do not know upon what foot he is, I suppose you remember him. Tr . . . , he that came from England, was found out and was ordered to leave St. Germain's, so that it cost me a great deal to no purpose; I have sent him back again. This I send by an express." (V. 115.)

JOHN ELLIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Sept. 22[-Oct. 2]. Whitehall.—"I should be false to the friendship I profess to have for you if I should let slip any opportunity of serving you or imparting such things to you as it may be for your service to be acquainted with, as that which follows is, which I received to-day from Ireland, in relation to the dispute between you and Mr. May, from one who is your friend in the matter, but desires at present to be undiscovered. His words are:—'I find on this side it goes much otherwise than Mr. Prior expects, Mr. M. being looked upon as first secretary, and they that made him so insisting on it so strongly as to write to the King, in reply to the last orders from Loo. Mr. P. writ a letter to Lord G. which is so resented for some expressions in it that it is sent to the King as an aggravation against Mr. P. I wish him advertised of it, and must leave it to your conduct to do it so as he may not let it be known whence it comes.' And in another letter, for two posts come in together, he says:—'He wishes what he writ last be come safe to my hands, and were imparted to

the gentleman concerned' (meaning yourself), 'which is also wished by a much greater person' (meaning the Earl of Berkeley) 'who thinks it a cruel thing to endeavour to cut any man's throat with his own pen.'

"If this notice be of any service to you, I shall be very glad, and if you have heard it otherwise, I hope, however, you will accept it, as it is intended as a mark of the sincerity wherewith I am, etc." (V. 114.)

#### The EARL OF JERSEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Oct. 2[-12]. Squerries.—"I thank you for the concern you have for my being ill. I have little or no pain, but continue very lame, and believe that the air here with the satisfaction of seeing one's garden, though but out of the window, will contribute more to my health than the prospect of St. James's Street. If *les absents ont tort*, I hope you will find the advantage of being upon the spot." (V. 117.)

#### A[BRAHAM] STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Oct. 14. [N.S.] Paris.—The bearer, Mr. John Stanyan, is an uncle of mine, who has a son at Lisbon, settled as a merchant there. You were so kind as to promise to assist in getting him made Consul there. I desire you to give my uncle leave to wait on you, when he has anything to propose in order to effect his design. (V. 118.)

#### The LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND, LORDS BERKELEY and GALWAY, to W. BLATHWAYT.

1699, Oct. 14[-24]. Dublin Castle.—"We have received your letter of the 19th-29th past from Loo signifying to us that it is His Majesty's pleasure that all things relating to our Secretary's office shall be put into the same condition as they were before the late Government made any alteration therein, and in answer thereunto we desire you will please to acquaint His Majesty with our ready obedience to his commands, and that we have given the necessary orders accordingly." *Copy*. (V. 112.)

#### The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, Nov. 21. [N.S.] Paris.—"The same day Mr. Prior left this place I went to Versailles and had my audiences upon what I assured His Majesty; this King did return in very obliging terms, how much he desired to continue the good understand [*sic*] that was now so well established, that he did again repeat to me what he had formerly assured me, etc.

"I made 2311 (Torey) a visit where I took occasion to discourse what had passed in my private 2184 (audience); I knew 217 (he) 1256 (expect) 194 (ed) it, and I was also willing



to 1907 (find) 377 (his) sense of the matter. 2311 (Torcy) said that this 390 (King) had acquainted him with it, that I had fully explained the whole proceeding to 1917 (His Majesty) that 2153 (Comte Tallard) was to set out on Monday next. 217 (He) did still seem to 1000e (press) the great credit and 1922 (interest) our 390 (King) had with the 230i (States General) and laughingly said he wondered I should 973 (lesse)n it. I told him I did own that the 230i (States General) had always showed a great regard to anything that was 1323 (propos) 194 (ed) from 1917 (His Majesty), that 217 (he) had recommended it and would continue to do it, so that nothing should be wanting on 377 (his) 840 (part), that, though there 886 (were) great 800 (hope)s of a good 1241 (conclu) 282 (si) 673 (on), yet till it was 1064 (agree)d to by the 230i (States General) it was 822 (more) than could be said that 876 (they) would certainly do it. On the whole matter I 1907 (find) this 761 (Court) impatient till it is done, saying no 872 (time) was to be 974d (lost) that the 1450 (King of Spain's) 397 (life) was very uncertain, that the last account they had, 1450 (King of Spain) was 646 (ill) again.

"I waited on 2153 (Comte Tallard) this morning, and his discourse was much the same; he gave me to understand that, though 1717 (Bonrepos) would seem to be concerned in this 1703 (affair), 217 (he) was not in the least, that 2153 (Comte Tallard) hoped to 1907 (find) all things ready at his return into 1577 (England), which would be on Saturday next, that he had all the duty imaginable for the 390 (King), that his intentions were and always would be to endeavour a good understanding between our Masters, which I was not wanting to make him the same assurances. I hope 2153 (Comte Tallard) will be so just to me as to give the same 1191 (turn) to this matter in 1577 (England) as he does now here.

"The enclosed for the King I had from Mons. Hempskirk; it comes from Spain. Mr. Blaithwayt has an account of what we know from Mr. Stanhope himself, though I am told just now that there is an express come to the Spanish Ambassador here, that Mr. Stanhope is to depart in eighteen days, and to keep his house in the meantime. The Duke and Duchess of Lorraine is here and are to see the 1776 (late King) and 1777 (late Queen) this day at Chaliot [Chaillot]. I hope the account Mr. Prior will have given His Majesty does approve of the proceeding. I shall continue to obey Your Lordship's orders as becomes, etc." (V. 119.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, Nov. 18-28. Paris.—"I have so little to acquaint Your Lordship that I had no thoughts of troubling you this post only that in some of my former I did forget to thank Your Lordship for yours of the 30th October, where I had your directions in relation to the Portugal Ambassador. I am better pleased there was no occasion to proceed in that

manner, but had he not made some excuse, it would have been necessary. He has since been to wait on me, and I find the little time he was in England his company was with odd persons ; being so imprudent as to tell me he found the King was not beloved by his people ; but perceiving I did not approve of such discourse, he soon altered it. He was much with the Spanish Ambassador, saying he had showed him his memorial before it was delivered. I do not fail every time I see Mons. de Torcy to press him for an answer to the ship that was taken on the coast of Guinea, and I am promised to have it the next week, though I very much fear it.

“The African Company here is so much concerned, it being done by their orders ; and they are in so low a condition that in case they are obliged to make satisfaction, as I hope they will, it may be their ruin, which is the reason this matter is so delayed, some of the greatest men in France being in that Company. I take notice of this to Your Lordship lest the proprietors may think I do not take that care I should for them.” (V. 120.)

[MAJOR BURROWES] to [COLONEL STOW].

1699, Nov. 20[–30.] [London.]—“I have appeared but little, my dear friend, ever since my coming, no more than the necessity of my business required, but there is a rogue or two of a messenger who rushed in where I once lodged, which obliges me to be more close, and my friends, since the barbarous news is come out of Ireland, have plied me with so many advices that I do not stir out once in a fortnight, and then by night only, and (which is a great trouble) I dare not venture to take a turn in the old grass walk for fear of those rogues my adversaries, who, I have reason to believe, would stick at no villany to avoid appearing such as I have painted them. I am extremely obliged to honest Fego[Vavasour], who, though under troubles of his own, affords me all manner of assistance. I have been forced to lodge a Bill in Chancery, which went, I will assure you, very much against the grain ; but I had otherwise been precluded in point of time, and the treacherous trustee would have swallowed me up to rights and sold the estate. I want you to be one of my evidence, but if you do not come quickly, I shall be forced to run away from my cause, and make you another visit, which nothing but the extremest necessity or danger shall make me resolve upon, as being unwilling to be burdensome where I can do no service. It would not be improper to hint what I write here to F[ather] S[aunder]s upon the first opportunity you have, and pray give in my name all acknowledgments and services. My cousin likewise will be obliged to go over to Ireland to look after her affairs (for she is basely used), or else to some place very distant from this town to live after a cheaper manner. I warn you, my dear friend, not to mistake this for desponding, I never had one such thought ; but if I



find myself deceived in my calculation again, as to time, I mean, I shall have no plum porridge to eat, and must find out another way of living.

"I was under so many troubles when I writ my last letter that I remember very little of it, only I cannot think it was fit to be showed, nor shall I be able to send you any that will.

"Prognosticators say we shall have very warm weather, and that this session is not like to be of any long continuance; for myself, who am swayed by the reasons which I at the first formed my opinion from, I confess [I] can find even in this speech something to confirm me, and cannot but think it odd there is nothing of the Spanish affair in it.

"That heroic action of the wild boar has charmed us all; but we cannot without trembling reflect upon the danger to which this so promising a young Prince was exposed and how fatal it might have proved if he had missed his shot, but the over ruling Power will, I trust, be ever careful of Royal blood, and in due time exterminate monsters.

"The Major-domo has, I hope, reached you by this time, and then he has brought you news of the death of poor Treaseare, than whom no man could more long to see you. God Almighty has been pleased in a short while to deprive two of my friends of a satisfaction they had set their whole hearts upon. Honest Fego continues invincible in his faith, and I must conjure you as a man of honour and lover of justice, without respect of person to get him true information in one matter; I hope our friend who paid you the money when he came from Fontainebleau will prove just in the end, though he has not hitherto been so clear as he ought, but (which is not fair) been his own carver all along. About April last he sold a horse, as we are informed, to the Governor of Paris; since you make to Fego offers of service, he begs of you to visit this Governor's stable to discourse the Master of his Horse, to know what he gave for it, and if any of less value was sold at the same time and put off upon the credit of this, and what price was set upon each, by the buyer. Col. Skelton (to whom pray give my humble service) I daresay will go with you, if you have not French enough yourself; you shall by-and-by, when he comes to me, have an exact description of this beast.

"I beg of you, my dear friend, to give my most humble duty and service to my Lord M[elford] and to his Lady likewise if you have an opportunity; if I can pick up anything, worth communicating to him, you shall have it, but I am more inclinable to retire for a month amongst some of my relations thirty or forty miles off, that I may get a little fresh air, which I very much want, upon my word. Adieu.

*Postscript.*—"I hope you will pardon this trouble of inquiring into the price of a sandy grey gelding about fourteen hands three inches high, a good fore-hand and had all his

goings, about six years old." *Copy. In the same hand at foot.*—

" Directed thus :

A Monsieur

Mons. Proctor chez Mons.

Veard à St. Cosme dans la  
rue la Harpe

à Paris.

" Lord Middleton's letters come under a cover directed thus :

A Monsieur

Mons. Leverque [*sic*] St. Jean

Banquier

à Paris."\*

(VI. 4.)

#### ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Dec. 2. [N.S.] Paris.—" I have the favour of yours of the 13th past with one enclosed to my Lord, which he is forced to delay answering till next post. His Lordship spoke yesterday to Mons. de Torcy about the Guinea ship, The Dantzickers, and Fleming's daughters. My Lord thinks fit to send my Lord Jersey a copy of the memorial he gave him about the second affair, and for the others we are not without hopes of doing some good, though we have no positive answer ; His Excellency will likewise give my Lord an account of what Mons. Torcy answered upon each of those heads. He grows every day more civil than other ; whether it be a change in our affairs, or his, that causes it I cannot tell. The Duke of Lorraine went on Monday to see King James at St. Germain, who would have returned his visit yesterday, but that he has got another boil, since he was lanced for the former one, which does not ripen kindly, and puts the poor pensioners of that Court into great alarms, for if it do not come to suppuration the Monarch dies. Rigault has made some progress in your pictures since you spoke to him, and promises me to finish them in few days more, which I shall take care of and not forget your candlestick. All your friends are well, but are in pain for your cold. Mrs. Frowd says the best almanacks hold it unfit to bleed in November, but my Lady Lawson says it may sometimes be necessary, and that Sir Winfred had not now been alive, if he had not done it." (V. 123.)

#### The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Dec. 5. N.S. Paris.—" I could wish this Court was so well inclined as to grant any favour in relation to the French Protestants, but at present I cannot see any inclination : neither can I hope ever to have such credit with Mons. de Torcy as on my own account to persuade him ; if at any time I do find a probability, I shall not fail to act as

\**Cf.* Manchester's letters of January 13th and 16th [N.S.] 1700. (pp. 389—392, *infra*).



desired. I have not made all my visits of ceremony, and this day I am going to the Arsenal, so you must excuse me to my Lord Jersey, having also nothing to acquaint him with. K[ing] J[ames] continues still ill; his distemper is boils in his backside; I do not hear there is much danger, unless it should turn to a fistula; in a little time you shall hear more. I understand Mons. de Tallard could not be so soon with you as he intended by reason the wind continued some days against him, which obliged him to stay at Calais.

"I am glad to hear our proceeding was approved, and am impatient to know the success of that matter; though it may be I shall hear it first from Mons. de Torcy. I was sorry to find by yours of the 13th that you was not well, but your last of the 16th November shows me the contrary; none can wish more your health and welfare than him [*sic*] who is, etc."

*Postscript.*—"I desire to know what method I am to take about the ninety *louis d'ors*.

"The enclosed for the King comes from Spain." (V. 124.)

ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Dec. 5. [N.S.] Paris.—"Just after the letters of last post went away I received (according to custom) yours of the 16th past with several enclosed, which I have taken care to dispose of according to your directions. One of the two to Dr. English I have given to Dr. Sherard, who will send it to Lyons, the other I keep by me till he comes. Mons. de Villeroy is gone to his government of Lyons, but care is taken to send the letter after him. I think I told you in my last that Col. Stanhope was gone to Bordeaux to meet his father. Before he went it seems he bought Frowd's coach and horses for a hundred pounds, payable by my Lord Tavistock, who lost that money to Stanhope at play.

"King James certainly continues very ill, though his Court endeavours to hide it as much as possible; they say he has got a carbuncle near his fundament, very like the plague. I have not been able to see anybody yet that ought to give me an account of this matter, but the French Ministers think him in danger. Lord Tavistock and Mr. Mansell set out from hence on Tuesday next, but I don't know of anything you want that I can take that opportunity of sending you." (V. 125.)

ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Dec. 9. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have received yours of the 20th past, and am sorry to find by it that you are not yet in a condition of writing yourself, but I hope your machine will quickly mend, though your indisposition suggests some melancholy thoughts to you. My Lord bids me tell you he has yours of the same date, and has given orders for supplying you with venison. I writ you a line last night to serve as a cover to a packet from *l'Amy de la confidente*, which I

recommended to Mr. Mansell's care, who has promised me to deliver it into your hands as soon as he arrives. I don't know whether you gave any New Year's gifts to the officers of the Court last year; if you did, pray let Mr. Drift send me a list of them, that I may govern myself accordingly.

"This King is now actually making a reform of ten men in every company of foot, and five of every troop of horse and dragoons throughout the Army, except the dear Household, which will lessen his forces near forty thousand men. The like reform in the Fleet is talked of, particularly among the secretaries and civil officers of it, which is a very ill precedent, and ought to be discouraged, for sure the Devil never yet heard of a reformed secretary.

"I suppose you remember that one Count Bozelli, an Italian ruffian, was put in the Bastille last year upon suspicion of having a design to poison our King; I am told he is now sending a gentleman into England to vindicate his innocence, that the Duke of Mantua and the Elector of Bavaria have granted him letters to His Majesty for that purpose, and that he is soliciting Mons. Torey for another from hence, which, it is said, he has obtained a promise of. I don't know who this gentleman is that is going, nor his master's case; the former I shall know in few days, and the latter I presume you are no stranger to.

"The Emperor's Envoy here had yesterday an audience of the King about the restitution of Brissac, who told him that the bridge was now almost destroyed, and assured him that the town should be restored in a fortnight's time at furthest; we cannot help believing him this time.

"Mr. Howard and Col. Frowd had a quarrel t'other night at my lodgings about drinking glasses upon their toes, wherein the Colonel was egregiously in the wrong, saying some words which the other had reason to take ill, which included my Lord Tavistock also. They both went away immediately and sent the Colonel a challenge to meet them at Mons with his friend.

"We got notice of the matter and acquainted my Lord Ambassador with it, who sent for them all, and made up the matter, the Colonel being reasonable enough to own he was in the wrong, and declared he did not design to affront them. In the meantime I lose my evening's diversion, which the Colonel cannot easily repair."

*Postscript.*—"I had almost forgot to tell you that I send you by my Lord's direction Bourg's Interrogatory, which he got yesterday of Mons. Torey. Now we have it we don't know what use to make of it, and therefore my Lord desires you would show it to my Lord Jersey, that His Lordship may send such further directions upon it as he thinks fit. You know the matter was begun before my time, so I am wholly a stranger to the proceedings against this fellow, but my Lord supposes you may remember them." (V. 126).



The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1699, Dec. 13-23. Paris.—“I was this day with Mons. de Torcy, where after I had discoursed him of some matters that are still depending, particularly the ship taken on the coast of Guinea, also the officer of the Customs that they have imprisoned at Cherbourg; which he assured me he had pressed Mons. Pontchartrain, who promised him he would return the answers, so that I might have them the next week. Mons. de Torcy said he had orders from the King to acquaint me that the payment which was agreed to in relation to Hudson Bay, or as they call it, Fort Bourbon, was not yet complied with, that he desired I would take some care in that matter. I desire Your Lordship will represent it to His Majesty and do what you can in it, since it may otherwise have that consequence that when the next payment comes due on the account of Orange, they will have that pretence to delay it; besides there is reason to believe the parties concerned will petition this King to be paid out of that money, which I think should be prevented. Mons. de Torcy took notice also that the affair of Spain was still depending and not agreed to, which might be a great prejudice to this King, since they had now a good opportunity of acting matters to their advantage, the Queen of Spain being dissatisfied with the Court of Vienna; he did not mention the occasion, but I imagine it is something in relation to the Countess of Berlips,\* which they have denied her: all I said [was] that I was assured that the King my Master would contribute all he could to bring that matter to a good conclusion; he answered that the King was fully satisfied of it.

“Count Zinzendorf had an audience of the King this day, having just received a courier with the news that the Queen of the Romans was brought to bed of a daughter. The King told him, as he says, in a very obliging manner, that he had given orders to Mons. de Villars to take his audience of the Archduke in the manner the Emperor should think fit, so that at present this Court seems desirous to oblige the Emperor as much as they can. I have had no intelligence of late from St. Germain, because the late King's illness put a stop to all business there; he is now pretty well recovered, dines in public, so that, though he looks thin and wasted, yet they think his life is quite out of danger. The Irish forces were designed to be comprehended in this general reform, but [King] J[ames] having represented to the French Court that they were unfortunate people that could not return to their own country, that they had served well in the war, and would be more useful than any others, whenever they had any design upon England: these reasons and his request to the French King prevailed with him to let them continue as they were; and accordingly he sent Mons. Barbésieux

\* Cf. Grimblot, Letters of William III. and Lou's XIV. ii. 385, footnote and *Archives Diplomatiques. Recueil des Instructions. Espagne*, i. 472.

last night to K[ing] J[ames] to acquaint him with that resolution.

"Mr. Prior may remember that I talked to him when he was here last about taking up one Claude, a Frenchman, as he says he is, who served the late Lord Brudenell, in order to exchange him for Arnold, or Pierre Perault. If Your Lordship be of that mind, I am told he is almost every night at the Dog Tavern in Drury Lane; and Couchman the messenger will be a proper person to apprehend him, because he was acquainted with him at Paris. This Claude was much at St. Germain's whilst he stayed here: and endeavoured to have seduced several English thither; but the best reason for seizing him is for having attended on Richardson, one of the assassins, while he was concealed in the late Lord Brudenell's house, which, I am told, he bragged of when he was here last. Bayley does give me great hopes that the person *dont il s'agit* [Bryerly]\* will go for England, but he must first send away his wife and children. I shall take all the care I can in that matter. I am told that Lord Bernard, who is now at Montpellier, keeps a correspondence with the Court of St. Germain's by the means of Sir William Ellis, who has shown several letters from him, and, I am assured, has writ back to my Lord. This will be delivered safe into Your Lordship's hands by Col. Richards. I am sorry you have had the gout, I hope it is now over."

*Postscript*.—"I have received your last of December the 4th." (V. 128.)

#### ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Dec. 23. [N.S.] Paris.—"We were yesterday at Versailles, but were put off till next Tuesday for answers to our matters depending. Lady Calverley and her pretty daughter, Mrs. Sherrard, arrived here on Saturday night last, in their way only to Montpellier, whither they intend to be going in ten days' time. Frowd and his spouse set out to-morrow heartily tired of this place. The words that he offended Lord Tavistock and Mr. Howard with are these:—Upon their saying if he did not drink the glass of wine upon his toe they would go away, he replied in an angry grinning manner, rising from his chair without any provocation, that they might both go, he did not care a turd, and would not drink it. So you see 'twas only the manner of speaking that could give offence. I have lately received a letter from Mr. Tonson, but he says nothing in it of his design for Virgil; however, I will go to Bologne this afternoon and talk with him about it, and in my way call upon Rigault and L'Argillière, designing to dedicate this whole evening to painting and brass lamps. I have had a misfortune in my poor coach which will save your reputation; my unruly horse in turning kicked backward and broke one of my doors and the glass

\* Cf. pp. 391, 396-7, *infra*, and Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, pp. 98-9.



in it all to pieces, so that it cannot last any longer ; otherwise you will say I might have used it for several years. In the meantime I am ruining myself to get another.

"Col. Stanhope and his father by computation were at Bourdeaux five days together without hearing of each other, so that the father is come hither without hearing of the son, and it's believed the son is gone to Bayonne to meet his father. If it had been husband and wife one would have sworn it was done on purpose." (V. 129.)

ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Dec. 26. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have none of your favours (I mean written ones) to acknowledge, which makes me grieve heartily for want of venison, but if you think it necessary to have a little wine to it, you know we are in the country for it.

'He that gives me venison  
Shall have God's benison,  
But he that gives me venison and wine  
Shall have God's benison and mine.'

These you know are the words of a great poet that loved eating and drinking, I believe, better than you do.

"I have been with all the painters and am promised to have your pictures in fifteen days' time, reckoning from yesterday. Bologne has drawn the sketch, but is now altering Horace for Virgil, and finding a place for Æneas. When he has done it, I desire to know if I must pay him for it, and agree for the design. You remember we reckoned the charge would be near 80*l.* sterling, and therefore I desire to have Mr. Tonson's positive orders in the matter, having not had any signification of his intentions from himself. I am very glad to find by my Lord that you are preparing your poem for the press. I hope Your Honour won't let so great an admirer of your works as I am be long without one of them. I wish I could do you justice in the French language, that the wits here may admire your verse as well as your prose, but, alas a day ! I can't rhyme. However, if you should upon any occasion use me ill, that shall be my way of revenging myself upon you. In the meantime I think you must make your friend Ben Portlock translate it into Latin verse.

"Would you do a body a real kindness ? If you would, you must help an honest helpless brother of mine, whom I had formerly occasion of recommending to you, to some clerk's place in an office. Pray think of it, and do it with such a charming grace that I may know nothing of it till it is done. Such actions well become a great poetical soul. I have no news to send you, but that an ox is roasting next door, of which my Lady, who is big with child, is to have the first cut for fear she should long. We have heard of a Lady that longed for a bull, but never any for an ox, I presume." (V. 130.)

## ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1699, Dec. 30. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have yours of the 11th inst., and have done what you require of me in it. I suppose you will laugh at this marriage between Morocco and the Princess of Conti, but 'tis very true that such a letter is come. It pleases her vanity well enough, though you will easily believe it is not like to be a match, she being so much better as she is.

“My Lord Manchester was yesterday with Mons. Torcy, but cannot yet get any answer to his memorials about the *William and Jane* taken on the coasts of Guinea, and Beale, the Custom-house officer, now prisoner at Cherbourg. In talking with Mons. Salibai (?), one of Mons. Pontchartrain's secretaries, I found that the report of the Admiralty upon the former was returned, and that it was to be laid before the King the first Council day that should be appointed for examining prizes. I discovered by him that they have no other reason to justify the taking that ship but by pretending that we have no right of trading there. They say the Isle of Goree and its dependencies was yielded to them by the Dutch at the Treaty of Nimeghen, so that they reckon it now as one of their Colonies. At the same time they tell you the King of that country is obliged by treaty to trade with them alone, exclusive of all others except the Portuguese, which destroys their pretence to a colony by owning a King of the country, and grounding their right of excluding us upon a treaty made with him. You will easily foresee this is like to be a pure chicanery; however, since these are like to be the only arguments made use of, my Lord Manchester desires you would inform yourself from the persons concerned of the true state of this matter, that he may be prepared to answer these trifling objections when they are made. I have writ about it to one of the proprietors of the ship, and desired him to wait on you with such informations concerning our right to that trade as they are able to give you, which my Lord desires you would send him as soon as you have them.” (V. 131.)

## The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

[1699-] 1700, Jan. 13. [N.S.] Paris.—“Since my last of the 6th I am informed that one 240 224 113 280 400 196 240 152 727 (Major Samuel Maxwell), a 1340 887 946 960 (Scot, went from hence) 713 511 120 3 370 (two days ago) for 276 140 356 (Rouen) where one 323 332 114 453 248 137 (Arbuthnot\*), a 241 113 340 326 130 (merchant) of the same country, is settled, who is to 1161 188 798 (provide him) a 704 (ship) to carry 798 293 1982 1412 394 (him to Scotland directly). When 217 502 198 1034 (he comes there), I am told 217 384 to 1388 1280 (he is to address himself) to the 1340 340 777 of 2071 at 194 356 332 113 630 (Scotch Earl of Gallway at Edinburgh), to whom, it's said, 217 1878 123 1456 127 of

\* Doubtless a slip of the pen for Arbuthnot.



2201 (he carries letters of consequence) from 280 642 130 1590 124 (St. Germain's), and because it is thought that it may be much for His Majesty's service to have 798 1026 27 (him seized), I send Your Lordship the best 188 122 341 62 100 292 673 254 798 (description of him) I can get. 217 (He) is of about 1351 944 1056 121 254 903 (thirty-five years of age), a very 393 286 157 290 73 74 660 (lusty tall man) with a 1904 182 237 461 27 202 180 and 491 994 216 382 (fresh-coloured face and brown hair), but now 306 323 122 (wears) a periwig. 217 1048 (He was) formerly an 356 282 50 87 (ensign) in the 1340 453 1270 124 (Scots Guards), and served as such in 2063 (Flanders), but deserted about that time that 240 224 112 1750 272 80 280 158 (Major-General Ramsay) got the regiment; however, 'tis probable there are many officers still in it who 810 798 (know him). Since 377 (his) desertion, 217 (he) has served in the 1282 (Irish) forces 640 (here); but having been 273 622 80 28 1021 (reformed since) the 844 (Peace) was willing to undertake 714 (this) piece of 1820 (service). Though I am told 217 272 62 73 28 (he railed) publicly before 217 887 (he went) at the 1776 (late King) for his ill 1192 824 (treatment) of him, he pretends to leave him in great 507 500 712 137 (discontent), and to 1680 216 87 51 804 (venture hanging) in his own country rather than 1827 640 (starve here). I have already told Your Lordship that one 342 323 70 a 1340 30 1006 (Clerk, a Scots priest,) who went by 711 1148 (the name) 202 711 118 182 122 243 (of Father Cosmo), was 437 4 468 (run away) from 960 (hence) with some 1782 (money) of the 1776 123 (late King's), and of several other persons to a 1402 1063 2161, since which I hear that 217 384 370 131 (he is got) to 234 157 188 87 in 1598 1207 (Leyden in Holland, where), I presume, it may not be difficult for his 1621 (Majesty) to get 798 1026 30 (him seized); and I am of opinion it may be very much for his 1621 124 1820 (service), since it is certain that he had a great 442 487 (share) of the 1776 120 1721 (late King's confidence) in several matters. I am in hopes he may be the more easy in an 642 211 408 833 1083 803 (ingenuous confession), because he can have no 362 112 711 118 680 440 354 of 168 298 90 290 211 (further prospect of advantage this way, after having) 340 34 327 194 (cheated) them so grossly; at least when he is 673 180 in 338 121 293 27 158 (once in custody), it will be no hard matter to 357 293 118 133 454 456 453 (extort the truth) from 798 (him). He is a very 290 73 74 453 643 660 817 301 280 50 30 a 796 276 660 407 281 (tall, thin man, long-visaged, a high Roman nose) with a 1904 502 422 357 803 (fresh complexion) which 'tis said here, he 260 642 291 33 (painted), and about 1351 778 1056 128 834 (thirty-eight years old): I believe Mr. Prior has seen him and can 188 124 341 62 172 798 (describe him) more 357 744 394 (exactly).

"I have discovered a correspondence carried on between one 240 224 112 332 112 113 94 144 128 (Major Burrows),

who went from 960 (hence) about 713 1300 122 (two months) ago and abscond[ed] in London and 1558 286 96 144 837 (Colonel Stow, one) of the 164 104 122 642 198 (assassins). I am told the former has a 846 (pension) of a 1830 236 1038 123 a 1056 (thousand *livres* per annum) for writing 1283 (intelligence) to 1943 (Lord Melford), though 286 96 144 (Stow) receives them under 711 1148 (the name) of 680 18 293 118 (Proctor). They are 1412 194 1676 3 243 410 223 461 (directed thus) 680 18 293 118 (Proctor), 340 37 160 (chez), 243 410 223 461 (Monsieur) 300 483 (Veard) 301 123 (vis) à 301 123 280 642 130 182 127 241 277 34 188 233 216 114 261 à 1160 (vis St. Cosme, Rue de la Harpe, à Paris). I have a copy [of] one of his letters by me, which contains no great matter more than virulent reflections; I cannot send it Your Lordship by the post without hazarding the 1346 (safety) of the 1322 724 210 300 (person who gave) it me, but I shall do it by the first safe opportunity. In the meantime I suppose Your Lordship will think fit to send the 1412 803 (directions) to the 263 286 1314 (Post Office) that all 1456 120 283 284 423 422 341 63 11 27 (letters so superscribed) may be 286 416 136 (stopped) or at least 416 774 (opened). By what 332 112 113 94 144 128 (Burrows) mentions in the 1456 (letter) 'tis probable some of the messengers know him, which makes me hope he may be discovered.

"There is likewise one 298 298 283 112 (Vavator) an 327 293 114 248 158 (attorney) mentioned in it as a very violent Jacobite, under the 1148 (name) of 203 370 (Fego), so called, I am told, from his 127 430 667 804 (squinting). 286 96 144 (Stow) told 171 157 394 (Baily) at the same time that 202 711 112 280 720 188 433 (Father Saunders) had ordered him to give him a 827 36 (note) of his 237 28 51 804 (lodging), because he believed 1776 (King James) would shortly have 1634 622 798 (occasion for him), adding that he would 283 673 (soon) hear of 866 1036 (something) that would 280 114 842 798 (surprise him). I have put B[ailey] upon finding out what *was* meant by that dark expression, but as yet he can make nothing of it. B[ailey] tells me that 491 156 197 394 (Bryerly) has obtained 778 158 236 1038 123 (eighty *livres*) for his part of the 1166 120 1782 (Pope's money), and—which is more—1776 122 977 (the late King's leave) to make 880 of it in sending 6 468 (away) his 307 203 (wife) and 340 646 30 273 87 (children); having represented to him that he could not 240 642 290 642 1030 640 (maintain them here), but that he had a 491 1316 327 1774 (brother at London) who had 680 402 130 (proffered) to take 760 254 1030 (care of them), so that he is resolved to 860 1030 4 468 (send them away) some time this week by the 468 254 276 300 88 (way of Rouen), and to take the first 1694 (occasion) of 206 76 77 96 146 804 1280 (following himself). I intend very shortly to bring 714 1620 (this matter) to an 384 284 36 (issue) one 468 253 326 1316 (way or another); at least to be satisfied whether all that is told me about it be true.



B[aily] is to 911 (bring) 798 (him) to 1160 (Paris), and then 306 487, (we are) to find some 468 (way) of 331 3 390 (breaking) the 1570 to 798 (design to him), in which I shall lose no time nor spare any pains to make it succeed. I am told that 1944 (Lord Middleton) receives packets here under 714 1 138 (this address) à 243 410 223 461 234 1038 428 280 642 130 223 326 (Monsieur L'evêque Saint Jean), Banquier à Paris. I desire Your Lordship would please to give orders that all 1456 120 (letters) so directed be 416 774 (opened), that we may discover what truth there is in the information.

"I was yesterday with Mons. de Torey, and showed him the Articles they had agreed on at Hamburgh in order to prevent a war in those parts. He said that he had not yet received them, nor none of the Ministers, but thought it was right what they had done. I do not doubt but Your Lordship has them before now from Mr. Crescett, yet nevertheless I send them enclosed in this.

"King James is rather worse.

"I had forgot to tell Your Lordship Mons. Wryberg did execute the orders he had received concerning Neuchastell, who will send an account of what passed." (VI. 3.)

#### The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

[1699-] 1700, Jan. 15. [N.S.] Paris.—"I should not have given Your Lordship nor myself so much trouble in my last of the 13th. inst. had I foreseen this opportunity of writing so soon by the son of the Dean of York; nor did I believe it worth an express; though I cannot tell but some use may be made. The enclosed is the letter I mentioned from one Major Burrowes to Stow, one of the assassins, who is in the faction of Lord Melford. The true name of Fego is Vavasour, an attorney; F.S. means Father Saunders; Lewis is the person that brought these horses into France, who formerly belonged to Lord Feversham. It may be proper to open at the Post Office all the letters that come with either of these directions; which may give you some light into matters here; but to tell you plainly my thoughts, I cannot think there is any method taken now at St. Germain; the late King being so ill that he cannot last long. I find most of that opinion; nevertheless, I was glad to hear the King had ordered a proclamation in Scotland, since it is there where they expect most good. It is said now at St. Germain that there is a rising in Scotland, and that they have declared themselves for a Free State, which I am far from believing, only it shows where their thoughts are. Major Samuel Maxwell is certainly gone thither with some directions. They had that confidence in Cosmo, *alias* Clark, that the Duke of Berwick lent him his calesh, thinking he would return the same day, but he went with it to Leyden; and since they hear he is at Amsterdam. He knows the whole proceeding of that Court, so that if he could

be taken he would soon confess all he knows, there being no prospect for him to return hither.

"T[ooth] tells me that Major Richard Bozier who lives at the upper end of Red Lion Street, and frequents the Bear Tavern in Holborn, near Bloomsbury Square, with one Mr. Fleetwood, who keeps him company, were concerned in sending Goodman away as Obryan knows.

"Mr. Minnis, who went from hence in August last, corresponds with Lord Middleton, as also one Netterville. I believe Mr. Prior knows them both.

"I take all the care I can to know the steps of those fellows that were in the assassination; they do not appear in public, as they did when I came first; I cannot see any kind of danger but from such villains: Father Saunders' expression to Stow, that King James would shortly have occasion for him, I do not like. Whenever any of them are missing, I will give Your Lordship notice, though I hope none is admitted near the King but such as are known.

"I have received Your Lordship's of December 28th with orders to concert with Mons. Vryberg concerning Neuchatell; the letter he had the post before did mention that I should have such directions; and as the case stood with Madame de Nemours, we took the first opportunity of doing it. Mons. Vryberg has sent the account of what passed to His Majesty; we are of opinion, nevertheless, that the next time I see Mons. de Torcy, I should let him know, I had also received the same orders, and so leave it. Madame de Nemours is resolved not to revoke her Governor, and is preparing to go to her house, fourteen leagues from Paris in pursuance to the orders she has received: I could wish something could be done for her, though I cannot see how well the King can concern himself in that affair." (VI. 5.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to ABRAHAM STANYAN.

1699-1700, Jan. 8[-19]. Whitehall.—"On Saturday morning we had three posts from France, the 2nd, 6th, and 9th, and yesterday we had a fourth of the 13th. I am looking over all these from you, and I think I have little more to do than to acknowledge them.

"I hope you have all the pictures by this time in your own hands; here are my verses, which, let me tell you, everybody here says are admirable. Davenant's book is highly saucy, but I think it has done no real mischief, to our friend in particular, though in general it was and is a hint to shew everybody where they should be angry.

"I hear nothing of young Davenant's marriage, but I know him so well that I expect the worst things of that kind from his conduct.

"As good verses might have been made by a true Maroquin as those you sent me, I thank you for them, however, since, if you had had better I presume you would have been equally



liberal of them ; I had them, too, from Abbé du Bois, from whence I infer that he thought them good. Pray send me *Jonathan* as soon as he is printed, and indeed all dramatic poetry. Pray ask me for no more poetry either sublime or burlesque, for henceforth I will write no more verses.

Exceptions to the foregoing rule :—

“To-morrow night Batterton acts Falstaff, and to encourage that poor house the Kit Katters have taken one side-box, and the Knights of the Toast have taken the other. We have made up a Prologue for Sir John in favour of eating and drinking, and to rally your toasts, and I have on this occasion four lines upon Jacob. We will send you the whole Prologue when we have it together.

“N.B.—My Lord Dorset is at the head of us, and Lord Carbury is general of the enemy’s forces, and that we dine at my Lord Dorset’s, and go from thence in a body. How my health will answer to this, if you should ask, since I came from the Gravelpits but on Saturday, I answer that I only sit down to table when the dessert comes, eat nothing but roasted apples, and drink sack and water.

“I will think of the books, and of everything else in which I may serve my Lord Manchester, as soon as my health lets me tumble a little more freely amongst my papers than I can do at present.

“The Savoy Ambassador makes his entry to-day, as Mr. Yard will tell you more at large in the *Gazette* next Thursday ; this is a return, or, as we call it, an equivalent for what you say of the Portugal Ambassador having a mind to make his exit.” *Copy.* (XII. 386–7.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to DR. [HUMPHREY] GOWER, MASTER OF ST. JOHN’S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

[1699–] 1700, Jan. 9[–20]. Whitehall.—“I will not so much as endeavour to make any excuse for my long absence from the College ; it is easier to confess the fault and throw myself wholly upon your goodness. I have long intended to come in person to Cambridge to ask your pardon there, but since my return to England a very ill state of health and a very great deal of business have withheld me. I hope, however, in some time to beg a week or ten days to wait on you and to assure you that, as I have great obligations to the College, and most particularly to the master of it, so I shall always endeavour to shew myself not wholly unworthy of them by bearing an entire affection to the society, and a very true respect to him who governs it. Your pupil, my Lord Jersey, has been pleased to accept of me in his office, from which place I ought rather to send you good prose than indifferent verse. I will promise you that this is the only folly of this kind that you shall ever have from me, and that I am a little ashamed of playing the ohild at thirty-three, though my friends at Co[urt] buoy me up (too partially, I am afraid) in the frolic ; whatever I write,

Sir, you have a right to it, and in what condition soever I am you must command me." *Copy.* (XII. 390.)

#### MEMORANDUM.

"The letter of the 8th January directed to Mons. l'Evêque, le Jeun [*sic*], Banquier à Paris, contains in substance that Lord Bazil [Hamilton] was here not admitted to see the King, that in Scotland they said no Darien, no K[ing] W[illiam]; that the petition of Scotland was signed by seventy thousand hands, that my Lord Queenborough and all the great men there have set their heart upon Darien. '*Orpin will come off with a scratched face at the end, I say*'; and in another place, '*Orpin courts all parties, loves cordially no party, sneaks and cringes.*' 'Why does not Count Tallard press Q[ueen] M[ary's] 50,000 pounds?' The rest was upon several heads of news that occurred here; and it concluded with the author's being sincerely, faithfully and cordially, servant to the master and mistress." *Copy.* (XII. 391.)

#### ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1699-]1700, Jan. 20. [N.S.] Paris.—"I received the last post two letters from you of the 1st inst., one about the extravagance of my extraordinaries, and the other about Dr. English; as to the former, all I can say to it is that since my bills are thought too large, I shall mend next time, though 'twill go much against the grain till I obtain the bounty money. As for the latter, I don't know what's become of him, there's no news of him either at Lyons or here. The Savoy Ambassador's entry differed from ours, and, which is worse, from that of Venice in two essential points, first, that Mons. Torcy's coach did not assist at it, because the Ambassador was not willing it should go before his, and he would not let it go after; therefore it did not go at all; and, secondly, that Breteuil's coach led the march, which is the point you know they have been so long labouring for. As to that, the Ambassador says it was done by surprise, and that he knew nothing of it, which, if true, makes Breteuil a very saucy fellow. However, the ministers here take great notice of these two marks of distinction between him and Venice, at this time especially when the alliance gave them reason to hope for more favour than others.

"I hear from Rome that my Lady Salisbury is fallen sick of the small pox; what danger there is of her life is not said, but I'm sure you'll agree with me there's none of her beauty."

"We have had scarce any new books or plays since you went. There is published a little book called a '*Suite des Mœurs de ce Siècle*,' by Bruyère, which I believe may be genuine; if you have a mind to have it, you shall. De la Fausse [*sic.*, i.e., Antoine de Lafosse], the author of *Manlius*, who, I think, is known to you, has lately written a play called *Thésée*, which has been acted several times with great applause;



I have not yet seen it ; when 'tis printed I will send it you. Mons. Rousseau is very much your servant, and desires me to tell you so." (VI. 6.)

ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1699-] 1700, Jan. 23. [N.S.] Paris.—“ My Lord Manchester bids me tell you he was in hopes you would have sent him your verses [*Carmen Seculare*] which came out on New Year's Day, since you cannot but know he longs to see them, as well as the long-expected catalogue.

“ The Court of St. Germain's is very intent upon those little heats that have lately broke out in Scotland, and do all they can, you may be sure, to foment them, looking upon this as the last push they shall have for recovering their lost game, but I doubt not His Majesty's prudence will easily disappoint their expectations. But what sounds foolish enough is that the late King cannot help owning he is jealous of a certain Duke [Hamilton] there, who is very busy, and believes he is carrying on designs for his own good rather than for that of St. Germain's ; insomuch that I have been told it has been debated in his Council whether his party in that kingdom should act in concert with the other, and at last it was resolved that the more disturbance there was 'twould be the better for him. We have various reports about it, and therefore my Lord desires you would send him word whether Lord Bazill Hamilton has presented any address to the King about the Scotch affairs, whether he offered any and was refused, or whether he has any to present, and likewise that you would let him know what effect the King's proclamation in that kingdom has had, or whether they still go on in their tumultuary way of petitioning.” (VI. 7.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

[1699-]1700, Feb. 16. [N.S.] Paris.—“ Upon the receipt of Your Lordship's letter of the 25th past,\* I ordered Mr. Stanyan to discourse B[ryerly] upon the two points contained in your answer ; viz., what service in particular he was able to do, and what reward he expected for it ; which he accordingly has done, but not with an entire satisfaction, several hours being spent in disputing before B. would answer either of these questions, still pretending very unreasonably that we were to tell him what service was expected from him, and then the King might best judge what it deserved ; nor would he at last declare any points in particular wherein he could be useful, but said he would answer in general terms to any questions that should be asked him ; and because I had foreseen by the last meeting he might still make the same difficulty of discovering anything till the agreement was made, I gave Mr. Stanyan some interrogatories which I had received from

\* Cf. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, p. 101.

Bailly, and which he questioned him about at last, finding he would say nothing of himself. I send Your Lordship enclosed a copy of them with his general answers to most of them : he added that he could do service in several other matters not contained therein, and would very heartily do it when he had once given his word, but the reason why he insisted upon knowing what service in particular was required of him was the fear he had of being neglected when our Court had no longer occasion for him under pretence that he had not performed what he promised nor discovered anything but what we knew already, and I am apt to believe that may be the true reason of his shyness. The same reason makes him insist upon fixing the gratuity he is to have for his pains, as to which great endeavours were used to persuade him to refer himself to the King's bounty, which would be greater or less according to the service he did. Your Lordship will easily believe we did not forget on one side to enlarge upon the advantages of the King's pardon and liberty to his native country after having so notoriously offended against both ; and on the other to set before his view the long train of miseries he was to expect here, that he and his family was now left to starve, and would be yet in a worse condition if the late King should die ; which 'twas probable he would in a short time ; that he was forbid to come into his presence . . . ."

*Fragment endorsed :—*Answered Feb. 15, 1700. (VI. 10.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

[1699-] 1700, Feb. 24. [N.S.] Paris.—“The last I received from Your Lordship was February 5th ; as to *la personne dont il s'agit* mine of the 16th has given some satisfaction, I hope. What you write concerning 661 273 (Mayre)† I have discoursed Bayly, but cannot give Your Lordship any further light than what I have already done, only it is certain he knows all the intrigues of that Duke [Hamilton]. I am assured that 274 340 483 283 87 837 of the 164 280 121 122 642 198 (Richardson, one of the assassins,) described in the 680 342 4 240 1350 887 946 960 (proclamation, went from hence) three days ago to 630 617 (Ghent). His business is to settle some accounts with one 272 158 (Ray), an 1576 660 (Englishman) who has set up a sort of 240 408 202 18 294 273 254 216 296 (manufacture of hats), and has lived there ever since he 491 96 230 1162 (broke prison) in 1577 (England), where he was clapt up for 762 197 203 386 804 357 340 36 20 230 113 173 73 74 122 (counterfeiting Exchequer Bills). I am told he will stay there three weeks, and may easily be found with that man in case His Majesty pleases to have him 1026 27 (seized). Some days ago went from hence for England one 276 880 (Rouse), who formerly rode in the late King's Guards, but has of late been employed as a messenger ; he is of a little stature, rather thin than fat, of a fresh complexion and dark

† Cf. *ib.* pp. 96, 100.



brown hair, aged about thirty-eight ; one 260 112 432 (Parry) set out at the same time ; he is of a fair complexion marked with the small-pox, a little man, full bodied, and aged about 43 ; he was formerly a servant of the late 1781 254 263 367 127 (Marquis of Powis), but now 306 323 120 (wears a) 657 432 (livery) of the 1776 (late King). 356 250 124 (Ennis), whom [*sic*] I formerly told Your Lordship was come hither from 927 216 242 73 293 88 (Duke Hamilton), is gone back again to 1082 (Scotland), as 'tis thought by the 468 (way) of 1577 (England). About a fortnight ago forty-two Irish officers were broke upon pretence of their having been absent from their regiments, though they were reformed before ; it is said they have thoughts of going to Scotland, in case there be any likelihood of disturbances in that kingdom. I have enclosed the answers concerning some matters that were still depending, and Your Lordship will find they are much readier than formerly to do us justice. By the next post I shall send that of the Guinea ship, which, I find already, will consist of such reasons that cannot be allowed. I hope the main point will be that we have no right to trade in those parts ; we are to deal with an African Company where some of the greatest men are concerned, and it is their interest to have the ship condemned as lawful prize." (VI. 13.)

JOHN MACKY to the [EARL OF JERSEY].

1699-1700, March 12[-23]. Dover.—"Your Lordship desires to know who this Mr. Nosworthy, *alias* Powel, is ; he married in King Charles's reign a daughter of Serjeant Maynard's, the great lawyer, and at that time was one of the great sticklers against the Court, but having a trial at law with Sir William Basset for an estate of twelve hundred pounds a year, he turned Papist in King James's reign, and by that means obtained his cause. He went to France with King James, and hath been ever since a great man with him, and indeed esteemed one of the best heads about him ; he was always a great man with Melford, and stuck close to his party to the last, but my Lord Midletone and others having the better of that party at St. Germain's they have thrown him out, and for that reason he hath left Paris with a design to come to England if he can. He is now at Boulogne, and Browne is gone thither to be with him, who will certainly give us an account of his motions. Your Lordship may remember that, when I was last in town, you told me that you had advice that this Nosworthy had left St. Germain's with a design to come for England, and you was then pleased to order me to write down immediately to this coast to observe him if he landed. If Your Lordship pleases to look over that letter which you received from Paris last January, perhaps it informs Your Lordship more particularly about him.

"All the priests and other disaffected people go now most frequently in one William Reid's ships that goes constantly

betwixt London and Dunkirk, and is very well known at the Custom house in London. This Reid turned Papist some few months ago at St. Omer, and is now chiefly entrusted, as Browne informs me. I have therefore ordered Browne to be as frequently at Dunkirk as at Calais, and although there is no great danger to be apprehended from those people, yet I believe Your Lordship will be pleased to know what they do, and who goes backwards and forwards." (V. 30.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1700, April 17. [N.S.] Paris.—“The reason I did not write the last post Mr. Prior will have acquainted Your Lordship ; there is little alteration in the affairs here, only that Palmequist has had a private audience of the King, wherein he delivered a letter from the King his Master and at the same time, as his orders were, did acquaint this King of what had passed in relation to the King of Poland, and did demand his assistance as guarantee and mediator of the Treaty of Oliva. I find he also assured the French King that the Treaty of Alliance which Sweden had lately made with England and Holland, there was nothing therein contained contrary to his interest, that it was not yet ratified, and he supposed that His Majesty would also be informed of it. The French King’s answer was that he believed he was already acquainted what steps he had taken, that his Minister in Pologne had orders to do all the good offices that were possible to bring matters to a good understanding ; that he might assure his Master he would contribute all he could to the quiet and peace of Europe ; that since he had assured him there was nothing contrary to his interests in the last alliance his Master had lately contracted, he would believe it, though he should be able to judge better when he saw it. This account I had from himself, and he is of the same opinion as I am, there is little to be expected from this Court further than good offices.

“I am told, though Mons. de Torey did not acquaint me of it, that the King of Pologne has engaged to this King not to assist nor concern himself with the town of Dantzic in any thing that may happen between France and them ; this, I find, was also an inducement that made Mons. du Heron be sent. I suppose they will expect some submission from them, as also I hear they pretend to support their Ambassador at the Porte even so far, if there be occasion, to declare war against the Turks ; if so, I think it will be pushing this matter very far with the loss of their trade ; which France cannot well spare, having at present little elsewhere. It is certain they are fitting out six great men-of-war at Toulon. Mons. Spanheim seems very uneasy that it should be thought in England, as he says it is, that the Elector of [Brandenburg] his Master was not as zealous as any other to prevent a war in those parts, and used several arguments to me that the Elector



could not do otherwise than what he has done, that he had writ very pressingly to the King of Denmark, and also to the King of Pologne, that he had refused him any assistance of his troops, which he desired of him, that by all the advices he had from Berlin he was satisfied the Elector desired nothing more than to act to the liking of the King, and hoped I would take notice of it when I writ next. I told him I would not fail, and that I did imagine there was the same good understanding as ever between the King and the Elector, that, as he knew very well, the reports we have had here that the King of Pologne had taken his measures with the Elector, etc., though we have now reason to believe the contrary, so these things may have made some impression in England, though I could not tell they had; besides the Elector not having thought fit to declare himself so fully as the guarantees have done may have given some grounds for these suspicions; he owned what I said was true, but said, as the Emperor was also mediator, it was not proper for him to declare himself more fully till the Emperor had done it; besides, the situation the Elector was in obliged him to be more cautious than others, not knowing as yet the resolutions Pologne would take, which made it more necessary for him to be on his own guard. The Countess of Berlips is soon expected here, Mons. de Torcy having dispatched the passes and sent them to meet her on the way; Mons. de Zinzendorf would have taken care of them, but they chose rather to do it themselves in order to oblige her the more.

"I must beg the favour of Your Lordship if you think it not too much presumption to assure His Majesty of my most humble duty and the great obligation it would be if the King would do me the favour to christen my son; if I have it, the Duke of Grafton will be the other with my Lady Sunderland; I hope Your Lordship will pardon this." (VI. 22.)

#### JOHN MACKY to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1700, April 9[-20]. Dover.—"Browne is returned to Dunkirk from Bruges, and writes me a confused letter referring me to a former which never came to my hands. He says in this that my Lord Kildare keeps open house for all the Irish, and that Mr. Rookwood, a Suffolk gentleman, and Mr. Apleby, a Yorkshire gentleman, with several others live with him at Bruges; that my Lord Ailesbury is married to a lady of that country, and that they are very glad that Obryan proves stiff.

"He also tells me that Bayly, King James's poulterer, landed at Dunkirk with Mr. Rotier, the engraver, and George Ward, the attorney, that the two former are gone forward to St. Germain, and the other with Mayres and Crichton (confessor to the English nuns at Dunkirk) are gone to St. Omer. This Bayly, the poulterer, was sent over from St. Germain about three months ago; some of his messages fell into Mr.

Secretary Vernon's hands, and a letter from Sir William Ellis to him (desiring him to make haste back so soon as R. could dispatch him, for it was of consequence) was intercepted, and we have had people looking out for him all over this coast, but Reid and Gallaway carry all these people immediately from London. Ward is he that solicited Your Lordship by Harry Killigrew for a pardon for killing a man, and one Peters that went over with him is brother, as Browne says, to Father Peters.

"Bayly came over in a boat from St. Valeries, which was hired for him by Harry Griffin by King James's order, and Reid is just now ready to sail from Dunkirk to London.

"This, my Lord, is the substance of what Browne writes, which I think myself obliged to communicate to Your Lordship." (VI. 19.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1700, April 21. [N.S.] Paris.—"I am told that one Richard, 500 248 73 78 (Connel), brother of him that was seized at 237 93 (Loo) last year, who is now a lieutenant in the Regiment of Picardy, went from Dunkirk for England some days ago, but does not yet himself [know] what he is to do there, as he writ to his wife. I am likewise assured that there went from hence for Rouen two days ago one 230 76 394 (Kelly), where is he to embark on board a Scotch ship that is to land him at 234 62 453 (Leith): he is said to carry with him commissions and other papers of consequence, and has the 216 18 294 273 128 (pictures) of the 1776 (late King) and 2324 (Prince of Wales), which will be a mark to know him by. 1134 390 286 673 (Lord Kingston) and one 1403 868 197 233 87 200 (Captain Sutherland) both 1340 123 (Scots), set out yesterday for Rouen, and are to go on board a Scotch ship; the master's name is 343 174 461 91 (Colebourne); the ship's name I cannot learn; he has undertaken to land them in some unsuspected place in 1982 (Scotland) and 'tis probable 230 76 394 (Kelly) may pass in the same vessel.

"I am positively told that the 1776 (late King) has actually 273 242 133 137 194 (remitted) 713 1758 1830 236 461 198 (two hundred thousand *livres*) to 1982 (Scotland) but cannot learn 673 724 80 711 173 73 78 124 (on whom the bills) are 770 90 (drawn).

"As to *la personne*, I cannot hear of him, and suppose he may 1707 (abscond) among the rest of the 341 34 144 (crew) upon a report spread here that 1917 (His Majesty) is persuading the 1743 761 (French Court) to 1568 1030 721 (deliver them up): whether true or no, 'tis certain they believe it, and have orders from the 1776 (late King) to 394 500 180 4 76 30 (lie concealed), and for their encouragement each of their 846 121 (pensions) is 642 341 34 164 28 (increased) 713 1758 (two hundred) and 1423 236 461 198 (fifty *livres*).



"As to 372 166 34 (Grace) I shall send your Lordship some account of him by the next post." (VI. 24.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1700, April 21. [N.S.] Paris.—"Upon receiving Your Lordship[s] of April 1st O.S., I took occasion to discourse further Mons. de Torcy concerning the affairs of the North, where I acquainted him how well satisfied the King was with the account I had given him, and that he did not doubt but France would take such methods as were proper to prevent those mischiefs. I then enlarged, as from myself, that it might possible [*sic*] be, the reason why Denmark has not agreed to any accommodation is that they might still flatter themselves that, since France had not declared against them as others had seemed to do, they might possible [*sic*] at last be of their side; he repeated again the order the French King had given his Ministers, &c., and that I might assure the King that there should be no step taken without his knowledge, nor any treaty whatsoever but with his approbation, and did own, the true reason that made it not proper for this King to declare against either Denmark or Pologne was that it might have that consequence, when they found themselves wholly abandoned, they would then make with the Emperor what conditions he thought fit, which might in some measure defeat what had lately passed, especially since most Princes are to be included, and endeavours used accordingly: this makes them more cautious, and I am apt to think the Court of Vienna is of the same opinion, not to disoblige the King of Pologne: time will show which way he inclines; I rather believe it will be to France. Mons. de Torcy told me that England and Holland had pressed that France would send a squadron to the Baltic, but said there were no occasion of them, they being sufficient, besides not advisable at this juncture for the reasons he had mentioned. I do find also by Mons. Meyercroon that this Court will not contribute to the peace of those parts otherwise than by good offices, though I do believe Denmark has made them all the offers and promises that were possible to engage them.

"I have again pressed Mons. de Torcy about the effects taken by Du Bart on board the Dantzic ships; he tells me that that town is sending deputies hither, that, if I could get a true state of those goods and also their value, care should be taken of it; provided the deputies do own they did belong to the English.

"I have had a good deal of trouble, but I think I have prevented the son of Count Boselli's going for England.

"Mons. Palmequist has received orders to wait on me in the manner I desire. I suppose Mr. Stanhope is to do the same in Holland to the Swedish Ambassador." (VI. 25.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, April 28. [N.S.] Paris.—“I was very glad to find by yours of the 11th that the Parliament was up; if their proceedings are like to be the same, it must at last bring us into confusion; I should have answered yours concerning Mr. Smith but that I was not come to any resolution. I have now fixed that matter with Mr. Lewis, a relation of Mr. Stepney, and who was with him all the time he was at Berlin: he is one that I can rely on, and knows very well Paris and those sort of persons we are to deal with. I cannot but take it extreme kind of you and return you many thanks. I hope I shall hear from Lord Jersey the next post, for we cannot christen the child till I know.”

*Postscript.*—“Yesterday the Duchess of Berwick, newly married, appeared at the toilette of Madame de Bourgogne and dined at Madame de Lude’s. I was very near her; you see how the world goes; I have writ to Lord Jersey what I know as yet of Madame de Varennes.” (VI. 27.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, May 5. [N.S.] Paris.—“The Court being at Marli, Mons. de Torcy will not be at Paris till to-morrow, so you must make my excuse to Lord Jersey that I do not write this post. I am to tell you that my wife lays all the fault on you that we have not yet heard if we may give the little one the King’s name, and without knowing positively, I dare not venture. You see what you are like to bring on yourself, so that at present you are a little out of favour and will be unless we do hear by the next letters. I shall do all I can to serve the University, and shall take care about the Horace, when I have it. Mr. Stanyan will acquaint you how that matter stands, it being seized at Dieppe. I have not seen for some time the Archbishop of Rheims, and I believe he is gone to his diocese. I did imagine the King would not allow anything in relation to another secretary, and did not intend neither to desire it. You may think Mr. Lewis or any other would be glad of it, and it has been their own doing, for two or 300*l.* per annum more or less will not make me uneasy. I should think, as this will save the King considerable, it will be a reason for the Treasury to pay my allowance as it comes due. I need not tell you I have any thoughts of growing rich; if I do not make my circumstances worse hereafter is all I desire. To-morrow dine with me several of the great men of the Court, amongst them will be the Maréchal Villeroy; he will certainly ask after you, as he often does. The little hope our friends at St. Germain’s have is now in Scotland, and if that fails, all things will be quiet till the next meeting of our Parliament. I should think [if] instead of a change in the Ministry we had a new Parliament, it would be more for the King’s service; not much good can be expected from a last session. We hear



that the King intends for Holland this summer, when it is certain, pray let me know." (VI. 28.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to WILLIAM III.

1700, May 5. [N.S.] Paris.—“The liberty I take is occasioned by the Venetian Ambassador here, who in the name of that Republic came to acquaint me in order to let Your Majesty know that the great obligations they owed Your Majesty and the desire to continue always in your good opinion had made them appoint Mons. Mocenigo their Ambassador in ordinary to reside in England, and that he was<sup>r</sup> to set out very soon; he afterwards did insinuate as if that Republic hoped Your Majesty would send also a minister there, and said all that resided at Venice generally had the character of Ambassador. The answer I made was that I would not fail to let Your Majesty know what he told me by order of the Republic; that I could not tell what your intentions were; neither did I remember any minister from England that resided there ever had that character. I need not tell Your Majesty on what principle that Republic acts. The great esteem and veneration all Europe has for Your Majesty, which, I must confess, they have been long finding out, and the advantage they have received and may still at the Porte makes them seek your protection. I beg leave to return my most humble thanks for the honour I have lately received, and as it is still a further mark of your favour, so I hope my actions will never deserve the contrary, since I have no other ambition than to study your service in all that lies in my power, which I hope Your Majesty is satisfied of by my Lord Jersey.” (VI. 29.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1700, May 8. [N.S.] Paris.—“I have recommended to Mons. de Torcy the affairs of the North, and have so fully discoursed that matter that I cannot but think they are very sincere, and will take the best measures they can to procure an agreement; that Mons. Chamilly had orders to make a new proposal, viz., that neither side should erect any forts during the Treaty of Pinnenberg, that all the troops should withdraw only such a small number as was to be agreed on by both parties; and a time limited for the examination of the case in question, and all sides to acquiesce in the determination; he could not tell whether this would be accepted, but that he had declared to the Ministers of Denmark and Pologne by the King's order they were not to expect any assistance from hence, and that it was with much difficulty this King did not declare against them, since by the Treaty of Oliva and the instances and solicitations of others did [*sic*] in some measure oblige him; that he hoped they would consider their own interest and contribute what they could to bring

matters to a good conclusion. He said also their own Ministers had the same orders. He did not wonder that I pressed him in this matter, since he found that the King had discoursed Mons. Tallard about it ; that it was very true the Ministers of Denmark, etc., in all places did endeavour to make it believed that this Court was very well pleased with what they did ; but did desire I would take off all such suspicion, and assure the King that no treaty nor alliance should be renewed with them till the affairs of the North were settled ; that the reason they could not proceed otherwise at present was the measures they were obliged to keep, lest it should force them entirely into the Emperor's interest, which at this juncture might be of ill consequence. I did also desire him to let me know when he would mention the late Treaty\* to the Emperor's Minister here, and what measures they intended to take, that I might act conformable to them. He said he should not take notice of it to him till Tuesday sevensnight, that they should send order to Mons. Villars with a copy of the treaty to communicate it to the Emperor ; and at the expiration of eight days afterwards, in case he has no answer, to send back the courier, and to declare this King will take it as a refusal ; that, lest, if it should so happen, the Emperor might engage the Pope, the French Ambassador there is to communicate it also, with a desire to have it kept secret. They also think to do the same to the Republic of Venice, and will impart it to their Ambassador here about the same time he mentions it to the Emperor's Minister. As for Spain, they thought it not yet proper, saying they should now soon see the success of this great affair ; that the King would have the honour of it ; that the case was extremely changed in two years ; that the French King had now all the obligation and interest to wish the welfare and life of our King, assuring me the great concern he was under some time this winter, when they heard from Mons. Tallard the King was a little indisposed. This, I take, is not unlikely, it being plainly their interest, else I should not easily be persuaded of their good intentions. I wish it was so elsewhere. I cannot yet learn whether the commander or any of those persons that came from Cartagena are still at Paris ; the next post I hope I shall be able to give some account of them.

"I have taken the liberty to write to the King, the Venetian Ambassador having waited on me in the name of the Republic to acquaint the King (with a great compliment) that they had named Mons. Mocenigo, of great distinction among them, their Ambassador to reside in England ; that he had orders to set out as soon as was possible. I find they are in hopes the King will also send thither. I have also taken this occasion to return my most humble thanks for the late honour the King has done me. I fear to be too tedious ;

\* *I.e.*, the second Partition Treaty.



therefore shall acquaint Your Lordship another time what further occurs." (VI. 30.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, May 8. [N.S.] Paris.—"So soon as I received yours from Hampton Court we christen the child; so that matter is over, but must tell you we was impatient to hear, for till then you had not mentioned the King would let me have that honour. I send Roger over with the *sage femme*. I have writ to Lord Jersey, and, I suppose, there will be no occasion to keep him long. I must tell you Mr. Stanyan knows nothing of the great affair, nor that which relates to 444, 467, 62, 484, 196, 236, 120 [Sir William Ellis\*]; neither is it convenient he should, for he always declined seeing him on that subject, and would only trust the Church.

"You talk of alterations in the Ministry; I hope Lord Chancellor will continue, though the usage he has met with is no great encouragement. Brocard presses for money, and I have let him have ten *louis* for the present. I do not find he is very diligent, and it may be there is not much to know." (VI. 32.)

ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, May 18. [N.S.] Paris.—"Yesterday evening I received yours of the 2nd inst. from Hampton Court about your former commissions, and shall be careful of performing them to your mind. As to the pictures, Rigault has almost done 'em. And for the etched figures, when I have an answer to my last, the Duke of Somerset shall soon be satisfied. I will go this afternoon to La Garde, and take my judicious friends with me to examine the brazen vases. I will likewise do what I can to moderate the conditions the Abbé de Brignon would impose upon you, which, I must confess, are very hard in my opinion. I was promised to have the answers of your letters to send by this post, but they are not come.

"You gave me leave to assure Count St. Maurice some time ago that you would write to him in a post or two, but have not kept your word, which makes us both uneasy. I excuse it as well as I can upon the present hurry I imagine you are in; however, I hope you don't forget him, nor my orders to return home, which I am now ready for, and should be glad to receive. The Countess d'Auvergne is now a better Catholic than most of the new converts here, and has been several times at Mass, which is all the news I have to send you." (VI. 36.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1700, May 19. [N.S.] Paris.—"Yesterday Mons. de Torcy acquainted the Emperor's Minister of the whole affair; who

\* Cf. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, pp. 111-112, 117, 121, 126, 128.

seemed mightily surprised and complained much of the proceedings of our King, taking notice how many engagements had been made between his Master and him ; to which Mons. de Torcy answered he thought he had no reason to complain, after what had passed on that subject at Vienna, and that the Emperor had been informed of every thing that was now agreed to, that this matter was not of a new nature, for that there had been a secret treaty between the Emperor and France concerning the succession of Spain in 1668. When I saw Mons. de Torcy, he told me all that had passed, and I was glad to hear of this secret treaty being a good argument to Mons. de Zinzendorf, as you will find afterwards. He soon took notice of it to me and began much in the same manner. I told him I wondered to see him so much surprised, since for some time he always assured me there was such a matter in agitation, and that it was concluded ; that if he would consider a little, he would be then convinced that the King had not only considered the interest of Europe, but that in particular that of the Emperor, that what might be very doubtful, and even not likely to obtain by a war might now be secured, if they pleased. He said what faith could be expected if the Pyrenean Treaty and the renunciation that France made was not valid ? To which I answered that I did believe the Emperor did not take it to be a full decision in relation to Spain, else he would not have made a secret Treaty with France in 1668, wherein he yielded much more, as I was informed. I then proceeded to show him the situation of affairs, the power of France, the interest they had in Italy, as also in Spain ; besides, what he had often told me he feared the Spaniards would declare themselves for a Prince of France, I was of opinion he would at last think this was the only way to prevent it, and that they had it now in their power. Upon the whole matter he seemed much otherwise than at first, and begins to be satisfied the King could not obtain better conditions, and thinks the only difficulty that will remain will be in relation to Milan, which I left him to judge whether he thought the Princes of Italy would be contented that either France or the Emperor was master there. After this discourse he went again to Mons. de Torcy, and desired a copy of the Treaty, which he said he would send him, and then made him some proposals as from himself, that he might be better able to inform his Master ; which he afterwards acquainted me with, which I send Your Lordship in his own words as well as I can remember. He is now so apprehensive lest Spain should declare themselves for France, as you will see by the questions he asked Mons. de Torcy, that he will do what he can, and it is thought here he is well with the Emperor. He sends this day an express to Vienna, and I think to Count Harrach in Spain, as also does the Spanish Ambassador, who[m] Mons. de Torcy has acquainted and has given him a copy of the Treaty ; he only said that it was a



matter above his understanding, but would not fail to inform the King his Master of it. The Venetian Ambassador is also acquainted with it, and Mons. Callières goes this week to the Duke of Lorraine to notify it to him, so Your Lordship may judge it will not be long a secret.

"The news we have here is that the truce between the Muscovites and the Turks is concluded, that the King of Denmark has declared to the Emperor's Minister that he cannot accept of any mediation but from France by reason the mediators and the guaranties have showed themselves too much in the interest of the Duke of Holstein.

"A nephew of Berkenhead and of the same name, though it is believed [he] goes by another, is gone some time for England, he is to be heard of at Evans, a hair-merchant, in the Old Baily; it is thought he is doing no good there." (VI. 39.)

#### The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, May 22. [N.S.] Paris.—"I had the favour of yours by my servant, and am obliged to you for letting me know what passes with you. I do not doubt but the King will take such measures as will be for his service, and should be sorry if the Whigs should carry themselves so as not to be as zealous for the King's interest out of employment as ever they was, when they was in. You may easily think Lord Somers cannot but have a great many friends, but they may show their friendship and yet continue their duty to the King; I suppose all affairs are to be managed by other hands, which I hope will make the Parliament more reasonable, though I very much fear it, and it will be well if they do not come at last to name our Ministers; for my part, as I have always acted on a principle with little regard to my own advantage, so I shall continue, let the consequence be what it will.

"The discourse we have here is that Lord Jersey goes for Ireland, and you will hardly quit him. It will be a concern to me, having now to deal with a man of honour and one who is true to the King; nevertheless, if so, I heartily congratulate him.

"I was in hopes by Roger to have received what I desired concerning 444, etc. [Sir William Ellis], they seeming much more inclined to act sincerely since I have assured you they would receive a letter. I believe the hurry you are all in gives you no time to think of such matters, neither do you mention that 1110 [Grace\*] is come, though I suppose he is, by reason Mr. Mackay paid him the money I ordered at Dover.

"We have no other discourse here than of the Treaty concluded, which is no longer a secret, even the very particulars of it. I have not yet learnt what St. Germain thinks of it." (VI. 43.)

\*Cf. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, pp. 110, 117, 122, 124, 126.

## THE DUKE OF SOMERSET to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

1700, May 19[-30]. Petworth.—“The expectation that I have been in since the receipt of yours of the 7th to hear from the Abbé de Louvois was the only reason I did not answer yours sooner, because I did intend at the same time to have given you an account of what he wrote to me concerning the Greek letters, but that is not yet come; so I do begin to believe they are a little ashamed of their proposal to oblige us to insert in the title-page of every book *Cantabrigiæ Typis Academicis, Characteribus Græcis Regis Christianissimi*. I wonder they would not add their founder’s title too. I am sure, he deserves more to have notice taken of him. Well, I cannot help my being a little impatient to receive this long expected letter, which, perhaps, may explain this affair; at least so far as to their intention whether to sell the letters or to present ’em; for accordingly this will appear reasonable or not. Now to the other affair: I have enclosed sent your account of the prints back again, and have drawn a line over what I do desire you to procure for me as soon as you can.” (VI. 37.)

## THE DUKE OF SOMERSET to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

1700, May 24[-June 4]. Petworth.—“I received yours of the 21st with the letter from the Abbé de Louvois and their proposals for the Greek letters by an express a Wednesday last, for which care and diligence of yours I do return many and many thanks. This letter of the Abbé de Louvois contained nothing but compliments, referring our affair to Mons. Clément, whose proposals are something mended to what you wrote to me some time since by this alteration, viz.: *Typographeio Regio Parisiensi*: all which I will more fully discourse you when I come to London, which will be about three weeks hence: therefore I do desire nothing farther may be done in it till then, for I think I can offer that which may be accepted on [sic] of both sides. I have not yet wrote to Cambridge about these proposals, because you have already done it, and Mr. Talbot will be in London the beginning of the next week in his way hither with my son, and by him I shall know the sense of the University, for accordingly I shall act as to them and to you always as one that is your very humble servant.”

*Postscript*.—“Pray tell me if the King does go to Portsmouth and when.” (VI. 44.)

## THE OFFICERS OF KING JAMES’S COURT.

[No date. Cf. p. 284, *supra*.]

My Lord Chancellor Harbert.

|                   |   |                       |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------|
| My Lord Middleton | } | Secretaries of State. |
| Mr. Carroll       |   |                       |

Sir Richard Nagle, Secretary of War.

Mr. James Porter, Vice-Chamberlain to the King.

Mr. Robert Strickland, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.



|                                                                                          |   |                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|------------------|
| David Floyd, Trevanian,                                                                  | } | Grooms of the    |
| Slingsbee Beedle, McDonnell,                                                             |   | Bedchamber.      |
| Bagwell, Franc. Stafford,                                                                | } | Gentlemen Ushers |
| Mr. Cavney, Viuell and Hatcher                                                           |   | to the King.     |
| Mr. Crane and Mr. Barry, Gentlemen Ushers to the Queen.                                  |   |                  |
| Mr. Conquest, Sir William Ellis, Commissioners of the Green Cloth.                       |   |                  |
| Mr. John Stafford, Controller.                                                           |   |                  |
| Mr. Richard Hamilton, Master of the Wardrobe.                                            |   |                  |
| Mr. Labadie, Mr. Lavarie, Valets de Chambre.                                             |   |                  |
| My Lady Tyrconnell, my Lady Dalmont and my Lady Sophia Buckly, Ladies of the Bedchamber. |   |                  |

To the Prince.

My Lord Perth, formerly Chancellor of Scotland, and Mr. Ployden, Governors.

Mr. Leyburn and Mr. Viuell, Grooms of the Bedchamber. *depuis* Gentlemen Ushers.

Captain Maginnis, young Beedle and Mrs. Buckingham, Equerries.

Mr. Barkened and Mr. Parry, Clerks of the Kitchen.

My Lord Griffen is a volunteer, sometimes there and as often at Versailles—a great many chaplains and servants below stairs.

*Endorsed* :—"For my Lord Ambassador." (VI. 46.)

WILLIAM [VISCOUNT] VILLIERS TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, June 9. [N.S.] Blois.—"I have transgressed beyond a fortnight designing to tell you when I was a little settled what I had seen a coming hither from Rouen. I saw nothing extraordinary but Notre Dame de Chartres, which is famous for the beauty and bigness of its vault, where is richly adorned the image of the Virgin Mary made by the Druids above a hundred years before the nativity of Our Saviour, till I came to Orleans, where I was presently struck with a general observation, that is, the deformity of the people, for I do not think I saw a whole human creature in the town. I saw there the *Pucelle* upon her knees cursing the English for burning of her. We went also to see out of the town a place they call the *Source*, that are two small *bassins* of water that furnishes a navigable river which throws itself into the Loire. We are now come to Blois, that most renowned place, which might, for ought I know, have been a mighty agreeable place some five and twenty years ago, but as now I can see nothing alluring but melancholy and solitude that often makes us wish for your company, which you might easily vouchsafe us if you would but borrow Pegasus, and I am sure the Muses could not refuse you."

*Postscript*.—"Pray, Sir, remind Mr. Swinfurt of sending the news directed at the post-house at Blois." (VI. 50.)

## J[OHN] HILTON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, June 6[-17]. Cambridge.—“Mr. Hammond came hither on Friday last, and to preserve his acquaintance wears a gown, keeps chapel and hall, and bows very low; but I do not hear he doth any great matters in town. He intends to stay a fortnight or three weeks longer, and after a small visit to his estate to return again. I doubt not but your friends would be as glad of seeing you when the King is gone.” (VI. 48.)

## DR. P[ETER] NOURSE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, June 6[-17]. St. John's College, [Cambridge].—“I am very glad to hear of your good health by our friend Mr. Hilton, and if you think Cambridge air did any good towards it, I hope, when you have leisure, you will come and take more of it. Mr. Hammond is now with us, he has a chamber in the College and comes very orderly to the hall and chapel. What progress he makes in his affair, or how he moves, I am not able to inform you, for he takes me to be too much in your interest to discover anything of that nature to me, but I hear that most of his former friends are still very firm to him.” (VI. 49.)

## ABRAHAM STANYAN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, June 19. [N.S.] Paris.—“I now find I shall not bring the pictures with me, for Rigault told me plainly yesterday the King had given him some work which would take him up three weeks longer; but after that was done the pictures should be the next, and I will recommend them to Mr. Lewis's care to put into Tourton's hands. Rigault makes abundance of excuses for this delay, but they are nothing to our purpose. I have paid La Garde 3000 *livres* for the brass figures and sent them to Tourton's and have also bought the statues, busts, and *Maisons royales* which the Duke of Somerset marked in the memorial, and come to 610 *livres*. When I have got an answer from the Abbé de Bignon about the types, which I expect to-morrow, I think I shall have given you an account of all your commissions.” (VI. 53.)

## The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, June 19. [N.S.] Paris.—“I think you are much in the right, it is not of great consequence who dies, in case the King is well, whose life is all we have to trust to; I have wished my Lord Albemarle joy of the Garter, and so shall not trouble him so soon again; therefore must desire you will make my compliment of condolence. I was in expectation to have heard of new changes at Court; it may be there will be no more; I will tell you what they say at St. Ger[mains] that Lord S[underland] is gone dissatisfied into the country, having not been able to obtain the Garter for



Lord Ma[r]l[borough], and that some others are displeased. I do not think this very improbable. I wish I could talk with you to see how the world goes ; this happiness I cannot expect, though I hear the town would have it I was to be recalled. You know that will not trouble me, provided the King is not dissatisfied with my proceedings. I wish you all success in what you desire." (VI. 55.)

ABRAHAM STANYAN TO THE SAME.

1700, June 23. [N.S.] Paris.—"I shall set out from hence on Monday the 28th."

"This plaguy coach and horses stick by me still and give me more trouble than all the rest of my business, so that I no longer wonder at those who complain of the cares that attend greatness. I have every day twenty chapmen, but the rogues know I am going, and one would think my straits too, they make me such poor offers. However, I must part with all to raise as much money as I want." (VI. 54.)

CHRISTOPHER MARSDEN to ———.

1700, June 18[–29]. Prescott.—"I have been in the Isle of Man since I gave you the trouble of my last. My Lord has actually made me Archdeacon there : His Lordship has given me liberty to come over to England for some time to settle my affairs ; but then—oh ! after that I must return to Man. If you could procure me a prebendary's place or any spot in England before I go, or recall me to my native air, I would as long as I have breath pay you grateful acknowledgements.

"But I'm afraid through my foolish criticisms I have lost the favour, and so must sit down without hopes of a kind line to your abdicated and most disconsolate servant." (VI. 52.)

JOHN MACKY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, June 23[–July 4]. Dover.—"I have the honour of yours of the 20th from Hampton Court, and would immediately in obedience to my Lord Jersey's commands go to Flanders, or where else His Lordship should please to command me, if I did not know it altogether needless yet. Mayres, it's true, knows a great deal, and hath several letters of my Lord Melfort's all writ by that Lord's own hand to justify the truth of what he hath to say ; he hath also a copy of a journal sent to King James of all his affairs in Scotland, the people's names, who for, and who against him, but betwixt you and I [*sic*] the King hath already made use of Mayres's name to frighten Duke Hamilton into a better temper in the Parliament of Scotland, and till we see what effects this hath, I suppose my Lord will not think it convenient for me to go over again, nor to make any offers to him.

"I have a letter by last post from my Lord Seafield to meet at London on this matter, when I shall have the honour also to pay my duty to my Lord Jersey and to kiss your hands.

“Colonel Bignoll and Captain Macdonald came to Calais last Wednesday from St. Germain, and one Jones, a solicitor of my Lord Romney’s in Ireland, met them there, and got their hands to some deeds in favour of their ladies’ estates, and returned to London, as they are to St. Germain. Nosworthy is still at Calais by the name of Powell.” (XX. 103.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, July 10. [N.S.] Paris.—“I was very sorry to find Lord Jersey had quitted the office and much more so by reason you also leave it. I suppose you have long foreseen this and cannot but have taken care of yourself, being upon the place; for you often said, men was forgot abroad. The hopes you give me that I am to correspond with Mr. Vernon makes me more easy. The Savoy Ambassador was with me to let me know that the Duke his Master had ordered Mons. de la Tour, who was formerly his Envoy in England, to return as such; this will cause a great discourse, by reason he was as Chief Minister there; but it is not hard to guess the reason he comes. I was in hopes to have heard something concerning Sir [William Ellis], etc.\*, whose letter I sent lately to England. As soon as I hear from Lord Jersey I shall not fail to congratulate him.” (VI. 56.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, August 27. [N.S.] Vorst.—“You will have heard at the Cockpit when I landed. At my arrival here I found everything as it used to be; the King is very well in his health, except his legs, which are mightily swelled. He takes something every day to carry off the humour by urine, but I fear he must do something more when he comes to lie still in the winter. You will hear by Mr. Blathwayt’s letters all the news that is here. I am sure the peace in the North must be very pleasing to all who wish well to the King at home; it gives him great credit abroad. The French have made a very foolish figure in this business, who were found out at last not to be very sincere in their mediation, for it is sure they had no mind the business should be ended so soon. Mons. Tallard’s quickness has made him let fall words that confirm it: *il disoit qu’il étoit impossible qu’une paix faite à la hâte pourroit durer.*

“I am come hither for one night with my Lord Albemarle; I will make your court for you. Mr. Blathwayt has just now sent me your letter, and the copy of the Portuguese letter which I had forgot as well as you. I am sorry you can give me no account of my business with Mr. Lowndes; pray send him my letter as soon as you can, and see him when he comes to town, for I long to hear how that affair stands; it is of consequence to me to have it finished.

\* Cf. pp. 387, 406, 408, 410. *supra*,



"I am glad to hear you are going to Squirrest†; I hope your company will like it, though I own I doubt of it. I will endeavour to serve *de bruit* while I am in this country."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered 22, O.S. Aug., 1700." (VI. 70.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, August 31. [N.S.] Loo.—"I have received yours of the 16th; the last post I received *Charnock's Letter Writ to a Friend after his Condemnation*. I know not from whom it comes, nor why; pray send me word if it has been lately reprinted, and the best account you can of it. When you wrote, I find you had not received the good news of the peace in the North; I hope that will make some alteration in the minds of people, and give you occasion of writing some politick news. Everybody here is glad and curious after it and all sort of news, which you will well imagine when I tell you that I hear a piece of news here of a ballad about the the streets of a young Knight of the Garter, a yellow-haired lady, and squinney. I wonder I heard not of this from you, being so much concerned in it as I am told, but if people knew how little their malice vexed me, they would save themselves the labour; but, however, I desire you would let me know when you hear such stuff. The Admiral of the Fleet, I am told, is meant by the yellow-haired lady. I have had a letter from my wife, who, I find, certainly intends for Squirres. I wish I was of the party, I shall quickly be of one that will not so much divert me, which is that of Breda. Sunday next the King lies at Zulestein, and the next day to Breda, where he will stay till the Saturday following; in the that time he intends to visit the fortifications of Bergen-op-Zoom. The King is better in his health every day than other, his legs swell a little; everybody here talks of his marrying, as I hear they do in England; I hope the Parliament will persuade him to it. Pray write to me every post and every thing that is stirring, for it is the only diversion to hear what is said and done in England. I hope you will quickly see Mr. Lowndes, for without it nothing is done."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 24th, V.S., 1700." (VI. 60.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 2. [N.S.] Vorst.—"Here we are in retirement till to-morrow, and in good health, I thank God. I have acquainted His Majesty with the letter I have received from Portugal about Mr. Methuen, and I have orders to write to Mr. Secretary Vernon by this post to have Mr. Methuen recalled, which, I think, His Majesty is the more inclined to out of good husbandry, for he said it was not necessary to have a Minister at that place for the present. I shall send Mr. Secretary word that you will give him the original letter which brings the complaint; therefore pray do it, keeping a copy. By this time I suppose you will be come from

† The manor of Squeries, Westerham, Kent.

Squirres; pray let me hear how the company likes it. Directions for the enclosed are writ on the outside of it.

"Here is no news that you do not hear from Mr. Blathwayt."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 30 August, V.S., 1700." (VI. 61.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 9. [N.S.] Breda.—"I have yours of the 20th and 22nd August to acknowledge. I had no small satisfaction in retiring to read them out of the little bustle we have here with the Elector's Court and officers. Yesterday the King was at Berge[n-op-Zoom] to visit the fortifications there; it seems to be a very great work, and those that understand it say it will be, when finished, the finest fortified town in Europe. I can better give my opinion of Squirres, and should have been better pleased to have been there. To-morrow the King goes to Grave and from thence to Dieren for a day or two; when we get back to Loo, I shall be inquiring after our journey home, which, I fear, will not be till the middle of next month, English style.

"What Holt said to you I believe to be very true, and I shall take the first opportunity to tell it where it should be known. I have had a letter from Mr. Montague; he does not seem to be of the mind he was when I spoke to him about his own affairs, which I am glad to find. I got my Lord Albemarle to write to the Admiral about the serious affair. I thank you for thinking of my brother; but Sayers's place would bring him too much into the world, unless he could tell better how to behave himself. I hear that Mr. Allworth, Queen Dowager's auditor, is dying; he has some place in the Post Office that may be proper for my brother, or his son, if it can be executed by deputy; pray inquire about it and let me know your opinion of it.

"Knowing your intention of coming over, I thought it was fit to know the King's mind upon it; he has given leave, but it must be so that the business of the Board [of Trade] must not be neglected."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 6th, V.S." (VI. 62.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 14. [N.S.] Dieren.—"I have received your letter of the 29th, after your journey to Squirres. I am very glad Mr. Banks is thought in the wrong, but, I know, you will think me more so when I tell you that I persist in my first design, and desire that the out-building I ordered may go on as fast as it can; my reasons I will tell you when I see you; as for the piece of ground you mention that lies near the ground of the Park, I will buy it if it is fit for me. Dr. Garth has been here, but Dr. Green has the place; the Archbishop's and Chancellor's recommendations could not be withstood; but I have sent the news of it to Dr.



James, who wrote to me about it, and hope to have some merit in this business, though I really think I deserve very little. You sent me word you would leave England in a few days ; we shall stay here longer than people imagine, and, if I may advise, I would not have you come till the latter end of the next week for fear the King should think you neglect the business of the Board. By this advice I hope you will not think I have less mind to see you than I always had. I have a great many things to say in answer to your last letter, but I am in such a hurry in expectation of two Electresses, that of Brandenburg and of Hanover, who are coming hither this evening for some days. I believe these German Courts would furnish news for the next post if I had nothing else to say."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 14th, V.S." (VI. 63.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 17. [N.S.] Loo.—"I have yours of the 30th. I am much obliged to you for the care you have of my business with Mr. Lowndes, who, I find, is kind in it. I send you enclosed two blanks to use as there is occasion ; if the whole sum is paid at once there will need to write a receipt but upon one of the blanks, the other you will bring me when you come hither. By my last you will think that I had a foresight of my own interest in advising you to stay a little longer in England, but indeed the true reason was that I found the King (when I spoke to him about you) wondered that you thought of coming over, though not at all unwilling that you should come.

"This made me write to you as I did, that by your staying there a little longer no man could say you neglected the business, and then I am sure it is really making your court to have a mind to come into this country. How much my concern would require your staying where you are I cannot tell ; I will only desire of you to put my business with Mr. Lowndes in such a method that the payments may not be retarded for want of somebody to act for me. You know the consequence this business is to me, which, I hope, will excuse the trouble I give you in it. The blanks you will make use of as you think fit, but I should be glad if a receipt from a sham person could be taken, for if it was possible, I would not have Mr. Smith know this business.

"I did expect Mr. Secretary's behaviour in the Portugal affair ; he says in his letter to me, as if it was not known from whom the complaint came, 'I take the Don [Francisco de Castro] to be the Secretary of State, for I think else I have been in the wrong to have made the step I have' ; if you see Mr. Secretary you may tell him that I put the papers relating to this business into Mr. Blathwayt's hands, but I hear His Majesty had not time this post to do anything about them.

"The German Court left us this morning; it has made me wish we had one of our own, which I think is not impossible to be, if rightly managed; but this is under the rose; I believe there is no resolution about the Parliament, nor will be till we are in England.

"I have wrote to Lord Godolphin to come into the Treasury, and then you know how the Privy Seal will be disposed of, but this must not be spoke of. I wish all vacancies were filled, that no more questions may be asked nor wonders made.

"The answer to the foreigners my Lord Albemarle had already seen.

"I say nothing of Squirres, but I am sure when I see you that I shall convince that my first project is best, which I desire to keep to. I wish Mr. Hughes himself does not understand buy that farm you say will be proper to lay into the Park; I have sent Mr. Girard word that I would have it, as I did to you in my last.

"If Barton is quite well, he may come over with you, if you will be troubled with him. You are right not to say anything to my wife about Mons. Levasor."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 17th, V.S., 1700." (VI. 64.)

#### The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 20. [N.S.] Paris.—"You know the reason that I did not answer yours which you did me the favour to write from England. I do now begin to think I shall not see you at Loo, having not as yet heard anything of that nature; nor is there any likelihood that you will make me a visit here, since I understand all things go well. I am told the King is to be soon in England, and then we are to see a new scheme. Our friends at St. Germain's do please themselves that the next Session will be very troublesome; I hope they will be disappointed. If you will let me hear from you, it will oblige." (VI. 66.)

#### The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 23. [N.S.] Loo.—"I acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 6th, last post. Mr. Secretary's letter to the King and the affairs in Portugal relating to the Spanish Treaty has made an alteration in the resolution taken about Mr. Methuen; he is now to stay at Lisbon for some time. If this business is known, I believe it will do Mr. Secretary no good. If my former letter is gone to Don Francisco de Castro, pray take care to forward the enclosed, that I may do my endeavour not to pass in those parts for a liar. Mr. Blathwayt writes this post to Mr. Secretary that it is His Majesty's pleasure that my Lord Tankerville has the Privy Seal delivered to him immediately, which if Mr. Secretary does not like, I suppose it will be deferred as



the other business was. Lord Godolphin is to come into the Treasury, but not till the King returns; he desires that the vacancy may be in the Treasury some little time before he goes, in which is the reason that the Privy Seal is given to my Lord Tankerville, but this is *entre nous*.

"If you succeed with the young Lord Exeter, pray let me know it, and I will make your court for it.

"The Parliament is prorogued to a shorter time than the King would have it, but I do not imagine that it will hasten his return a day soon.

"My purchases at Squirres, as you say, may stay till my return, but I hope I shall find everything finished I ordered before I came away. I shall have occasion of wings, notwithstanding the outbuildings that are now making, but I am sure I shall convince you when I see you that wings can never do well in the front of the house, but of all this when we meet. I shall expect all the draughts with you hither.

"I do not write to Mr. Lowndes about my business in the Treasury, but depend upon your making my court to him.

"If Mr. Alsworth's place is in the gift of the Treasury, I never design speaking for it..

"We are rid of all our Princes and Princesses; I am told the young Prince of Hanover is to come hither, but I think it is a secret.

"Lord Albemarle is gone to The Hague for three or four days; he had better have stayed here.

"Next week I go for two or three days to Amsterdam *pour tuer le temps*; I will make another journey thither when you come.

"Lord Portland is preparing for England. I have received a letter from Mr. Stanian; pray assure him that I will do what I can to serve him in the business he wrote about. I suppose the time of your coming away draws nigh: till I know it for certain I will write to you; therefore take care to leave somebody to receive my letters in case they miss of you, and settle some correspondent to send all the news when you are here. I do assure you it will be a great satisfaction to you. I know not if I told you I find in a letter from Lord Villiers that he is very desirous to leave Angers. I suppose it is his own fickle humour, or I should have heard from Mr. Inglis if he had found any other place fitter for him to spend his time in."

*Endorsed*:—"Answered the 7th, V.S." (VI. 67.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 27. [N.S.] Loo.—"I have received your letter of the 10th. I find by it that the King is expected in England the 15th of next month, our style, to give orders for the Scotch Parliament; it is very right to have it so, but I see no likelihood of his being at The Hague till that time;

you know how long he commonly stays there, so that, if the wind was at command, I do not see that he is likely to be in England sooner than the latter end of the next month, our style. This you must keep to yourself, but you may take your measures from it for your own journey, whether you will come with the yachts that come for the King or in the packet boat before, or whether you will think it worth your coming at all, or no. I leave it wholly to you. I think the thing pretty indifferent as to your interest here. You know I shall be always glad to see you, but in this I would really have you do what you have most mind to, and that will be best. You know I am free with you enough to tell you if it would not be so; therefore pray follow your inclinations, and what you think most proper yourself, whatever you do, I will answer shall be well taken here.

"The giving the Privy Seal to my Lord Tankerville is deferred till the King's return, therefore I hope you have not spoke of it. Here is no news.

"I think there are too many officers unprovided for to have the government of Jersey given to any but an officer. I am obliged to you for your thoughts, but pray find out something more fit.

"Your friend Congreve is here."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 21, O.S." (VI. 69).

#### THE [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Sept. 30. [N.S.] Dieren.—"I have received your letter of the 15th. Though you know I am not formal, I must thank you for the care you have had of my business in the Treasury. I do not send you the letter you write for, not doubting but that the blanks I have sent you will serve instead of it. I desire to know in what species you receive the sum. I cannot tell how to dispose of it till I come. If Farley wants 500*l.*, you may let him have it.

"I think I have given such directions already for Squirres that I need say no more of it till I return.

"I wrote you word in my last how indifferent I thought your coming hither was, though I should be always very glad to see you; but since your last I am wholly of opinion that you are to stay where you are, and I hope this will come time enough to prevent your coming hither, should you have any thoughts of it, though I must own that it is very hard that one must comply with a prating, malicious world. I reckon that we shall be with you about this time month. I suppose we should not stay here so long if my swager was not gone before to give instructions for the Scotch Parliament. This report will do him no good, therefore pray take care not to be the author of it. The report that you write about Laloe is not true, he is just what he was when you saw him."

*Endorsed* :—"Answered the 24, O.S." (VI. 71.)



## The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Oct. 4. [N.S.] Loo.—“I have yours of the 17th past. Since the blanks I sent you will not do, I have enclosed to you a letter to Mr. Lowndes; pray let him know that I had sent it upon the first requiring it, but that I thought the blanks would be better liked. You find him my friend, therefore pray say to him what you think proper on that matter, for I think that my letter is not to be filled with compliments, but a bare direction to him to pay you the money as you will find it.

“I say nothing to you of your journey hither; my last will have told you my thoughts on it, and I conclude your staying where you are. Though you make not this journey, I shall depend on your making one to Squirres as soon as I get into England.

“I have had a letter from Mr. Powis with an account of my concerns in the Treasury, and shall answer it.

“Since the Don [Francisco de Castro] is not a Secretary of State, I hope he will be found to be a Minister, or else I fear I have been too forward. Some I know will excuse it, though not Mr. Secretary. This business as well as the 500*l*. will certainly be known by your friend and others in a little time.

“I find that you talk in England much of a Queen, but your friend may defer liquoring his boots, and I shall return with the King; before this matter is resolved on I believe you and I shall have time enough to talk of it.

“This day the yachts are sent for, and this day fortnight the King leaves this place, stays two or three days at Sousdyke, and then to The Hague, and eight or ten days afterwards you may expect us in England, if the wind is fair; till then you will continue writing to me all the news you hear, especially of those you mentioned in your last. I am told that Sincerity is not satisfied with those we call his friends; a little more of love and politics and the gay young gentleman.

“I sent you word before that the alterations were delayed till the King’s return.”

*Endorsed* :—“Answered 1st, V.S., 1700.” (VI. 72.)

## The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Oct. 7. [N.S.] Loo.—“I have received your letter of the 20th past, and take it now for granted that we shall not see you here; our time of being here is now so short that your coming would scarce be worth while, but I cannot but observe that we live in a strange age or a more strange nation, that the most indifferent actions of a man’s life is now made criminal by one party of men or other. I will not moralize, for that will give me spleen, though I have nothing to tell you. I think I have sent you word already what we are to do to the very day of our depart; while the King is at Sousdyke I intend to make my journey to

Amsterdam. If you want anything from this country, let me know it; I will buy it as well as I can, or take care to bring it to you, if you have already intrusted anybody with the buying it. Pray keep as well as you can with your melancholy friend, and insinuate what I told you of Mr. Swag[er]; but take care of yourself in it. Farewell; I long to see you at Squirres."

*Endorsed* :—" Answered 7, V.S., 1700." (VI. 73.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Oct. 11. [N.S.] Loo.—"I have received your letter of the 24th past. I will now tell the King the reason of your not coming, which, I am sure, will be approved on. The time of our being with you draws now so near that I have little to say to you; news here is none but what you will find in sprightly Yard's *Gazette*. I know not if he will have heard that the King of Spain is very ill; the French report it confidently, which makes me hope it is not worse than the other fits he has had. Perhaps you may hear (for want of other news) that my Lord Albemarle is not well; it is nothing but a spleen, not warrantable, of which you shall know more when I see you, but must not speak of it now nor then.

"I am sorry the Admiral trifles, but how to mend it?" (VI. 74.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Oct. 14. [N.S.] Loo.—"I have received your letter of the 29th past with your new book; the preface is too obliging to the Court; but let malice reign, it is no matter.

"I think of nothing but quickly leaving this place, and going with you to Squirres. The King goes from hence on Monday next, and I to Amsterdam, and shall meet the Monarch Thursday at The Hague, where I suppose we shall be stifled with Princes and Princesses. I write to you because I will, for I have nothing either to tell or bid you, unless it is to bid you wish for a good wind about a fortnight hence." (VI. 75.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF JERSEY.

1700, Oct. 3[–14]. London.—"Duncomb after all has lost his election and Abney is chosen. The heats in the city in this conjuncture are very great, Simpson, the Baron of the 'Chequer, at the swearing of the Sheriffs the other day, instead of praising them, as is usual, made a violent panegyric upon Duncomb. When they were drunk together in the afternoon, Sir Harry Furnace, one of the Sheriffs, called the Baron names, and Sir Will[iam] Ashurst asked him if my Lord Sunderland had not made him the speech, and Duncomb given him money for pronouncing it. Some of Duncomb's



friends say that they can produce a letter from some of the Lords Justices; they name my Lord Marlborough, as if their choosing Duncomb would be agreeable to the Court; this passes for Lord Sunderland's work, and honest Harry is heartily cursed, but the complaint which is founded upon most reason is that in all former elections it was usually a little insinuated what party would be agreeable to the Court, but in this election not one word was any way intimated to them; this, I am afraid, had too much truth in it. I am told your Secretary of State trimmed extremely as to his opinion in this case, and I know that he was received coldly enough in the city some days since.

"But after all, for God's sake let somebody or other be ordained to rule us, for at present your Godolphins and Montagus equally deny that they have anything to do with us, and I think we are likely to fall between two, though we might crush them both if we would act with vigour.

"I think my friend might be called back with good management, *il cloche entre deux*: I have let fall Swager's matter so to him that I cannot be suspected.

"I have that sum locked up in my escritoire, having given my receipt for it, and said something as from you to L[owndes] proportionable to his genius, though not, I think, to yours.

"For God's sake come home quickly, I have none from you. Lady Mary, you see, writes very well, and is a very good child. My lady is at the Duke of Ormond's, who treats her as if he were in love with her." *Copy.* (XII. 450.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to [J.] TALBOT.

1700, Oct. 4[-15]. [London].—"You did well not to date the last letter you wrote me, for it cannot rise up in judgment against me that I have not sooner answered it. Not writing to my friends is a fault which I wish I could as easily mend as confess. My goods are now coming from France, and I hope in a little time to open my bundle and give every man his due; pray signify as much to His Grace of Somerset.

"My intended journey to Holland is overruled by those who know best what is proper for me, so that, till His Majesty's return, I enjoy that leisure and freedom of which I have scarce had a taste for these last ten years. If I had my dear Talbot with me to share the blessing, it would be infinitely yet more valuable; in case I cannot have it here, I don't know but that I may take a step to Cambridge; but this is as yet undetermined and only said to yourself.

"We have the Oxford Verses upon the Duke of Gloucester's death; there are some very good copies; the boys at Westminster intend to write upon the same subject; there will be some very good verses; but I believe some of the most poetical of our school-fellows, even up to our own standing,

are at work for them. I thank you for those you sent me of Dibbons's composing; the versification is very pretty, the Latin sometimes hard, the sense, I suppose, dictated by the Bishop of Salisbury's son. Pray let Dibbons not talk nonsense in the best chosen words imaginable, and remind him of Busbey's old rule to write his invention in English.

"There is nothing that presses his making much haste with the journey-work he has from me in his hands. Tonson is in Holland, and till his return I could give no direction about the printing it, if it were finished; when he does come, a very severe jury will be empanelled to sit upon it, Doctor Knipe, the foreman, you (if you are in town), Smalldridge, Hannes, Stepney, Portlock, Freind, and Charles Boyle. Tell Dibbons so as that it may not discourage him, for, however the poem is in the English, I think he has done it so very well in Latin that a little looking it over may make it the best thing in that kind that has been written since Buchanan. I shall be very glad to see the translator with the translation, and I hope in a very few years to hear that he is as great a master of Grotius as he is at present of Virgil.

"I hear it said as from some of my acquaintance as if I were resolved not to serve the University in a future Parliament. I neither said or wrote anything of this kind to anybody but yourself, and to everybody that had spoke to me of it here I have thought fit to give no other answer, but such a one as might shew the great respect I had for the University, and the true desire I had to serve that body upon all occasions, and yet might leave me a liberty of retiring, and not exposing my friends and myself in case I thought I might meet a repulse in this undertaking. To put the thing in its right light, and give you my real sentiments of it, it will be necessary to recapitulate that, whilst I was in France, some of my friends from the University wrote me word that I was looked upon by them and others as a person fit to represent them in Parliament. In saying this, I presume they had an eye to having been from the age of sixteen and to my continuing till that of thirty-four a member of that community, not a pensioner or fellow-commoner, but scholar of the house and fellow of a college, my name constantly in the books and my correspondence with my friends kept up, as well as to my having acted abroad in several stations so as to capacitate me in all probability to represent so illustrious a body. To this I add that I understood they would have some person whose principle it was to represent, as occasion might require, their steadiness to support the true rights of the English monarchy and the real preservation of theirs and the nation's liberty. On these considerations I was induced to think that they did me a great deal of honour when some of the Heads had me in their thoughts, and as they please to continue that favourable opinion of me, I shall always most readily obey any summons they may have for me, be it to



promote anything here for the interest of any peculiar person or society, or in general to assert their rights in the great Council of the Nation, as they may judge me worthy. This is the sentiments I was in when I was last at Cambridge, and in which I think I shall always persevere. I would no more plead my merit to be a Parliament man than Coriolanus would shew his wounds to be Consul, and my proceeding in and desisting from my first intention will be wholly governed by the encouragement or coldness which I may receive from the University. In one word I desire with all my soul to serve them whenever it is proposed to me, so as that the thing may seem practicable. But I should be very sorry if from that desire I should only make a foolish figure, and come back again to shew my friends at Court that I had not enow of that kind in the University to sustain my interest. But of this we shall have leisure enough to reason; in the meantime you may either shew this letter to the Vice-Chancellor, to Dr. Bently, to Dr. James, to Doctor Covell, to Dr. Richardson, to Dr. Nurse, and the rest of our friends at Cambridge, or you may say out of it what you think proper, that we may take the measures of our boat before we put to sea, and then you may pilot me as you please. I am sorry from my heart at our poor friend Hilton's death. I have only to add my service to all my friends, and till they die or I die I will continue truly theirs." *Copy.* (XII. 453.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Oct. 19. [N.S.] Amsterdam.—“What can I write from hence but that actions fall upon the Spanish news; that monarch is here concluded dead; there is too much reason to fear it, but the news when I came from Loo was that he was desperately ill, and had had the extreme unction. Quiros's letters of the 1st instant say he was something better, which are the last I have heard of; but I am here in a wilderness, and shall get out of it on Thursday. I have your letter of the 1st; another post is come in this morning, but those letters I shall not have till I meet Blathwayt at The Hague. I wonder at your friend's talking to you as he does, I believe that word *slavery* was by way of pump; pray take care. I think of Swager as you do. The Alderman will be Mayor, and had like to have been hanged two years ago: what a nation! But to discuss these matters would engage me in as long a letter as yours was, which was very entertaining to me; what news I know I tell you, and begin with what is most grateful, which is the King's health. I really think him as well as he has been for many years past, and likely to continue so, if a Parliamentary spleen does not alter him. When I left him he was of the mind to have the Parliament prorogued to the 20th of the next month, and did intend to send orders about it. I suppose this will put an end to the discourse of a new Parliament. All is well again with Lord Albemarle.

I wish it may last, for I am heartily weary of these unreasonable quarrels.

"Mrs. Humis has been some time at The Hague; what she does there I cannot tell, but I do not doubt but that she will bilk some half-a-dozen of her friends of a ten pound business, and then be gone.

"I will certainly be mindful of old Sir Edward and of everything else that is *your concern*.

"Pray tell Mr. Powis that I have received his letter with my accounts, and that I am likely to draw upon him from hence." (VI. 76.)

The [EARL OF JERSEY] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Oct. 22. [N.S.] Hague.—"At my arrival here last night I met with yours of the 3rd. The wind is now fair, but we must stay till Wednesday, and then longer if the wind changes. I am glad to hear your politics, and when we meet will reason upon them; in the meantime the world is mad and knave. Barton is arrived with the draught; I own I like it; what I have already done would not hinder my executing of it, if there was not a worse impediment, which we must strive to overcome this winter. The Hague is as it was and not worth speaking of. I want you to see pictures. Pray take care of your strong box. I find you know my weakness, or else you would never have sent me Miss Mary's writing, though I must own it is very pretty for her age. I hope you do more for her at Knoles, where she wants your kindness more. What means His Grace? pray take care he does not wrong me. I had as good bid you farewell as write such stuff, and leave the uncertainty of the King of Spain's health, and the impatience of the French, to Blathwayt and Yard." (VI. 79.)

The EARL OF MANCHESTER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Nov. 3. [N.S.] Paris.—"I have writ several times to you concluding you was at Loo, but I find your journey did not succeed no more than mine. I hope now you will renew your correspondence, that I may see what before was a sort of obligation, that you still remember your friends in France. Upon the death of Mr. Sayers, I did desire the favour of my Lord Chamberlain to lay before the King a person I recommended to succeed him, and the answer my Lord made me was that the King would do nothing in it till his return, and that there he would be glad to receive my orders. This I take to be a civil way of denying my request, especially since I find in all the prints Mons. Lalo is to have it. This may look well to England for ought I know, and for my part I am indifferent; that which I would willingly be satisfied of is whether this matter is determined; if so, I would neither press the King nor give my Lord Chamberlain any further trouble. I



believe you have now a great Court, and there is no want of pretenders to the Privy Seal or the Secretary's Office." (VI. 87.)

J. TALBOT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Oct. 26[–Nov. 6]. Cambridge.—“ I should be ashamed, my dear friend, to own the receipt of yours by the last post before I had answered the former, had not an unusual glut of business (of which yours has been a good part) employed me some time before and ever since that came to my hand. While the season lasted at Newmarket I was plagued with visitants from thence who came to see King's College Chapel, etc. When I thought this fatigue over, Mr. Boyle (I thank him) sent me Captain Delaval with a brace of Mahometans from Machanes, to whom I was obliged to show our University (or rather them to it). These and twenty other necessary impediments (which 'twould be as troublesome to repeat as it was to undergo), together with the care of settling poor J. Hilton's affairs with his pupils, etc., devoured a great part of my time: the rest has been spent much more agreeably in your service. I communicated as much of your letter as might be convenient to the persons mentioned in it (except Dr. Nourse, who has not been here since Midsummer, and is not expected before Christmas). Those who are most cordially yours wish with me that you had leisure and inclination to visit this place, to revive your interest among your former acquaintance, and to increase it by new; which is the only certain expedient for working out friend Torry, whose frequent residence here and constant application to our young masters has made him very popular among them. These make too great a number at elections to be neglected in the interim. The authority of their superiors, the merits of competitors, or the interest of the University, Church and Nation all put together do not go so far with them as the single motive of a personal acquaintance, and I never knew any man but Mr. Boyle (whose interest here, between friends, depends wholly upon the Chancellor) succeed without it. When the project of your being set up for our Burgess was first proposed to you from hence, you may remember 'twas upon the prospect not only of your settling here in England, but of your continuing so long as the Statutes of your College would permit a gremial of this body; and all those who made that proposal were then and are still confident that title would set Mr. Prior upon an equal foot here with any competitor, provided he should think fit to employ the means which have been since recommended to him. I dare assure you that those Heads whom I then mentioned, and some others whom you have since seen, are resolved to serve your interest so far as their own will go: and 'twere to be wished that Masters upon such occasions had the same influence in their Colleges as Princes have in their Courts. Their number, you know, is sixteen, and the votes

they can command may upon a general computation amount to five times that number, which will come to about one-third of the electors ; the rest must be gained by personal application and the solicitation of private friends, letters from patrons, relations, etc., all which must be diligently used some considerable time before the election, which cannot be secured to the greatest merit without them, especially in the case of a new competitor. Thus you see, dear Matt, that your appearance for the Burgesship was and is still proposed to you with the cordial assurances of their assistance who first recommended it to you, and that this assistance is sufficient to give you fair footing, but the success of it will depend very much upon your joining with them in your endeavours to improve the interest they have set on foot. I hope I need not assure you of my best services among all my acquaintance. But I must needs tell you that 'tis necessary you should have a professed agent in your own College, who should make it his business to keep up your interest there, and to visit for you elsewhere while you are absent ; for, though I may and will do you all private services where I have any interest, yet you know I cannot with decency to my Lord Duke of Somerset undertake the public solicitation of any other interest than Mr. Boyle's, which is the only one he has hitherto recommended or given me leave to appear in. I have secured you several votes in our College, where (I may venture to tell you) the Master has but little interest, and some I am promised in the town, but I want assistance to solicit on your behalf a hundred people whom I do not know, and this must be done, *secundum formam*, from St. John's College. Nourse should be the man, but he is as little resident as Your Worship. I am very much a stranger in your College, and wish you could direct me to someone whom we might intrust with the management of your affairs there. Methinks something should be done while Hammond is away, who is the idol of that Society, but I hope you will not suffer him to be any longer the oracle of this University. In that, dear Sir, he must be defeated by his own talent, industry. The scheme we laid last winter must be reviewed and put in practice immediately ; letters must be written hither by your friends, and visits made by yourself either now, or (if you shall think it more convenient) while Hammond is confined to his attendance on the House. What instructions you will give me during my stay here, which will be till Christmas, I will faithfully obey, being very ready to act for you, but at present more desirous (for your sake as well as my own) to act with you. If you would have a list of all the Masters of Arts in each College, I will procure one, and will endeavour to inform myself which way particular persons may be influenced.

“Dibbons, like a true Westminster, defers the finishing of his exercise to the last minute. He has very near done the



whole poem ; and in those pieces which you have not seen I find several masterly strokes, but such as want the last hand to polish them, which I believe must be yours, though we shall impanel a petty jury of some schoolfellows to sit upon him before he is returned to your grand jury ; in the meantime I wish Culprit a good deliverance. He tells me just now that he will certainly wait on you with his translation within a fortnight. I had much rather you should come down for a fortnight or three weeks and read them here. Such a journey might conduce very much to the improvement of your health and interest ; I wish I might say as much to your satisfaction as 'twill be to ours. Pray visit Dr. Bentley, who is now at St. James's, and will be here immediately after his election to the Vice-Chancellorship, which will be within a week. See Dr. Oxenden, and make him your friend. I think, since your affair has been mentioned (as I told you) to the King and declared here, we are too far gone to make a retreat, especially so long as we have hopes of victory. I cannot yet learn where Dr. Nourse is, but will inquire further, and if you think fit, I will take care of the conveyance of your letter to him. What if you bestowed a vacant hour in criticizing your *Secular Ode* before 'tis reprinted, and touching up some passages which only yourself can mend ? I suppose this place in the fifteenth page was false printed,

'And Schools profess our Tongue thro' every land  
That *have* (for has) invoked his aid, etc.'

I wish, my dear friend, that your *new Phoenix* in the next page were a little more suitably supported than by *young columns* ; judge you whether these two metaphors do not come too thick upon one another in expressing the same thing by two different images in the same sentence ; Whitehall is a *Phoenix* at one end of the verse and a *fabric* at t'other. I am apt to think that with a little alteration you might better reconcile *expanded wings* both with the bird and the building. I don't think this is English :—

'Let a new Phoenix her young columns rear,  
As may the greatness of his reign support.'

This I take to be the only exceptionable passage in the whole poem, and wish it were better understood by me or expressed by you. If you will order the printing of the poem while I am here between this and Christmas, I will take care to correct the errors of the press. Send word whether Dibbons shall come to you, or you to us. You will do well to send the Duke of Somerset's prints to his housekeeper at Northumberland House, and better to send His Grace notice of it by to-morrow's post ; the housekeeper's name is Bridgewater, to whom if you send the letter and prints, he will take care of both. My Lord is now in Dorsetshire. I have indifferent health, and wish you better. A dose of Ipecac and Cambridge air would set you right for this, and, I hope, many winters. I will send you next Wednes-

day by Mr. Stepney's Whitworth (who is chosen Fellow here) a little *Horace*. I have put his life before the text in this edition, and recommend to your remembrance an expression of Augustus's which you will find in it, *Horatii Flacci ut mei esto memor*. I wish you would order my friend and your humble servant, old Elzevir, to recommend this impression in his namesake's types to Leers of Rotterdam, so that he may take off a number of copies, which shall be afforded at a reasonable price. The book will not be published these ten days. I am my own bookseller, and without Jacob Tonson's assistance have already six hundred copies bespoken by the schoolmasters and tutors. Farewell, dear Matt; be as careful of your health and interest as you will always find your, etc.

*Postscript.*—"I desired Bedell Martin to present you and Mr. Stepney with our lamentable *Threnodia*, but I find by the Vice-Chancellor that he has turned my compliment into his own.

"Bid Tonson get ready paper for the *Secular Poem*." (VI. 83.)

#### THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Dec. 19. [N.S.] Paris.—"I was surprised to find by yours of the 18th that you was still at London, having then directed two of mine to Brussels, which I suppose you have since received. You may easily imagine how I am looked upon at Court now, though I carry myself so that, whatever resolution the King does take, they will not wonder either way, which makes them not know what to think; but now Mons. Tallard is with you it must come to some declaration, else he will return; for they are high enough here to resent it, and I believe we are able to make them very uneasy, were we but united and as willing; I have enclosed two letters from Brac[conier] which I have had some time; but this comes by one that belongs to me, else he desired they should not be sent; he owns in Holland he received six hundred *livres*; which he spent in his journey, though he had money from me when he went; he presses me to write to Lord Albemarle, who, he says, promised his arrears should be paid for the year last past. What use he has been of, you know best; but it is certain he can be of little now, unless he has wherewithal to live, which I am confident he has not. I cannot tell, but it would be convenient to encourage him, especially if we are like to break with France; but you know him much better; he talks of a correspondent, who will also expect something. Pray speak to my Lord Albemarle, and see whether he is to have anything or no. I hope you will be so kind as to let me hear from you what is doing, and I do assure you I do not care who governs, so the King's affairs go well. In due time I may be remembered, but I often think of your saying that abroad one is always forgot though one writes every post; it may be to little purpose. I hear one



Dormer has bought the exempt's place in the Yeomen of the Guard : *chi vuol pazienza.*" (VI. 91.)

DR. HUMPHREY GOWER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1700, Dec. 11[-22]. Ely.—“As concerning your declaration of your purpose at the election for burgesses, I wish you all the success your heart desires, though I know you will not expect any assistance from me that is not fairly consistent with my engagements, which I take to be the substance of what I said at that time when you were pleased to enter into some discourse about that matter.

“Sir, you cannot but be sensible that I have a real respect and affection for you. The first buddings of those hopes, which have since so spread and flourished with universal praise, passed not unobserved by me. It is with great satisfaction that I find my conduct in relation to your concerns here in your absence now justified if not applauded by several that then thought otherwise of it. You are a member of this Society; and make the most of that, Sir, with all my heart, on this or any other occasion. But, Sir, I am of the same opinion I was when you discoursed me on this subject. I would not have you appear without a fair prospect of success. I say, as I did then, that (in my opinion) a competition if defeated (especially with great odds) will be of no honour to you, nor in the least smooth the way for better success another time. I may be allowed to know the University pretty well, and I hope you have no temptation to suspect the sincerity of my friendship to yourself. I may be mistaken, but I think I have reason for what I say. You had better decline than venture the competition, unless you have such a view as I mentioned. You speak of friends that manage your interest here; you best know who they are, but I wonder we hear nothing of the success of their management. I do not find that the interest of either of our present representatives lessens in the least, nor that your name has been set up, or much solicitation used; but that perhaps will not appear till nearer the occasion for it. That is not my business.

“As for what you can expect from me I will be very plain, as becomes me. I should be very loth to do anything to the prejudice of Mr. Boyle (whom I honour), and more so to be obliged to give my vote against you; but from my engagements to Mr. Hammond I cannot recede. He was originally of our College, lived here as fellow-commoner with great reputation several years. Since his leaving it I have had great correspondence with him, and a friendship and familiarity has been for divers years (before his appearing as a candidate here) set on foot and cultivated between us. His conduct in the House of Commons has been generally approved by the University, which has had several occasions to observe his conduct and to experience his zeal for the

interests of it. He is represented to us as one steady and unbiassed, led blindfold by no interest, party or popularity, but acting and voting whether with these or those as becomes an Englishman, faithful to the establishment in Church and State as it now stands. And thus, I doubt not, would you steer if in such a capacity. But, my friend, I know you will not desire me causelessly to desert my friend, nor change lightly, or discover levity and inconstancy. It is not a distinction about *gremial*, etc., that would justify such a weakness. These elections ought not to go by a kind of propriety, as if an admission or country ought to cancel or supersede all other considerations whatsoever. If such things prevail too much in other places, that will be no argument to be used to such men as should make a corporation of scholars. And here, Sir, it is reasonable for me to advise (if that may be allowed me) that you judge not hastily of this College. I can't tell how your managers report of it. 'Tis true your being a Fellow (as I took notice in our conference) seems to give advantage, and would (considering your other qualifications) without question bring over the whole body of this Society to your interests if no engagements, strong and powerful, had gotten possession. Whether that be the case now, I believe you are more likely to know than I. For, Sir, that is the next thing I am to say, that I am no stickler. They that know my methods will testify I never visit or solicit, I constantly leave the Fellows to themselves, taking them to be able to judge and choose for themselves, so that it frequently happens that our votes in the Schools go several ways, and I am never offended at it. I can't say that I ever got Mr. Boyle or Mr. Hammond one vote. I am sure I will not endeavour in the least by deed or word to make you, Sir, lose one, I always reserving to myself the free disposal of my own. If you proceed in your purpose (as your present declaration as well as that formerly cause me to expect), you shall find me very kind and tender of your interests, and then you cannot be offended at my steadiness in adhering to the engagements specified in this letter, and plainly enough intimated to you when we discoursed this matter; for what I write now at large is but the same thing that I expressed then discernibly enough to one of much less penetration than yourself.

"Now, Sir, I have done, and shall make no apology for anything I have writ; I leave it to justify itself, how hastily soever it be drawn up, to one of your justice and candour. Whether your appearing on this occasion will shock Mr. Boyle or Mr. Hammond most I profess I cannot foresee. All I wish is that it may no way prejudice yourself, for I heartily wish you all honour and success, though I am not at liberty to advance it on this occasion in every way and in all particulars as I desire. But be that as it can, it is impossible that I should cease to be, Dear Sir, your very affectionate faithful friend and servant."



*Postscript.*—"The respect shown to Dr. Nurse is no more than he deserves, perhaps few in England merit encouragement better. He is my friend, I love and respect him. I doubt not but he will lay hold of any opportunities to express his sense of what you have done for him in this particular.

"You can, I know, excuse this hasty scribble as well as the extravagant length of this letter."

"You may believe it, that I do not use it: when I have satisfied myself, I am not accustomed to laborious endeavours to inform others of the reasonableness of my measures, unless they appear very liable to be misunderstood by wise and good men; and that in matters of influence and importance my age and retirement give me more title and warrant for such liberty, now every day more and more." (VI. 92.)

#### CHARLES JERVAS to MATTHEW PRIOR

1709, Christmas Day. N.S. Rome.—"The Pope's benediction to a devout pilgrim, the morrow's matrimony to a well-stricken virgin, your letters to C. J. equally welcome. The poem will be so too, though Conway misses it, for the poor doctor left his skeleton at Naples, as I told Mr. Drift some months ago. The holy door's being shut yesterday puts the nation upon motion, most of them to the Carnival at Venice. Lady Salisbury, followed at a modest lover's distance by Colonel Josselyn. Lord Hastings has been only as far as Malta, stays here some weeks, and in that time resolves at his rate—Will Cecil is expected back shortly from the same tour.

"I am glad to hear that you propagate the virtuoso faith; I shall endeavour to confirm your disciples in it by disposing of their money with all possible care. I must take the more time because I can't yet guess at Mr. Montague's *gusto*. Some general hints as to subjects would be of service, and it is convenient too, to order your or their banker to send me a credit to Leghorn, that cash may be ready upon occasion, for I am not here as at Paris, where I could take up hundreds sterling without staying for bills or letters. However, so soon as I light of anything for their purpose, [I] shall not fail to secure it. I wrote once about Theodon the sculptor, but that affair is over; his present Holiness is a lover of art, and consequently does not let him leave this town. The fifty guineas for the *Holy Family* came seasonably to relieve my honest correspondent Norris. If the naked boy (Christ) bought at Paris may hang in its room, he has my orders to send it to your hotel—'tis in a handsome frame. If some other of your acquaintance would throw away a few loose guineas upon it, perhaps forty or fifty would not be ill bestowed, and to tell you the truth I am so intent upon going through a regular course of study, and so pleased with the opportunity, that my old collection shall go off as fast as I can conveniently; I purchased several pieces and prints, and

was very fond of that, as necessary for future study, which by my application here will be altogether useless. I have not yet touched a pencil in Rome, and intend this year too for drawings and then something of Guido, Titian or Correggio for the colouring, etc. All the pleasure I have now is to confront the former half-year with the latter, and if I can make a progress answerable to my industry, something may be done. There are two or three damned things that disturb me mightily in the Poets. *O imitatores servum pecus! Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.* And a poor comfort at last:—*Magnis tamen excidit ausis.* (VI. 94.)

ROBERT SANDERSON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1702-3, Jan. 28[-Feb. 8].—"My affairs have but a very melancholy aspect at present, for I'm out of all manner of business, by reason Mr. Rymer is out of that which his late Majesty in his Council commanded him to attend. I have been for several years assisting to him therein, and with how much diligence and fidelity I have served him in it he will be ready to satisfy any person shall please to give himself the trouble of asking the question."

"I make my humble application to you to save a sinking person, who, besides an eternal gratitude, shall take no little pride in owning you my patron. I'm abundantly convinced that it is absolutely in your power; and your character, besides my own particular knowledge of your kind and generous disposition, will not suffer me to doubt of your good inclination to assist the distressed; give me leave then to make it my humble request to you to help me into any employ."

*Postscript.*—"If you please to send me your commands to wait upon you, I lodge at Mr. Jeoffs, against the Three Cups Tavern in Holborn." (VII. 8.)

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1704, August 3. [N.S.] Friedberg.—[See Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, ed. Murray, i. 384.] (VII. 9.)

A[DAM] C[ARDONNEL] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1704, August 7. [N.S.] Camp at Hohenwort [Hohenwart].—"We have made no great progress since our success at Schellenberg, except it be burning and destroying the Elector's country, wherein we have not been sparing; our last march was all in fire and smoke. We are now going to besiege Ingoldstadt, and I wish to God it were well over, that I might get safe out of this country." (VII. 10.)

A[DAM] C[ARDONNEL] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1704, Oct. 31. [N.S.] Camp at Trèves.—"Last night late I received your packet, and at the same time presented



the enclosed to my Lord Duke, who would have returned you his thanks himself, if he had not been obliged to be on horseback early this morning. His Grace therefore commands me to do it, and to let you know at the same time that, though some people may have endeavoured to give him wrong impressions of you, it has not had the least effect with him, and that he is sure if your heart had not gone hand in hand with the poet, you could not have said so much in his favour beyond his merit, and that he will endeavour to deserve your friendship, and that you may rely entirely on his upon all occasions. Thus much for my Lord Duke, being, as near as I can remember, his own expressions.

"And now I must thank you likewise for your merry letter. I have been too busy to have been in that 'Qu' for many a month, and a journey of a thousand miles more at least before I get to The Hague will keep me low enough till I meet you at your headquarters in Duke Street over a bottle.

"Adieu, my dear friend, I am so starved with cold that I can hardly hold my pen." (VII. 11.)

#### THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1706, June 14. [N.S.] A[e]rze[e]lle.—"Your letter of congratulation on a late victory, which I meet in my way to The Hague, afforded me a very agreeable entertainment, for which I return you thanks, and pray you will believe me always with truth your most humble servant." (VII. 13.)

#### ADAM CARDONNEL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1706, June 17. [N.S.] Camp at A[e]rze[e]lle.—"My good friend, believe me the Devil has no hand in what we are doing; we are guided by a better genius, which, I hope, will still help us to mumble and humble the rogues till their great monarch is brought to know himself.

"Your letter has been carefully delivered to my Duke as you desire, and enclosed you have his thanks." (VII. 14.)

#### SIR THOMAS HANMER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1706, July 18[-29]. Euston.—"I am so much obliged to you for a present I received this week that I must return you my thanks, though I am not judge enough to hope you'll accept my commendation. Were I a General, I should desire to preserve the favour of your muse next to Fortune's, and I will not doubt but they who could perform the actions will know how to value such a record of them.

"But now your journey to Parnassus is over, pray change horses and come into a thicker air. Since your Pegasus has carried you so well, you need not doubt your mare, for you keep one as idle in the stable as the other; and if a fond muse will follow you on foot hither, perhaps we may show you as proper shades for you to converse in as any other place.

"To be more in earnest with you, I hope you will not forfeit the character of an honest man, and how much that is engaged in your coming to Euston need not be told you, since I see by your letter you remember you promised it. You may be sure no man alive would be more welcome, and I hope you have nothing to do but to give your brethren warning and claim their attendance at the Board [of Trade] whilst you take your turn abroad." (VII. 15.)

[DR. HUMPHREY GOWER] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1706, August 9[-20]. Thriplow, near Cambridge.—Thanking Prior for his poem, and adding:—"It continues still to be the most agreeable entertainment I meet with in this pleasant place, which affords me the best I enjoy anywhere. I offer the same to my visitants too, who accept it as such, for though they come no strangers to your Ode, it is fresh entertainment to read it again, repeat out of it, and discourse concerning it. The particular interest I have always claimed in the Author, and my having it from his own hands seem to allow me a more than ordinary concern in the applause and praises that are paid him on this occasion. It would be strange if such a performance should not meet with more than praise expressed by words, or not procure to its author something else besides honour and immortality." (VII. 18.)

SIR THOMAS HANMER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1706, August 23[-Sept. 3]. Euston.—"As 'tis natural for people under the expectation of pleasure to be very exact in computing time, I reckon now the full account of days is up, which by your last letter was fixed for your Suffolk journey. And of this it is the more necessary to remind you, lest Mrs. Ramsay's flight from us should be earlier than your motion towards us, and I should be loth you should lose so material a part of your entertainment here.

"By all the accounts we have from your famous city we conclude it at this time not better peopled than Carolina or the poorest colony under the compassion of your Board, and yet the solitude of it has charms enough with you to make the parting grievous. How little hopes, then, must we have of you if you should stay to see the delights of Bartholomew Fair open upon you! how impossible will it be to divorce you from it then! Be resolute, then, and go not into the temptations of that inviting place. Think how much your honour is concerned in keeping your word, and how much it becomes a man to renounce his pleasure for the sake of that. I hope you have no particular mistress new enough and fond enough to detain you there, and I am sure you have here a sincere friend and a most faithful humble servant." (VII. 19.)



## ADAM CARDONNEL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1707, July 14. [N.S.] Camp at Meldert.—“I have deferred answering your letter of the 13th past, O.S., in hope of sending you one at the same time from my Lord Duke, or at least to have told you that he had complied with your request in recommending the contents of yours to him to my Lord Treasurer; but am sorry I can do neither, perceiving His Grace does not think it proper at this juncture, though I may venture to assure you it is not want of friendship or good will, for when I first heard of yours and my master Blathwayt's remove, I took the liberty to tell His Grace in the most friendly manner I could what I thought of your circumstances, and he was pleased to answer me, under an injunction of the greatest secrecy, that he had and would take care of you.

“I wish you joy of coming into Hampshire; you may depend upon a visit when I go to and return from Hampton [Southampton]. There is a young gentleman, a relation of mine, who is called to the bar, that lives near Farnham; I must beg leave to recommend him to your friendship and protection.” (VII. 21.)

SIR JONATHAN TRELAWNY, Bishop of Winchester, to  
MATTHEW PRIOR.

1707, August 2 [-13].—“I had not written to you this post but to acquaint you that Dyer in his public letters into this country tells us you are going into orders, which is much more surprising news than that you sent me of your finding Mr. Trelawny at study and Ned boxing, for each of them was in his way. I don't doubt of your having your eye upon the bishopric of Winchester, but I beg you would not expect it these twenty years; after that I wish you may have it at least as many more.

“I wish you would wait on Mr. Churchill and desire him to let Mr. Johnson know that the rectory of Knoyle in the pleasantest part of Wiltshire in my gift, and reckoned to me worth 300*l.* a year, is now void, and by the command of my Lord Duke of Marlborough at Dr. Shaw's service.

“I would have Dr. Shaw be very nimble in the matter and go down with speed to see it whilst his instruments are preparing, because it is harvest time, and he will certainly suffer by the Bishop of Sarum's sequestering it into ill hands.

“For Matthew Prior, Esq., at his house in Duke Street, Westminster.” (VII. 22.)

## The DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1707, August 25. [N.S.] Camp at Soignies.—[See Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, ed. Murray, iii. 530.] (VII. 24.)

## EDWARD SOUTHWELL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, May 30[–June 10]. Dublin.—“Dyer’s letter alarms people very much; every post he says something of my Lord Sunderland; sometimes that he is packing up his papers, and many such insolencies which I wonder are suffered.”

“I know but little of the Court here, having much business to do; but those who frequent it say they believe my Lord seems dubious how long he may stay, because he prudently avoids all expense and is very civil to everybody.

“Last night in the Coffee House, Mr. Shadwell, one of my Lord’s chaplains, gave a guinea to another parson to have two pence a day whilst my Lord is in the Government, and he hopes to make a little fortune out of his bet.

“Let me hear soon, and don’t be too stingy.” (VII. 32.)

## SIR THOMAS HANMER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, June 15[–26]. Euston.—“Though I am very well pleased to have left the town, I will not be spiteful enough to you who remain in it to talk of the pleasures of the country, except of one which you yourself have contrived for me, the receiving a letter from you; and the thanks I owe you for it won’t suffer me to be silent in that. You see I might have lost the summer if I had stayed to see the fruits of the secret consultations which were to change the world. Methinks they ripen very slowly, and I wish they be not overtaken and nipped by the winter. One observation I can make, and I may venture to do it, because it arises most properly in the country, that the time which has already been lost must make a new election more inconvenient (were it now to come never so soon), and delaying it much longer will make it impossible. The conclusion, therefore, the dullest of us may draw, that without that step nothing can go on, for a new ministry with an old Parliament will be worse than the Gospel absurdity of a piece of new cloth in an old garment, or new wine in old bottles.

“Don’t think me quite destitute of public spirit if I confess to you I think pretty indifferently of these matters, and feel no palpitations of heart concerning them. If it be a fault, I can’t help wishing it to my friends too, that you might have no reason to wait upon the humours of men or the tricks of State.” (VII. 34.)

## LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF DORSET, to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, July 14[–25]. Knole.—“If what I see in the papers is true concerning your restoration, you must give me leave to wish you joy; but I can’t help thinking, if this is all your Church friends think of doing for you, and if so long a suspension is all you are to get for being so good a Papist, in



my poor opinion you could hardly have fared worse if you had never renounced Presbytery.

"I hope I need not tell you how well I wish you, and that if this piece of news is true, how sincerely I wish it may only be a forerunner of something infinitely better." (VII. 35.)

SIR THOMAS HANMER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, July 17[-28]. Euston.—"I am glad to hear my Lord Anglesey has some amends made him for the disappointment in the Seals [Secretary of State], which had been so long by public voice voted to him. As they are fallen into the hands of a brother commissioner of yours [Lord Dartmouth], I hope you can't be without some benefit from them, by his friendship at least, if not by his removal, though both foreign and home prints put you into the place he leaves, and that's an acknowledgment how much 'tis your due, whether it be a true account of fact or no. I conclude it is not so, because you make no mention of it in your letter, and I conclude you wish my pleasure enough not to be silent in anything which you know would be the cause of so much to me.

"You take a very ill argument to persuade me to come up to town to hear and learn the news there, when I have it at so much better advantage in the relations you give me of it." (VII. 36.)

PETER NEEDHAM to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, July 20[-31]. St. John's College, [Cambridge].—"I am just returned hither out of the country, and find to my great satisfaction that you are at last restored to your commission, which I sincerely wish you a long and happy enjoyment of, unless a further promotion should prevent it. The other day I met with Mr. Annesley and Mr. Castleton, who confirm the good news, and give me hopes that this will not be the last mark of Her Majesty's favour to you." (VII. 37.)

THE EARL OF CHOLMONDELEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, July 26[-August 6].—"My very good friend, nothing is so acceptable to a country gentleman like myself than to hear from my friends in town, and amongst them you stand in the first rank. I am only concerned that you do not confirm the news that is in the foreign *Gazette* to me, that Mons. Prior is made one of the Commissioners of Trade. In good truth I would rather hear that confirmed than have a patent for my own place [Treasurer of the Household] for life; though these times are as dangerous and uncertain for those that set their hearts upon holding places as perhaps ever were.

"I sit and philosophize over your *Réflexions Curieuses*, and in the main am come to this point, that my books, my

garden, and my two little rooms over my greenhouse are my best tenure. And for one that has neither superstition nor more religion than is absolutely necessary, a quiet mind is better than to embroil, plague, and trouble myself amongst the kn—s and fo—ls about either Church or State, though I were sure to get by it—especially since I am like to muster in the last class and not in the first.

“But to leave politics, I desire Cavalier Davie would let me know what size he must have the stone got for his double figures, for should we go on with the design of his cutting the figures for my garden, I am in hopes I can find stone here, which will not only save the charge of carriage, but will also secure us from any breach or damage by so long a way of carriage as is from London hither. Pray let me know this in your next, and as anything new either at home or abroad happens, oblige your country friend with it, who cannot go to the price of Mr. Dyer, and therefore am quite ignorant how matters go.” (VII. 38.)

VISCOUNT WEYMOUTH to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, August 11[–22]. Longleat.—“Knowing how little I could be serviceable to anybody, being in reality and also so esteemed a *miles emeritus*, it had been arrogance to have invited a correspondence, but you have long known that your letters were very acceptable to me.

“I have not seen any prints that mentioned any other employment for you than that you are restored to, wherein you may be very useful to the public, if you will please to set your shoulders to it, for Messieurs de Buyse and Vanderdussen, the now arbiters of peace and war, will scarce break their brains to restore or increase the sinking trade of England.

“There is indeed a great man [Godolphin] fallen, but he is not buried, and whoever shall be his successors will have work enough to keep the tottering cart upon the wheels.

“We are very busy in preparing for a new Parliament, and shall, I fancy, have pretty good success in many elections, but it will be difficult to satisfy the expectations of 550 men, and I never knew undertakers for Parliaments come off without some scratches.” (VII. 39.)

The EARL OF CHOLMONDELEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, August 16[–27].—“My good friend, I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letters and the account you give me of these mighty events that are now in agitation. For my own part I would much rather hear your sentiments upon these matters than publish my own, having always had a very good opinion of the first and a very mean one of the last. And in good truth, as it is very difficult from the first lines of a landscape to judge the painter’s design, whether it is to be a storm or a calm, so in these nice points I think it pru-



dence for us country gentlemen to suspend our judgments till Mr. Dyer, our top politician, lets us further into the secret. For my own part I have no other curiosity than what my duty to the Queen and the good of my country naturally leads me to; and if those go well, I am satisfied. I am quite out of the bustle, and have nothing but my own actions to answer for, which are in a very narrow sphere, about my private pleasures and concerns. For the rest I sincerely wish my friend Mr. Prior as great a share in these revolutions as he can desire himself." (VII. 40.)

ADAM CARDONNEL to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Sept. 1. [N.S.] Gand.—“I thank you, my dear friend, for your kind concern for me. I have indeed had a severe time of it, five or six days together light-headed, with convulsions for ten days, but I thank God I have now recovered a pretty good measure of strength, so that I design in two days for the army, where I will not fail to make your compliments immediately to His Grace [Marlborough]; and if I ever get into Duke Street again, I promise you it shall not be my fault if we are not better neighbours.” (VII. 52.)

SIR THOMAS HANMER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Sept. 2[–13]. Euston.—“I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to secure our Quakers in the interest we wish them, but am sorry to tell you what the fruit of it all is; for either there is a great mistake somewhere or your friend Sir [*sic*] William [Penn] has dealt deceitfully with us. I applied myself to Dikes (the person you referred to) and after I had told him my errand and given him the signs which were to prove my mission, he was very much surprised, not knowing how to distrust either me or my tokens, and yet he assured me he had by that post received a letter from that very Edmund Cross, of Woodbridge, whom you mentioned as the person who was to receive the verbal directions from Sir William and convey them to the brethren, which letter expressly contradicted mine and earnestly recommended Sir Philip Parker and myself. I then hoped that might be a letter written before Sir William had spoke to Cross; I therefore desired him to write again, that the matter might be explained to him. This at my request he did, and last night sent me an account of the answer he received, which was positive for Sir Philip Parker. I can now go no farther in tracing the mystery, but must send it back again to you to discover the reason of such a proceeding. I make no doubt but you explained yourself to Sir William, that Sir Robert Davers was to be the partner in the same interest with me, but whether he made himself rightly understood by his subordinate friends is the only doubt which remains with me. For it has been an artifice used even here in the country by that party to

give it out that Sir Philip and I join, and with many ignorant people the trick obtained so far that it has cost me no little pains to undeceive them.

"If Sir William therefore gave the word for me and my partner and they by wrong information believed Sir Philip to be so, this possibly may have occasioned the mistake; otherwise I see nothing that can clear Sir William of having equivocated with you. I leave it to your farther enquiry, and if you can find him soon, and he be willing and in earnest to set this right, the time is not yet too late, for our election is not to be till Wednesday fortnight, which is the 18th."

*Postscript.*—" 'Tis very confidently said that the Duke of Ormond makes interest for Stanhope, and that so does the Duke of Buckingham. It comes indeed from those whom I believe the less the more confidently they relate anything; but I wish very much to be satisfied in it, therefore pray inform me of the naked fact." (VII. 41.)

#### HENRY ST. JOHN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Sept. 11[-22].—"I suppose you are by this time returned from the country, and therefore I send this note to acquaint you that the Queen has been spoke to in your affair.

"She is inclined to show you her favour, and is indifferent which commission she places you in; so that if you settle your business with the ministers, I believe it will meet with no obstruction above.

"I am always glad of an occasion of showing you that I am very truly your, etc."

*Postscript.*—"Give me notice when you renew your application, that I may put my helping hand at the same time to what you desire." (VII. 42.)

#### SIR THOMAS HANMER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Sept. 11[-22]. Euston.—"But that I have been from home this whole fortnight last past, I should have written to you, both because I have your letter to thank you for and a great deal in my own thoughts which I want to tell you of. But neither have I a moment's time now to do it, for I am teased and tired out of my life with an opposition which has lately arisen in this county, and though I am not opposed myself, it costs me ten times more pains to support my partner, who is very strenuously pushed at. Sir Philip Parker, who has lately had a great deal of money left him, scatters it upon this occasion at no rate, and this is seconded by three the greatest men of this county, who are content too for the forming an interest to stoop the lowest. You'll wonder to hear that I am to solicit you on this subject, but I believe you may very effectively help us,



and I beg you will. There are a great many Quakers here, who, I find, promise nobody, and preserve themselves indifferent, by which I conclude they have yet received no instruction from their leaders. I know you are very well acquainted with Sir [*sic*] William Penn, and I am apt to believe, if he be well applied to, he may at this juncture command his flock to appear for us. Let me desire you therefore to seek him out as soon as possibly you can, and to press him on this point." (VII. 43.)

The EARL OF CHOLMONDELEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Sept. 19[-30].—"I was turning over Mons. Bayle's *Letter to a Doctor of Sorbonne* when I received my good friend Mr. Prior's last letter, and I could not help thinking that they are more portentous than any comet. I have received not one from you but what has either foretold or pointed out some remarkable change, or the downfall of some great man. Your last letter informs me that great and consummate politician, the Duke of Bolton, is turned out, and a much greater than he is come in his place, the Duke of Beaufort. Thus the State wheel keeps time with the lottery wheel, and whilst some few unexpectedly carry away the great prizes, the majority go off with blanks. The uncertainties in the public affairs of the world, and the uneasiness that naturally belongs to them does in good earnest still more and more fix my inclinations upon the quiet of my garden and a country life, from which I shall be with great difficulty drawn. However, my most hearty and sincere wishes are that everything may be done for the honour, glory and safety of the Queen; and though I own this is but a very impotent way of serving Her Majesty, yet a Treasurer, as I am, without cash and with little or no credit, hath nought else that I know but wishes. May every one in their several stations have the same disinterested zeal and sincerity in their words and actions as I will ever have, and then our good Queen will never be brought into any trouble.

"I hope my servants have sent the two pots of venison and fowl, which I desire Nanny and you will remember a country friend over."

*Postscript*.—"Pray tell Chevalier David I shall have time enough to settle all matters with him at my coming to town." (VII. 44.)

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Oct. 1[-12]. [St. John's College, Cambridge].—"It is the unanimous request of the Master and Fellows that you would be pleased to come down on Wednesday next and assist Mr. Shaw in his election for this place on Thursday in the room of Mr. Annesley, who is called to the House of Lords. He is a particular friend of Mr. Hill's. I

presume he will wait upon you himself. Excuse haste." (VII. 46.)

WILLIAM SHAW to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Oct. 1[-12].—"I must entreat the favour of you, if it be possible, to assist me with your vote at the ensuing election at Cambridge. My Lord Anglesey declines standing, and the contest is like to be great, and the division so near, that for aught can be foreseen one voice may turn it. The election comes on upon Thursday next at two o'clock, and if you can possibly come down to assist me, I can assure you it will be a great obligation to your friend Mr. Hill (who gives me leave to make use of his name to you), to the whole society of St. John's, who are entirely in my interest, and to, etc." (VII. 47.)

GRACE SHAW to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1710, Oct. 2[-13]. St. James's Street.—"Mr. Shaw is gone to Cambridge this morning. He wrote to you last night, but forgot then to beg the favour of you to use your interest in Mr. Wade, of Trinity College, to go down to Cambridge to assist him with his vote."

*Postscript*.—"I think Mr. Wade lodges in Bromley Street in Drury Lane, at Dr. Hobart's." (VII. 48.)

LORD HALIFAX to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1713[-14], Dec. 23[-Jan. 3].—"Now the post is open and I can write to Mr. Prior as a friend without charging the Secretary's packet with an address to a great Minister, I shall be fond of beginning a correspondence about matters which no way concern the State. You are in the place of the world I have the greatest inclination to see, and since by one accident or other perhaps it will never be proper for me to make that voyage, I must beg your assistance to procure me some things which that happy climate furnishes better than any other. You told me you were acquainted with Frère François who writ the *Jardinier solitaire*; I have by advance made him this compliment, I have planted a garden of four acres at Bushy exactly upon his plan and design. But I have a greater scheme in my head: I have a farm at Apscourt of a hundred acres, all within a wall; it was formerly a seat, but the house is pulled down. The soil is perhaps the best in England for fruit, as appears by what is planted, and I would turn the whole into gardens and orchards for fruit. People would persuade me there are as good trees to be had here as in France, that their trees suffered much by the hard frost, but I would willingly try the experiment and make this plantation, by your assistance, for if my ground should agree with the trees (and they tell me 'tis not unlike the French soil), I should have better fruit than anybody. You find I should



want a great quantity, and I am not pressed in time, for the ground will not be prepared quickly, that there will be room to advise and take due measures in the choice of the trees most proper for our climate. Having thus opened my grand design, I desire that you will at leisure, and to unbend your mind, discourse Frère François and the learned in these affairs, and give me your thoughts upon it. Sir Andrew Fountain has much obliged me in buying some little *bustos* and figures for me; I beg to trouble you with the enclosed to deliver to him." (VII. 53.)

[The EARL OF OXFORD] to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1713-14, Jan. 16-27.—"I have begun a very large letter to my dear friend Matthew, but cannot finish it until I return from Windsor, as you will perceive, when it comes to you, the reason of it. But I must not let Jonathan [Prior's servant] go without two words to tell you how much and how entirely I am your true friend and servant, and that the Queen is satisfied with your conduct, as we all have reason.

"The Queen's gout is going off, she came out into the rooms on Thursday. The alarm arose from her being at Windsor, which I could not dissuade her from staying so long where she likes and found herself so well. You know she has every year an access of an ague.

"Jonathan brings the instruments for the Queen's dowry; you may be sure they are such as our forms of law require. I beg you to be present as a witness at Her Majesty's signing them. Pray let there be no scruples, which will tend only to delay the payments, and you see already how Her Majesty's trustee has embarrassed and delayed the affair; and yet you know what his father owed and professed to that Princess.

"Mons. Lafay will bring my letters and compliments to Mons. Torcy. I am ever, dear friend, yours." *Unsigned.* (VII. 54.)

LORD HALIFAX to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1713[-14], March 20[-31].—"I give you a thousand thanks for two obliging letters I have received from you, and the fruit trees, which are all come in good condition, and are planted at Bushy. I wish you had sent with the trees the *mémoire* that Frère François made of the cost, that I might with the more freedom have desired your assistance in buying other things, and especially in finishing my plantations. If you will allow me to correspond with you on those terms, you will do me a very sensible pleasure, but I cannot content myself to put you to trouble and expense too upon the score of ancient friendship.

"I am also obliged to Mr. Drift for some melon-seed, which I shall try this year. This kind present puts me upon asking a further favour of that kind, which is, that, when you have an opportunity of sending them easily, you would

furnish me with some seed of the herbs commonly used for 'salating'; I have sometimes had of them from Madam Governey, and they eat much better, but they soon degenerate when raised from their seed here.

"I wish you could suggest to me anything that would be agreeable from hence; if you care for malt drink, I think I could send good of any sort." (VII. 51.)

SIR JAMES MONTAGU to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1714, Oct. 17[–28].—"Dear Mat, Dick Shelton acquainting me he was to write to inform you of Lord Halifax's kind intentions to renew his friendship with you, I was willing his account of a matter, which, I hope, will be very pleasing to you, should be backed with another authority, and since I can vouch for the truth of what he is to relate, I thought it would not be unacceptable to let you know that I have had since some further discourse with your old master concerning you, and in it he expressed more concern than I can represent in this paper, to find there had been no better care taken of you. He is likewise a good deal uneasy to find people here so little disposed to do anything in your favour; therefore does apprehend he may meet with some difficulties in his endeavours to serve you; but is resolved, let the trouble be more or less, he will let you see he retains a tenderness towards you, which will exert itself whenever there is a proper occasion.

"The chief thing at present he desires to be informed of is how matters stand, and which way you can propose for him to take for the doing you the most service.

"The present turn of affairs happening to be on our side, he and I are got again into office, as the public newspapers have ere now informed you; which puts us both in some hurry and has hindered me from writing sooner to you." (VII. 55.)

The EARL OF HALIFAX to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1714, Nov. 4[–15].—"I have received the favour of two letters from you, to which I was uneasy to give an answer. In those you was pleased to speak of some points about which our notions are very different. I shall always avoid to say disagreeable things to any one, especially to those one wishes well. Nor would I willingly seem to be misled and imposed upon. Therefore, if you please, let all those matters be passed over, and not mentioned any more.

"As to your affairs in the Treasury, I send you the account of what you have received and of the bills you have drawn. I mentioned it to Mr. Shelton, who was surprised at the sum, and seemed not to believe it was so. If you think fit, you will explain it.

"The commission of the Customs is renewed, in which you are omitted. I doubt in that you will think you might have



been favoured, but, if I may have credit with you, it was impossible." (VII. 56.)

PAUL METHUEN to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1714, Nov. 27[-Dec. 8]. London.—“I am ashamed that I have been so long without answering yours of the 9th inst., and beg you would believe that the only reason of this delay was because I was in hopes to send you some comfort at the same time that I acknowledged the favour of your letter.

“You will have heard of my going to Spain; and my departure is fixed for the tenth of the next month, so that I have not been at the Treasury this last fortnight, nor can I meddle with anything more there whilst I stay; howsoever, I must take this opportunity to acquaint you that I think my Lord Halifax is really and sincerely as desirous to serve you as I myself or any other of your friends can be; but your case seems to be so particular in relation to the Treasury that he does not well know how to go about it. For it does not appear that you ever had any Privy Seal or settled allowance, as all other ministers who go abroad have, and consequently those who are in the Treasury have no authority for paying you anything. Besides which they say you have drawn bills for more money since your being in France than would have been due to you if you had had the character of ambassador extraordinary, which I do not believe.

“When I sat there and received your letter, I told my brethren that I supposed your case was that your being sent to France without any other character but that of plenipotentiary was that you might not by ceremonies be hindered from doing business, and that the Earl of Oxford had only told you that he would take care to pay your bills for the money you was forced to spend.

“Upon the whole matter, I must do my Lord Halifax the justice to say that I think he is disposed to serve you, and I hope will somehow or other bring it about. I can assure you that I heartily pity your condition, and never see his lordship without putting him in mind of it. And if you are pleased to allow a man, who has not the honour of being so well known to you as he could wish, the freedom of giving you advice in this juncture, I believe the best course you can take is to insist on staying where you are till your demands are satisfied.

“I beg pardon for presuming to offer any to one who is so much a better judge of men and business than myself, but what I say proceeds only from my sincere wishes and desire to serve you. You will excuse my troubling you with the enclosed for the Duc d’Aumont; he was very civil to me here, and I shall always have a great respect for him. If I have not given him his right titles or all of them, I hope he will be so kind as to excuse it.” (VII. 57.)

The EARL OF HALIFAX to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1714, Dec. 2[-13].—"We have been under more difficulty to know how to serve you than you will easily imagine. The payments you have actually received, and the bills you have drawn do so far exceed any allowance either as plenipotentiary or ambassador that we were at a loss to know how we could justify any further payments.

"I read your letters to the King, and did not omit doing you all the good I could. The King has therefore ordered you should be paid the allowance of a plenipotentiary from the 1st August to the 1st December, together with a bill of extraordinaries amounting in the whole to 1,176*l.*, and the bills which were due in the Queen's time will be paid in course out of the Queen's arrears. I hope this will be to your satisfaction: I do assure you, if I could have contrived a rule more favourable to you, I would have offered it." (VII. 58.)

JAMES STANHOPE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1714-15, Feb. 7[-18]. Whitehall—"In answer to your letters of the 1st and 12th of February I shall only say that I have truly acquainted His Majesty with the contents of them as likewise with the justice done to you by the Earl of Stair in all his despatches. I likewise represented to His Majesty in Council, that it would be impossible for you to return home, unless you were enabled to pay your debts; upon which His Majesty has been pleased to direct that your demands as stated to my Lord Halifax be complied with, and accordingly I have signified His Majesty's pleasure thereupon to Lord Halifax." (VII. 59.)

The EARL OF HALIFAX to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[Same date.]-" 'Tis with great pleasure that I can now let you know that upon reading my Lord Stair's letter, giving an account of your readiness to obey His Majesty's orders, the King has directed us to pay you 2,408*l.* for the two bills of extraordinaries which you demanded, which together with what is due to you yet on your ordinary allowance shall be dispatched with all the favour and civility we can show you. 'Twill be a great pleasure to me in particular to hasten your return from an unhappy and uneasy station to your own country and friends, in which number I desire you will rank me." (VII. 60.)

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1717, June 15[-26].—"I have received your letter of the 11th instant, and 'tis a satisfaction to me when I can oblige an ingenious man, as I find I have done you, and only by sending you a trifle which I am glad was acceptable. As much as you think yourself out of the world, you must allow me to be more so, if you do but reflect how miserable I am



by the unfortunate want of my hearing; and though we are all apt to be partial to ourselves, yet I believe I may safely say that nothing this world affords can be an equivalent for the loss of so very useful a sense as that of hearing. To say more on this subject is only *renovare dolorem*, so I dismiss it. Whatever may become of other mortals when they quit this gay stage of noise, folly, madness, nonsense and impertinence, you are sure (glow-worm-like) to shine in the dark by the bright poems you will leave behind you. *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori*. As to your enemies, nobody in this world is without them, and the best way to be rid of that sort of vermin is to despise such as are not worth our anger; and others perhaps by kindness may be brought over to be our friends, as Catullus was by Julius Cæsar, who, you know, invited him to supper after he had writ a severe satire upon him and entertained him as kindly as if it had been a panegyric. A rare instance of moderation or dissimulation! Henry the Fourth of France, who was a good judge of men, used to say that more flies were caught by one drop of honey than a whole tun of vinegar. If a certain prince had tried this experiment at his first coming to the Crown, I believe he would not have met with that trouble and animosity from his subjects he has done. I do not wonder at your being out at Court, if you can't slide well, for 'tis very slippery ground, and the wise Earl of Strafford, who had his head cut off by a company of knaves as well as fools, advised his eldest son never to aspire to a higher employment in the service of his country than that of justice of the peace. Perhaps the present Earl of Strafford (notwithstanding his excess of bloated pride) may have wished more than once that he had followed this maxim. For what the poet says is true. *Tolluntur in altum, Ut lapsu graviora ruant*; and I hope our young Phaëton will quickly find it so, for I take him to be no better qualified for the high place he is now in, by tripping up the heels of his old friend and cuckold than the other Phaëton was to drive the horses of the sun. But 'tis a very common thing for madmen to undertake what they are not able to perform. Pray my service to Mr. Shelton, whom I think a very good sort of a man." (VII. 67.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1717, Sept. 14[-25]. Duke Street, Westminster.—"I ought rather, my dear Lord, to have brought my person to Wimple than have sent you this epistle from Duke Street, but I shall be detained by a little business about a fortnight longer, and will with your good liking send a little before for your coach to be ordered to meet me at Royston. In the meantime pray send me word how long you will be at Wimple, for I hear you are going into the North; how long the Earl of Oxford stays with you, how my Lady and little Madam Margaretta do, and what else you think may tend to my satis-

faction, and more particularly if you have got me a rich wife in Cambridgeshire. I have nothing more to say to you now but what I shall say to you for ever, that I am entirely, etc." (I. 3.)

SIMON HARCOURT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1717, Sept. 24[-Oct. 5]. Cockthorp.—“Dear Brother, I readily acknowledge the statutes of our Fraternity [The Brothers], and will always endeavour to observe them, in points especially that so nearly concern the interest of my brother Prior.

“I fear upon further enquiry into the affair of the Charterhouse, you will find you have been misinformed. Lord Harcourt assures me he has actually filled up his next turn, and left it, signed and sealed at the Charterhouse, in the hands of the proper officer. The boy my father has nominated is a son of the Rev. Christopher Banes, an old man, and what is worse, I fear, your schoolfellow. By this you will see your present case is not within the Statutes of our Society, and how impossible it is for us to have the satisfaction of doing a pleasurable thing to you. All I can say to you is, since your heart is so immovably bent upon doing good, that your best way will be to have recourse to the Master of the Charterhouse, and get from him a list of the Governors, by which you will see who of your friends are engaged, and who not, or whether any of your friends who are not engaged, and whose nominations are at distance, can prevail with any of their brethren whose turns are as yet unsupplied, and such as in course of time may be of service to you, and so we bid you heartily farewell.” (VII. 68.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1717], Nov. 4[-15]. Cambridge.—“Victoria : for Gooche, 122; against us, 60.\*

“Our old and new Vice-Chancellor is going immediately for London, being summoned to appear before the King in Council on Thursday. I shall give you an account on Thursday—I hope at dinner time—that I have executed your commands here.”

*Postscript*.—“Service always to my best lady, love to Major [Foley]. I have made a hundred puns in forty-eight hours, to the joy and wonder of all my hearers.” (I. 5.)

The SAME to the SAME.

1717, Nov. 7[-18]. Cambridge.—“Having been with the doctors and Dick Fisher ever since Your Lordship left me, you may very well imagine I could find neither pen or ink in their chambers, and if I had a better pen than Bentley himself or more wit than Sacheverel, I could neither suffi-

\* A triumph for the anti-Bentleyan faction.



ciently thank you for your goodness to me at Wimple, nor express my own concern for leaving you. I always thought I loved you very well, but never before felt it so sensibly. But to talk like men of this world, I am very well received by all here except the Bentleyans and Bangorians.

"I saw the Provost just now and made your compliments to him; he is ill and in bed. I have gone my rounds and to-morrow morning set out to London. Though I did not desire you, I am sure you will give my great respects to Lady Harriette, and Lord and Lady Oxford, and my love—for it is a very pure and innocent passion—to little Margaretta.

"My writing to you is, you see, a kind of hankering after Wimple, and a desire of talking longer with you, for I have no earthly thing to tell you but what I hope you have long since believed, that I am ever, etc."

*Postscript*.—"The change of the two Court chaplains causes here *bella, horrida bella*." (I. 8.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1717, Nov. [30-Dec. 11], Saturday. Duke Street, Westminster.—"This letter, my dear Lord, is rather to know when I shall see you than to excuse my not having written to you since my coming to London. I have so much to say to you, that I reserve it all for a *tête à tête*, or I must be obliged to write a volume. Now, since talking with you is the thing in the world that I love, and writing a book the thing in the world I hate, I think myself excused, and as *Alma* says:—'He's half absolved that has confessed.'

"I have not been out of my house these ten days, being detained with a cold and rheum in my head, so you cannot expect much news from me. What people bring me in is the effect of an unhappy difference between the King and Prince, for which we say His Royal Highness keeps his chamber.

"The Parliament, they say, will be resty against the troops; Whigs and Tories begin to think there are not a sufficient number disbanded. What would people have?

"You have seen Bangor's last book. The Court, I hear, are resolved to sustain it, but that is not our business.\*

"I have not seen Wanley; Tonson has, and the Dragon, I suppose, has convinced Your Lordship of the vellum as impracticable, improbable, impossible. The supplement to this defect is paper imperial, and the largest in England, of which due care shall be taken. Morley was with me this morning madder than ever about Fiske the apothecary and his copper-plate. Tonson and Drift have a little appeased him, and we shall have a plate as big as has been formed since the days of Alexander the Coppersmith. Will that do?

"Our pecuniary affair Morley will settle at his next return to London; there is no haste as to any thing of that kind; I shall see you before then at London.

\* Cf. Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.) *Harley Letters and Papers*, iii, 531.

"The Bishop of Chester, my near neighbour, has just now visited me; we drank your health in your own cider.

"My goods are come from France, and *Valerius Maximus* shall stay unseen till you vouchsafe him a visit.

"And now I have tired you, but you must read on, till I tell you that I desire you to give my great respects to Lady Harriette, and love to Peggy; pray likewise send me a turkey and some beer, and come as soon as you can to him who is ever, etc."

*Postscript*.—"Lord and Lady Oxford, I hear, will be at London as soon as you can have received this, so I do not trouble you with my compliments to them. *Vale*." *Unsigned*. (I. 6.)

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1717, Dec. 14[-25]. Westminster.—"You have honoured my letter—as merchants call it—in a very compendious manner, by sending me for answer a great turkey, but if he had brought a letter tied to his leg, to tell whence he came, and how the people did that sent him, he would not have been less welcome. In short, when I asked you for victuals, I did not design your munificence should atone for your want of correspondence; a letter might have served as a kind of table-talk to a turkey. Though *quatenus* man, and subject to hunger, I ought to thank you for your present, *quatenus* friend, and desiring to hear from you, I ought to be a little angry at your silence. Pigeons sent into cities besieged, however they may be good meat in themselves, were always more kindly received when they arrived with any news from friends without doors; and the fish in the Popish legend might claim it as his right to be eat, but had like to have been canonized when the *annulus piscatoris* was found in his belly. And now, my Lord, my resentment shall go no further than to desire you to give my great duty to Lord Oxford, respect to Lady Oxford and Lady Harriette, love to little Peggy, good wishes to all your family, and Jonathan's extraordinary sense of your butler's perpetual civility towards him: and my letter shall end when I have assured you that you cannot do me greater favour than in honouring me with your commands, nor greater pleasure than in letting me hear from you."

*Postscript*.—"The news of the day is that the Prince and Princess are better as to their health, and Mr. Addison is at the point of death." (I. 10.)

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester, to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1717-18, New Year's Day. Deanery, [Westminster].—"I make you a better present than any man in England receives this day—two poems composed by a friend of mine with that extraordinary genius and spirit which attend him equally in whatever he says, does, or writes. I do not ask



your approbation of them; deny it if you can, or if you dare; the whole world will be against you; and should you therefore be so unfortunate in your judgment, you will, I dare say, be so wise and modest as to conceal it, for, though it be a very good character and what belongs to the first pens in the world, to write like nobody, yet to judge like nobody has never yet been esteemed a perfection.

"When you have read them, let me see you at my house, or else you are in danger, lame as I am, of seeing me at yours. And the difference in that case is that, whenever you have me there in my present condition, you cannot easily get rid of me; whereas, if you come hither, you may leave me as soon as you please, and I have no way to help myself, being confined to my chair, just as I was when you saw me last. If this advantage will not tempt you rather to make than receive the visit, nothing else will.

"Whether I see you or not, let me at least see something under your hand that may tell you how you do, and whether your deafness continues. And if you would flatter me agreeably, let something be said at the end of your letter which may make me for two minutes believe that you are half as much mine as I am yours, etc." (VII. 69.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1717-18, Jan. 2-13. Westminster.—"This is to convey to you all the good wishes which people send at this season to those whom they love best, and to thank you for your very welcome letter, which would have pleased me perfectly, if it had told me my good and beloved Lady was entirely restored to her health. I hope by this time she is so, and that, when you go *ad stabellum*, you are casting your eye principally towards the coach-horses, and that they may soon cast theirs towards Dover Street. When you come hither—I must in friendship tell you—you will think the town one great Bedlam, such variety of madness and of melancholy will you find in it. The ingenious authors you mention to have lain neglected in the window should really be revised and published in England to teach us mirth and wit; but of this more when I see you, for I have a great deal to say to you. We are in Lincoln's Inn Fields *sicut olim*, only that after dinner I dare not persecute for want of my second, for which weighty reason among many other I think you ought to hasten your journey. I thank you for your inundation of most excellent beer; I have locked it safely up, and intend to give the key to Adrian, as I may do that of my library to Jonathan, that so my books and my beer may neither be touched nor embezzled. As to the Scudamorian, I neither dare ask or refuse, no man is obliged to pay his father's debt twice, and it may become a yearly tax which was first meant a present. We may converse at leisure on these points; my present business is to desire Your Lordship to give my

most sincere respects to my Lady, and to let me have the honour of continuing always 'most truly your servant.' (I. 12.)

The SAME to the SAME.

[1718 ?] Easter Monday.—“Caesar and Calphurnia have invited me to-day so solemnly to dine with my Lord of Oxford, that I could not in conscience refuse it; Your Lordship and Lady Harriet are probably of the party, if so, 'tis better and better. I am astonished at the surprising generosity of a certain Lady, and I think you are the properest person to tell her so; say whatever you can in my name, for every thing you say will be obliging to her. I can think but of one thing, which is, to let her know her present was thrown away upon me; for nothing can make me esteem her with more perfect veneration or excite me to serve her all my life with more truth and zeal, than her sweetness and goodness to all your friends, though she had not been pleased to confer so frequent and particular marks of her favour upon myself. *Addio, Signore, sono obligatissimo sempre.*” *Unsigned.* (I. 131.)

The SAME to the SAME.

1718, April [15-26], Tuesday.—“I beg Your Lordship's and Lady Harriett's pardon that I do not dine at home to-day, a gentleman in Lincoln's Inn Fields having engaged me; we shall drink your healths; pray do us reason.” (I. 14.)

The SAME to the SAME.

1718, May 1[-12]. Westminster.—“By the letter which my Lord of Oxford received from you yesterday I saw that you and Lady Harriett are well, of which without any affectation I am as glad as he himself could be to whom the letter was directed. I hope my little Peggy is recovered of her indisposition; I know no child I shall love so well till I see one who may own the two *squires* for its parents. *A propos*, that affair goes on but awkwardly; since Lady Dup[plin] has had the administration in her hands, I have seen Jinny but once, and that too at Ombre, which is but a meagre entertainment for a lover. When you left London I well hoped I might retire to my own cell, but human expectations are vain, and I find myself only removed from Dover Street to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where a letter may surer find me than in Duke Street, Westminster. I will reserve the particulars of that scene till I have the honour of seeing you; imagine, however, a little of it by way of diary.—Monday. My Lord comes to see the Dups; rap, rap, a footman at the door; my Lord will call Mr. Prior presently, for he must dine with him as he promised; when or where that promise made, *nusquam constat*. ‘Then you dine with me to-morrow,’—Tuesday—‘for there is company that you ought to see, and Wednesday, for I dine alone.’ ‘Thursday,’ says Lady Duplin in a soft



voice, 'we dine with my father, and he will take it very ill if you don't come, for he ordered me to invite you in great form.' And before this dinner is half digested, at that memorable moment when the toasted cheese appears, 'Prior, you dine with me to-morrow, for we must go to Richardson's before dinner. I'll call you at one, pray be ready.'—Friday. That 'one' is three. 'It is too late to go to Richardson's, but to-morrow we will go, and pray don't engage yourself, now I have given you fair warning.'

"I could continue my journal, but you may guess that one week is not unlike another: only take notice, that all this while I am very frequently told that my coming near Lincoln's Inn Fields is owing to my friends being gone from Dover Street, which reproach I could more easily bear if I had my dear second by me, to give a certain person a little mark of remembrance towards the close of the evening.

"Every morning and night I am plagued with commas, semicolons, italic and capital, to which I have given such laborious despatch and punctual order as to be ready to come *quo me fata vocant*.

"Adieu, my Lord, pray let my compliments be distributed as followeth:—My very great and sincere respects to Lady Harriett; my kind love and pure affection to little mistress Peggy; and my hearty friendship and service to the Cardinal and the Major [Foley]." (I. 15.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1718, May 22[–June 2]. Westminster.—"I only know from my good sister Duplin's letters that her dear brother Harley is well; I desire by a word immediately to myself to be informed which very day you expect I should be at the Bath with you, upon which advice I will regulate myself; I would stay amongst my commas and colons till I may so join you as to wait on you in your western expedition, upon which I have greatly set my heart. We are all well, and one week passes here mighty like another; sister Duplin will tell you that her Lord and she set out for Yorkshire on Monday next. Pray write to me or I shall be very peevish, for to be guzzling twice a day to your health, and not hear once a month from you is intolerable. You will make my great respects agreeable to my Lady, and let the Major know that I intend to dispose of his steed; which is all at present (besides Dick's services) from him who is ever with great truth and zeal, etc." (I. 17.)

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1718, May 24[–June 4]. Westminster.—"By reading my last, my dear Lord, you will easily imagine the satisfaction I received from yours of the 21st; it is with great pleasure that I always receive your commands, but more particularly when those commands call me to you. I have not seen the

merchant; if I do between this and Wednesday next, 'tis well; I will stay no longer for any demetrian stroke whatsoever, but throw my person into the Bath coach on Thursday or Friday so as to be able categorically to eat roast beef with you on Whit-Sunday; in the meantime and ever I shall correspond in the manner most agreeable to you. Dup and Duplinia do not leave us till Tuesday, in Lincoln's Inn Fields *sicut olim*. I am pretty well *dégagé* as to my commas and colons, at least I shall be before the time I mention of waiting on you. I have a thousand things to say to you, but nothing more to write than that I am ever, my dear Lord and good Harriett's most humble and obedient friend and servant. Adieu, my dear Lord, *ama me, te semper amabo*."

*Postscript*.—"Adrian is yours always, but dares express it no otherwise than in promising he will transcribe whatever you order." *Unsigned*. (I. 19.)

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1718, June 25[–July 6]. Fountmel, near Shaftsbury.—

"I hope, my dear Lord, that this letter may find you returned safe and sound to the Bath from your more western expedition. In the uncertainty in which I am when you design to move again, where you go next, or when to my Lord Paulet's, I send Jonathan over to you. If you design to visit Lord Paulet in a day or two, I am nearer him at the place from whence I write than if I were at Bath, and if I knew your time, I would meet you at Lord Paulet's. If you stay some days longer at Bath before you journey to Lord Paulet's, I will pay my duty to you at Bath; in which case I can be with you on Friday night. Your answer shall determine me; to this end I send over Jonathan, and stay here till I am directed by your motions or intentions. I am with my good friend Dr. Dibbens in a place where even a messenger would have difficulty to find me. If I did not desire you, I am sure you would give my great respects to my Lady, and if I said nothing of my being your servant, you would easily believe I am such. Adieu."

*Postscript*.—"Service to Major [Foley]: pun: and apart we drink to Harley and Oxford, though we are both Cambridge men." *Unsigned*. (I. 21.)

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1718, August 26[–Sept. 6]. Westminster.—"Since I had a great deprivation of pleasure in parting from you, my dear Lord, I have suffered much actual pain and uneasiness from a violent cholera-morbus which—God be thanked—is now past, and only leaves me as yet very weak. I dined to-day with the Earl, and am returned to the land of the living; this account I thought proper to give of myself, finding my health a thing of so great concern as to have given Your Lordship the trouble of a letter to know the state of it,



and whether that letter gives more satisfaction to me, or more honour to Adrian is a point very disputable. I will leave him to make his compliments as he can, and only tell you—as to my own part—that, be my life longer by fifty years, it is so much time dedicated to your service, for I am with the greatest respect—

“Here you see I could end my letter with four words more ; but first, pray let me desire Your Lordship to give my best wishes and greatest regards to my Lady ; let little Peggy know I love her as a mistress, and the Major that I defy him as a rival, though I esteem him as a friend ; and so, my dear Lord, adieu. As soon as Bucephalus is cured of the farcies, and the devils cease to torment me in a morning before nine, I hope to wait on you at Wimpole.

“Our news here is all uncertain, and our victory in the Faro\* does not cause great rejoicings in the city of London ; once more, my Lord, adieu.” *Unsigned.* (I. 24.)

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester, to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1718, August 27[–Sept. 7]. Bromley.—“The first news I had of your being ill was under your own hand. It was a pleasure to me to find that the worst of your illness was over. I am well acquainted with that distemper, having smarted severely under it myself. Depend upon it, ’tis an acquaintance that will not easily be shook off ; you’ll hear more of it if you give it the least encouragement to renew its visits. But temperance, good hours, and a little exercise (to all which you are well inclined) will keep it at a distance.

“Mr. Clough, as early as he was, came too late ; I had already disposed of the living. However, I frankly said to him what I now say to you, that, if I had not been engaged, I should not have been willing to give it to him. ’Tis a vicarage in a great market-town which requires perpetual residence ; and he has another vicarage, which with his minor-canonry is of a value equal to that of Dartford, and which he had no thoughts of quitting, but hoped to have made both consistent. That is a scheme which I can no ways approve, especially in a young single man who does not want a tolerable support, for he has a good 100*l.* *per annum* now coming in. So much for his affair, upon which I can fully justify myself when I see you.

“But when will that be ? Do you remember the solemn promise you made me of coming down hither this summer ? You have but a little time left to keep your word in. I have expected you with impatience, my peaches and nectarines hung on the trees for you till they were rotten ; and one of my poetical neighbours who observed my uneasiness and thought I wished for your company a little more than his, applied these verses of Virgil to me :—

\*The destruction of the Spanish fleet by Admiral Byng, off Cape Passaro, July 31–August 11.

*Mirabar quid moeste deos, Francisce, vocares,  
Cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma.  
Tityrus hinc aberat, ipsae te, Tityre, pinus  
Ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant.*

“And what excuse shall I make for Tityrus? That he neglected his little friends for the sake of his great ones; that he was paying his court somewhere and getting—the cholic! You know what Tityrus says for himself in the lines that follow:—

*Quid facerem? neque servicio me exire licebat,  
Nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere Divos.*

“Would I could say of any one of those *Divi*, in your name, as he does in his own:—

*Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum  
Ludere, quae vellem, calamo permisit agresti.*

“Those two words, *quae vellem*, touch me to the very heart, they are worth the whole Eclogue.

“You see what a deluge of Latin poetry you have drawn upon yourself by that half line of Virgil at the end of your letter. I cannot end mine without observing to you upon it the advantage which the copy in this case has over the original. Virgil in those five little words *dum spiritus hos regit artus*, has expressed the whole force of a line and half in Homer:—

εἰσόκ' αὐτμῇ

Ἐν στῆθεσσι μένη καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὁρώρη.”

*Regit artus* takes in all that Homer means and leaves out nothing but the particular mention of *φίλα γούνατα* which adds not to the beauty or strength of the image, and is better therefore omitted than expressed.

“The rise of this reflection is from the gout, which has at present laid hold of me. Should it take away the use of my *φίλα γούνατα* I should be nevertheless yours, because I am so while I breathe. To-day, to-morrow, always; at Bromley, at Westminster, everywhere; in Greek, in Latin, in English; and which is more, in good earnest, I am your faithful humble servant.” (VII. 74.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR TO LORD HARLEY.

1718, August 30[–Sept. 10]. Westminster.—“I only write this word to you, my dear Lord, to thank you for your very obliging letter of Thursday, and to tell you I am well again, i.e., gathering strength, the distemper having left me; that I dined yesterday in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and will eat your venison to-morrow in my own palace of Duke Street.

“You will hear from Lord Oxford that little Tommie Haye has the small pox, of a very good kind, and is likely to do well. I doubt this may hinder Lady Oxford going into the country so soon as she proposed, but alas! unforeseen accidents hinder our strongest resolutions. My friend Dick



is eternally your servant; Batty [Lord Bathurst] will have me go next week for three days to Riskins [Bucks].

"A pox take Oventon! Who sent him to Bineger fair! My farcy horse will never be other than a runner. Pray tell the Major that. Shall I knock him on the head, or bring him down, that he may run to grass, or be a breakfast for your dogs?"

"You see I have nothing to entertain you with, or I would not so soon say I am, my dear Lord, entirely and always my Lady Harriett's and your servant."

*Postscript.*—"Pray don't put up all the pictures till I have the happiness to see you. Adieu." *Unsigned.* (I. 26.)

M[ARY] LADY LANSDOWNE [of Biddeford] to [MATTHEW PRIOR].

[1718,] Sept. 4[-15].—"If I had been in a condition to wait upon Your Excellence as you bid my brother Harry [Villiers] tell me, I had done it before now. The request I sent by him I thought a reasonable one; it was only to have leave to take a copy of that picture [by Kneller] which you have of mine, and which you do me too great an honour to set any value upon. I hope upon second thoughts you will not refuse it. Mr. Seamen, who delivers you this, is the person whom [*sic*] I desire may copy it, and will give you a receipt for it; you may trust him, though you doubt me. I am very much in earnest in this, as well as I shall be in being if you behave yourself handsomely, your humble servant." (VII. 75.)

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1718, Sept. ?]—"For fear I should wear out your poem [*Solomon on the Vanity of the World*] with reading it so often, 'tis here returned with all the thanks imaginable for so agreeable an entertainment. But notwithstanding all my luxury at this first course, I am impatient for a second whenever you will extremely oblige." (VII. 80.)

LORD BATHURST to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1718, Sept. ?] Monday. [St. James's Square].—"Not daring to disobey your commands, I return your *Alma* by this messenger, but why you could not suffer her to stay with me a little longer, I can't tell. I own I am in love with her, but as she is immaterial and all spirit, you might, methinks, have safely left her with me; but I rather choose to follow your inclinations, though they seem to me unreasonable, than gratify my own, though very justifiable.

"Now as to my waiting on you to the Bishop's on Tuesday, I told you when I was in town that I could not, for my coach is to go to fetch my mother from Farringdon, and then we go immediately into Wiltshire. I have writ him word so, and that, as soon as I return, I would not fail to attend him; where you will be by that time I know not;

I'm sure you know less yourself, but wherever you go you will never find any one more sincerely yours than, etc." (VII. 79.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1718, Sept. 18[-29]. Westminster.—“It is with a great deal of joy, my dear Lord, that I hear you are well, and with more that I shall hasten to you, as soon as twenty complicated attendances will give me leave. In the meantime I send Mr. Ovinton my horse, that I may the better be enabled to take my journey. Pray let the steed be fairly examined by a Cambridgeshire jury, and his sentence pronounced according to his merits or defaults. I fear he will be condemned to die, in which case he must submit to fate as Socrates and other great personages have done. What I know of the matter is, that your dogs had better eat him at Wimpole than that he should eat me ten shillings a week at Westminster. The Major's horse that was sold, I think, for more than twenty pound, is worth less than twenty pence, which is another anecdote for those gentlemen of the equestrian order.

“We are all here as we used to be; my Lord Oxford will bring me to Wimpole. *Quando?* Little Dup is perfectly recovered of his small pox; Solomon [*on the Vanity of the World*] is almost perfected; Wanley is very good to me in his corrections, but mighty angry with the printer about filthy hooks, meagre letters and unequal lines. Dick Shelton and I drank your health last night with Bob Friend. You see I have nothing to say to you, but to make my letter of some consequence pray give my very great and very true respects to Lady Harriett from him who is ever her Ladyship's and, my Lord, your most faithful and humble servant.

*Postscript.*—“Service to Major. Adieu. You see the enclosed letter of attorney is very authentic. I believe the Major and Mr. Morley will find it good in law.” (I. 30.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1718, Sept. 25[-Oct. 6]. Westminster.—“My letter of attorney to Mr. Ovington has, I perceive, given Your Lordship a lazy pretext for turning off my correspondence to you upon him. Now remember, my Lord, that, as we used to go together *ad stabellum*, so we should go together in our equestrian as we did then in our pedestrian affairs. I write thus far in this style, because I know the Major likes it. I violently suspect him to have been a party in writing the letter which I last received, and so does a better judge than I, with whom I dined yesterday, and am to dine to-morrow, yet with whom, too, I am not perfectly well at this present writing, because I could not dine with him to-day. We are to go to Mr. Caesar's the beginning of next week. *Bon, Mons. Prior.* We are to come to Wimpole at the latter end of the



week. *Bon, Mons. Prior.* But I will tell you, *tout de bon*, that we have finished our book, and I shall hasten as fast as I can to his dear embrace whom I love, how well I cannot express, provided he will previously tell me how he, his excellent Lady, and pretty Lady Peggy do. Adieu, my dear Lord." *Unsigned.* (I. 28.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1718, Sept. 30[–Oct. 11]. Westminster.—“I am to acknowledge yours, my dear Lord, of the 25th, and to thank you for a correspondence, which, telling me that yourself and adorable Lady Harriette are well, gives me the most welcome news I can possibly receive. I am at the last sheet of *Solomon*, and consequently very near the coach towards Royston. I have just told Earl of Oxford so; he says he will take me with him to Wimpole in few days, to which my answer may be seen, if you please to turn over *Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis*. I am to dine in Lincoln’s Inn Fields to-morrow, then the whole matter of our journey will be settled. *Dubitasne adhuc? dignus es odio cum religione tua isthac*. In all cases I will write again to you next post, and am serious whilst I tell you that in a week I will wait on you, and am every week-day, hour and minute of my life most sincerely, etc.”

*Postscript.*—“I hope you have eat your Michaelmas goose, if you have one to spare, pray send him *cito, cito*.”

“Dick is with me; we this moment drink to the healths of Lord Harley, Lady Harriette and little Peggy. When I see my Major [Foley], all equestrian and pun-ic differences shall be adjusted *à l’aimable*. Adieu, my dear Lord, once more yours ever.”

*Postscript signed R. S.* [Richard Shelton].—“Mr. Prior does me the favour to let me add a word to his letter, in which, perhaps, he may have called me twenty rogues and rascals; but he let me so fairly see that Your Lordship did me the honour to think on me, that, whilst I return you my thanks for the favour, I beg leave to add that I shall esteem it the greatest honour to receive any commands from my Lord Harley.” (I. 32–33.)

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1718, Oct. 4[–15]. Westminster.—“I intended to answer the exactness of your correspondence no otherwise than by releasing you from the trouble of it, by telling you directly the day when I should have the honour and pleasure of seeing you. This I had concerted as fixed as Drift, the Royston coach, earnest given, and a long *et cetera* could fix any human affair; the rest to be explained *inter matutinam théam aut postmeridianum vinum ad Winpoliam*, which will be Thursday or Friday next, the present state of matters thus standing; Caesar is in town, and to-day in Lincoln’s Inn Fields, it is ordered, that Mr. Caesar goes either Tuesday,

Wednesday or Thursday, N.B., to Bedington [*sic.* cf. pp. 462, 486, *infra*], that I go with him, and from thence he brings me the next day to Wimpole. I have assented to this for the best reason in the world, *i.e.*, because I dare not withstand it ; so, my dear Lord, you are to take no more care for me till you see me ; in the meanwhile do me the justice sometimes to remember me as entirely yours."

*Postscript.*—"The coffee-house discourse of to-day is that Stanhope is or [is] to be out. I congratulate the recovery of blood-roan, so does the Earl of Oxford. Mr. Morgan is not sorry, but we are all more pleased with Bentley's farcies, which hinder him coming out of his stable than with the course which the t'other beast is to take from the stable to the dog-kennel.

"Adieu, my dear Lord, give my respects always to Lady Harriette, and service to my equestrian friends, the Major and the Squire ; till I see you, then, and ever I am once more yours.

"Friends Dick and Adrian are yours ; we drink your health, Lady Harriett's and little Peggy's this moment in my parlour, and are sorry that you have ne'er a goose to your A—." *Unsigned.* (I. 34.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1718, Oct. 9[–20].—"The pleasure of hearing from you so often—for which I very much thank you—is the greatest I can enjoy next to that of seeing you. All doubts and delays removed, I set out to-morrow morning at the hour of nine, with Mr. Caesar in his coach, from his house in Poland Street, St. Giles, to his other house at Bedington, Hertfordshire. This I take to be categorical, positive and determined. I am to stay with him a day or two, and he, Squire Caesar, will from thence convey me to Wimple, and set me down in your porch, directed to the Right Honourable the Lord Harley, and marked upon my back, M.P.

"Bentley's disgrace pleases everybody here ; to see a divinity professor rebelling against his university, and a pedant humbled, affords great subject for speculation and ridicule.

"I will perform your commands in everything, provided you will make my great respects agreeable to my Lady, and believe that I long to see you with all the ardour that an inviolable friendship can inspire. Adieu, my Lord, I am ever yours. Love to little Pearl, service to Major [Foley]. My ally Dick, and deputy Adrian, and all that any way belong to me are your servants." *Unsigned.* (I. 36.)

#### THE ABBÉ GAULTIER to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1718, Oct. 20. N.S. Paris.—"Le gentilhomme qui vous rendra ma lettre vous dira que nous nous sommes souvent



resouvenus de vous, le verre à la main, et que je ne cesseray jamais de vous chérir et de vous aimer ; j'auray toute ma vie une reconnoissance parfaite de toutes les attentions que vous avez eues autrefois à me faire plaisir pendant nos voyages et mon séjour à Londres : je me flatte que vous estes bien persuadé que j'ay pris toute la part que je devois prendre à tout ce qui vous est arrivé depuis votre retour en Angleterre. Vous méritiez un meilleur traitement après les grands services que vous avez rendus à votre patrie : je pourrois mieux que personne les faire connoistre car j'ay esté témoin pendant plusieurs années de toutes vos actions et de votre conduite irréprochable ; je dis tous les jours à tout le monde tout ce que vous valez et personne n'ozeroit devant moy parler de vous qu'en bons termes ; et je veux qu'on vous rende toute la justice que vous méritez, et qu'on vous doit ; et qui que ce soit ne vous la refuse me praesente. Nos anciens amis, du nombre des quels est mon grand patron, M. le Marquis de Torey, vous aiment toujours ; toute sa famille en fait de même, et n'a point changé à votre égard. Pour moi je vous proteste que je seray toujours avec beaucoup de considération et d'estime, etc."

*Postscript.*—" Pour parer et orner mon appartement il ne me manque plus que le portrait de votre Grand Trésorier et le vôtre : je les auray quand vous voudrez ; soyez assuré que je feray un grand cas de l'un et de l'autre." (VII. 81.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1718,] Oct. 11[-22] Saturday. Benington.—" I am come thus far, my dear Lord, in my way to Wimpole, and am here so well received that I thought I was at your house. Cuttle, who is just come hither, convinces me to the contrary ; Mr. Caesar and my patroness are hereupon fallen out with me ; they tax me with ingratitude for having a mind to leave a place where I am very welcome, and people that use me better than I deserve ; upon the main I, who am always pacific, have endeavoured to compound the matter, and we have formed a quintuple alliance, into which Lady Harriett and Your Lordship are to be admitted, that on Wednesday morning next the aforesaid Squire Caesar, his Lady, and myself do render our persons before the hour of dinner to you the said Lord and Harriette Lady Harley, at your house at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire ; in the meantime we send Mr. Cuttle with this assurance, and charge him with our best recommendations to you both, to which I have only to add my being now and ever most particularly, my dear Lord, yours M. Prior.

Present.

Who desire the acceptance of their  
most humble service.

M. Caesar.  
C. Caesar."

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1718, Dec.].—"The remarks upon one paragraph of the declaration of war with Spain my Lord Oxford commanded me to bring to him to-day at dinner I have lost or mislaid, as well the original as the copy taken in Drift's hand *pro solita mea diligentia et cura*. Have not you one or both of them? If so, pray send it by John, and I will return it safe; if you have not, pardon the impertinence of this message. I need not say I wish you all the happiness of a new year, but if you will let Lady Harriet know that I wish the same to her and all the good that Heaven can give or man enjoy to you both, you will do great justice to the friendship I have to you, and add a new obligation to many with which you have honoured me.

"N.B.—Little Peggy is concluded in my wish, and I am ever yours." *Unsigned*. (I. 130.)

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1719[-20], Dec. 29[-Jan. 9]. \* Westminster.—"I have eaten your goose, the best that ever was cut, and am eating your brawn that accompanied it, the noblest that ever was nigled. I have been with Richardson; he says he has not a very distinct idea of what you left in charge with him relating to Spencer's head, and begs you to renew your commands thereupon.

"Hayes is returned from France, but as to my affair, *re infecta*. Arthburthnett was not at home, the bulk was too big to be put into a cart, the goods must come by another way, etc., etc. Silly and nonsense after all the letters writ on that subject, and hopes I had of seeing my pictures soon, but what is this to you, my Lord? Why 'tis very natural to complain to those one loves.

"I dined yesterday upon a drum *tête a tête* with Auditor Harley and talked politics till eight o'clock; if we drank your health, Lady Harriette's or little Peggy's is not a question. That grave person delights in Madeira before and at dinner, and in a bishop in a great glass after, but pass for that, *odi memorem compotatorem*.

"You will easily imagine how heartily I wish you all a happy new year, and I presume you think me always and entirely yours. When do you come to town?" *Unsigned*. (I. 38.)

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1719, April 14[-25]. Westminster.—"I can only tell you that I think the time long since I parted from you. I have just done what might be expected from my punctuality and good breeding; instead of waiting on my Lady Harriett at ten, I came after twelve, and instead of answering her very kind command that I should dine with her, I had pre-engaged my person to dine at home; so far right; to-morrow

\* A badly blotted date led to the misplacement of this letter, which must belong to the year 1719-20. Cf. p. 468, *infra*.



will amend all. I have otherwise done all I ought to do ; I have made my compliment to His Grace the Chancellor ; *non erat domi*. I have imparted my mind to brother Wyndham, who will do it to his father-in-law. I have been to wait on Lord Carleton ; I have spoke to everybody I can think of. I shall tell you all on Friday night, till which time and for ever I am *intirely* or *entirely*—let Wanley decide—I am yours.

“ Lord Sunderland in an eloquent speech to-day has signified that the Bill of Peerage is to be dropped this session, and to be renewed the next ; you will easily imagine the various sentiments that arise upon this subject. We are to dine with Lord Oxford on Thursday. I am to dine with Lady Harriette to-morrow. Smoke *we* and *I*. I hope to sup with you on Friday night, and have not one pun for my good Major [Foley], to whom only my service without the least equivoue in things or words. My dear, dear Lord Harley adieu.” *Unsigned*. (I. 42.)

#### JONATHAN SWIFT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, April 28[–May 9]. Dublin.—“ I thought to have had the happiness of seeing you before this time, because my health required a journey ; but whether I fancy my head is something better, or that little paltry impediments stop me, or the *sang froid* of fifty, I cannot tell ; but so it is that I have passed the time and cannot be at Aix la Chapelle in May, as I intended, and writ to my friends in London that I would. But I am going to try a more lazy remedy of Irish country air, and as my return is uncertain, I thought fit to let you know that your subscribers want their books, and that your bookseller is a blockhead for not sending them. I spoke to one Mr. Hyde, a bookseller here, who has been employed that way ; and they must be sent in quires consigned to Mr. Hyde, bookseller, at his shop in Dame’s Street, Dublin. Pray order that they may be sent as soon as possible, and care shall be taken to have them delivered to the subscribers, and receive the second guinea. I am just getting on horseback, and have only time to desire you will please to present my humble service to the Earl of Oxford, etc.” (VII. 101.)

#### RICHARDSON PACK to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, May 8[–19]. Jermyn Street.—“ I here send you an handful of daisies in return for your garland of myrtle and roses : such, indeed, is the difference between the present I now presume to make and that with which you lately honoured me. However, I will not trouble you by offering at an apology on this occasion, nor aggravate the folly of my verse by the dulness of my prose in excuse of it. When once we have had the confidence to put ourselves into the lewd hands of book-sellers (who may be called the bawds of wit, and, like those in beauty, are always drawing in some giddy creature or

other to the loss of their reputation), it would be as ridiculous a thing in us authors to set up for a squeamish modesty with our friends (forgive me that I have the vanity to reckon you in the number of mine) as it would be in a woman who hath been common to the whole town to affect coyness with a person of honour in private. A frank confession is, in my opinion, much better than a lame defence. To acknowledge, therefore, the truth to you, Sir, I fell into this wicked way of scribbling when I was very young, and I have been, I don't know how, by people's indulgence suffered to run on in a kind of confirmed way of sinning. But I am resolved hereafter to take the same method of chastising my thoughts, which I have sometimes practised to reform my manners; and as I frequently, when I have been tempted to the commission of an unbecoming action have asked myself would this or that person have been guilty of it? so I will put the same question to my Muse, when she is falling into any of her idle excesses, and ask her if such a trifling fancy, such a low diction or unequal measure could have escaped Mr. Prior? The virtue of an example so edifying cannot fail either to direct or restrain me." (VII. 105.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1719, June 20[–July 1]. Westminster.—“I hope this letter will find you in good health as I am at this present writing. Pray give my great duty to my Lady, is the substance of all I have to say, for I only write to you because you commanded I should do so. The news from Scotland you have printed, and I know no more of it than that our politicians think the account very imperfect. We dined yesterday at Mr. Vernon's at Twickenham, where the company was so good and the conversation so easy that I wished you there, and so did everybody else. Batty is not well, at which I am heartily troubled. To amuse the cares of life, I, like Solomon, have set my mind upon the magnificence of building, and my stairs will be sawed out next week. I drink to your health with that great philosopher Dick, and that ingenious person Adrian. Adieu, my dear Lord, believe me with great respect and friendship.” (I. 45.)

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, July 15[–26]. Bretby.—“I have received two letters from you, the first of which I could not answer by reason of the cruel indisposition you mention, and which has left me a cripple. By your last I find that a bright poet and a great philosopher may be overrun with the spleen; and yet I cannot blame your intended retirement, for ever since I have known anything of the world I have always thought those most happy who live most out of it; and had I not lost my hearing, yet I can assure you I would quit that stage of vanity, and because I know what the world is. What was



no more at first than *rudis indigestaque moles* is now a mass of folly, treachery, deceit and wickedness, and he that plays upon the square is sure to go off a loser. Knaves may like it, and fools may be fond of it, because 'tis the nature of the last to admire what they don't understand, just as the wild Indians do glass beads, scissors and knives, and with which they very often cut their own fingers. As for your enemies, the snarling critics, and the little would-be wits, you ought to follow the advice the last King of France gave to Mons. de Villars, viz., don't you mind what those people say. Villars followed this advice, and it made him easy when nothing else could. I have now read over your book, and since you will needs have my opinion of it, I think, if any of those that are gone before you have writ better, those that come after you will never write so well. Your beautiful ideas, and nice turns of wit are all lost upon the illiterate, and perhaps the *vere adepti*, who are acquainted with them, may (as the fox did the grapes) envy what they cannot reach, and out of ill nature find fault with what ought to be commended. Alcadiana (who, I see, is a subscriber to your book\*) writes me word she is extremely pleased with your poetry; she says your figures are lively, infinitely moving, and takes particular notice of this beautiful and moving interrogatory in your *Nut-Brown Maid*.

'Are there not poisons, racks, and flames, and swords,  
That Emma thus must die by Henry's words?'

I can assure you (whatever you may think) that I have no more than a very great respect for Alcadiana, and I believe that great and extraordinary lady is satisfied of it. I have often thought that when a man has ill health and grows old, he ought to look upon a fine woman only as he does upon a beautiful tulip, or anything else that demonstrates the glorious works of the creation; but I confess 'tis hard, very hard, to arrive at this pitch of philosophy. My vexations, attended with constant ill health, and the treachery of some friends and relations, has made life insipid, and altogether tasteless to me, and nothing but my not being an atheist could keep me from sending myself out of this world.

*Vita miseris longa, felici brevis.*

"I very seldom have any company come to me, and I am glad of it, because their conversation (if it can be called so) runs upon nothing but dogs and horses. When that topic falls, they are speechless, and put me in mind of what Mr. Dryden says of the clown Cymon in his *Iphigenia*:—

'He whistled as he went for want of thought.'

"As for the bottle, I never make any use of it (though it be *vinum* [*Hippo*] *crass, colore rubrum*), but just at dinner and supper. You may now, perhaps, ask how I pass away my time in this enchanted castle, and where I have nobody but a little

\* *Poems on several occasions.* Alcadiana, formed apparently from Alcis (Minerva), most probably stands for Lady Harley.

son of mine that is but fourteen to live with me. Why, I will tell you. As I have a terrible and domestic enemy to deal with (I mean the rheumatism), so, as soon as I am able to get out of bed in a morning, I ride about my park till dinner time. The afternoon is spent in reading or writing, but whether to any purpose or not I must leave you to determine by the enclosed poetry I here send you, with a warrant for a buck, over which may Mr. Prior with my old acquaintance Dick Sheldon,

‘Crown with my health the sprightly bowl,

And bright Falernum fire the poet’s soul.’

“I do not question but that I am now at the end of your patience, as well as that of my letter.” (VII. 108.)

*Enclosing an Imitation of Virgil’s Seventh Pastoral, and some other verses.*

#### JOHN MORLEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, July 29[–August 9]. Halsted, in Essex.—“What can my honoured friend Mr. Pryor think or I say in excuse for my omission in not waiting on the person I so much value and admire; sure none but the superior of the fair sex could have prevented my zealous inclinations.

“To increase my uneasiness I found Dame Betty had been very ill, but this day better.

“I presume the Lord and Lady Harley are retired to their country palace.

“I beg you will please to honour me with your presence, and any friends of yours, at the cottage which the Phoenix of her sex hath been pleased to honour, which I hope will atone for my presumption.

“The Sudbury coach comes every Tuesday and Saturday by five in the morning from the Spread Eagle Inn in Gracechurch Street, and will bring you to my hut in Gestingthorpe, four miles short of Sudbury, in good time the said day.

“You’ll find good beef and beer,

And other country fare,

With hearty welcome there,

Please therefore to appear.”

“For Matthew Prior, Esq., at his house in Duke Street, London.” (VII. 112.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1719, August 18[–29]. Westminster.—“I have only to tell my dear Lord that Lady Harriett on Saturday gave me the liberty of your house, which I exercised with equal prudence as generosity, administering to Richard Shelton, to Humphrey Wanley, and Parson Jeffreys, to each—I say—one bottle of Bordeaux wine. I have since been frequently in Lincoln’s Inn Fields: *sicut erat, nunc est*. Pray write to me if you intend to come hither to fetch Lady Harriett, or if I am to come to you, for in all cases I would most willingly



obey your commands. I need not tell you that, wherever you are, I desire to be with you, or that I am ever and entirely yours."

*Postscript.*—"The Duke of Bucks writes me word that my Lady miscarried this morning; possibly this accident may save the life of the Duchess and hasten Lady Harriett's journey to you. Dick is with me while I write this, and Adrian, who makes up the letter; both desire to subscribe themselves your servants.

R. Shelton.

Adrian Drift.

"We all give our kind service to the Major [Foley.] Pray write, because my determination depends upon your letter. Adieu." (I. 47.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1719,] August 22[–Sept. 2]. Westminster.—"Where are you, my dear Lord, what are you doing, and when am I to hear from you, are three questions very material. Everybody here that you value is well, and you have my best wishes for your health, *ubicumque*. I have a great deal to say to you, and Lord Oxford says I may do so *viva voce* in few days here. *Nil affirmo nihilque nego* is Descartes' motto, and *nil admirari*, you know, was the device of another great man. Pray, when you have one moment to spare from conversation, books, gardens, dogs or horses, let me hear a word from you, and believe that in all the words of our language, which I can put together, I cannot sufficiently express how perfectly I am yours.

"Service to Major." (I. 117.)

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, Sept. 28 [N.S.] Rouen.—"A violent fever I have had these 10 days by-past has hindred me from answering the honour of yours of the 27th August till now. I take this moment that I am out of my fit and something into my senses to tell you that in obedience to your commands I shall put your pictures into Mr. Hay's hands when he comes to this place, and we shall order them together the best way we can. I proposed sending them to Scotland, where I could have got them run; I can send them to Ireland where they'll pay little duties; I can send them to the Isle of Man, where they'll pay nothing, or to Holland where the duties are easy.

"As to your affair with Mr. [Richard?] Cantillon there are some of his old *commis* and hangers-on that have undertaken to pay one quarter of his debts and that his creditors should cede all his effects to them; many have signed to this, but I have not for you. Young Cantillon has been one of those happy adventurers that have got prodigious fortunes from our new stocks. He is gone over to London with 50,000*l.* sterling in his pocket; the Duke of Chandos is his

great patron and can make him pay you. He slipt his neck out of the noose and baulked his uncle's creditors by suppressing every paper that proved a society betwixt his uncle and him (or his cousin).

"There was a Scotsman that had some proof by *lettres* of the society, and young Cantillon agreed with him to deposit the money in Mr. Gordon's hands in Paris, and that the Scotsman should pursue him at the Consul's as his uncle's associate or partner, and that Cantillon should by concert gain his process, and so he be paid; this was accordingly done.

"If you had a bill or *lettre missive* writ and signed by young Cantillon (Cantillon et Compie.) he would be obliged to pay all, but otherways you have nothing for it but what we can get of the old man's effects, which will be very little, and the young man's honour and conscience, which, I fear, is yet less; however, apply to my Lord Duke of Chandos.

"Now that I have been speaking of happy adventurers, you'll no doubt think that I am one of them, but really to my very great confusion I am not. All my neighbours and fellows that I would not have drunk a bottle with six months ago are now plumb men or demy-plumb at least. I never thought that a good meal could be made out of whippit sylabob, and so I droned on in my common road of trade till the cream was so swelled that I was afraid then to meddle, though I then even judged wrong, but now I think it too late to begin. I find there is an influence or a *je ne sais quoi* upon us Tories; we never happen to do a good thing for ourselves, and seldom any for our friends; the Whigs are those who have run away with the 'rost.' Jacob Tonson has got 40,000*l.* (sterling, I mean) and I hear is to drop 'Thuanus' that he was to reprint; riches will make people forget their trade as well as themselves

"I thank you heartily, dear Sir, for the promise you make me of your book, which I esteem as a very great present. I have been obliged to part with mine to a very fine woman, who begged it of me—for I could not be without one; I know not how to be revenged on you; I owe you a great many more favours. However, if ever I write a book, you shall have one, the subject will be the character of a Tory, and it shall be only my own life these thirty years by-past, a strange chaos, I assure you. I have as great a privilege as others that have writ their memoirs. I begin to think that the fever is taking me by what I am writing, and so shall end with my humble service to good Mr. Drift, and only beg you will continue to me the honour of your friendship."

*Postscript.*—"Several Irish that used to be projecting in your ante-chamber are now in gilded Berlins, better mounted than any was in your time. Your painter Lebell has not yet given me either pictures or books for you, though I never see him without scolding him heartily." (VII. 111.)



SIR JAMES MOUNTAGU to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, Oct. 27[–Nov. 7.] London.—“Dear Mat, give me leave to disturb you a little in your retirement by making a sorrowful request to you in honour to the memory of a departed friend, for I am confident you will permit me to give that appellation to the late Lord Halifax. It is in short to desire you to send me up a few lines which you would think proper to be engraven on a marble in Westminster Abbey. The tomb is to be plain by his own direction, the place will not allow it to be large, and the spectator must not be kept long on so cold a pavement; and yet I think we must take notice of his beginning at that school, and being Fellow of Trinity College among the rest of his advancements. And I believe the Dean [Atterbury], his school-fellow, will not be averse to have anything you think proper to be said of him to be recorded in their annals. The workmen send us word the tomb is at a stand for want of the epitaph, which makes me afresh solicit you for a line or two on this subject.

“I have had lately a quarrel with Richardson, the painter, about the picture he was to draw for me of you; for after two years waiting for it, and telling me it was just finished, which made me prepare a place for it in a new room I had made, and stands now vacant for want of it, he shows other pictures, which he has finished, though begun after mine, and thinks I am so humble-minded as to be satisfied with being told that it is for two noble lords that those pictures are drawn. But when you come to town you will make up the difference if you can engage him not to let the latter performance come short of the former, for I want a picture that may vie with old Seneca.\*” (VII. 114.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1719, Nov. 21[–Dec. 2].—“If I should be examined why I have not writ to you in four months, and how it happens that there is a chasm in our correspondence, what shall I say? Why the truth is the best: That having had at Wimpole the best books all the morning and the most desirable company all the afternoon, plenty as much as if I had been His Excellence at Paris, and freedom as if I had been Master Prior in Duke Street, I contracted my desires—as all true philosophers should do—and seldom let my thoughts range beyond the park. Sometimes, indeed, we thought of you at the grace-cup, particularly to my Lord and Lady Oxford, then the Auditor [Edward Harley] and the Hamadryades with a very good eye towards young Spenser.

“*Namque Hamadryades et carmina nobis Ipsa placent.* Let the young man look for the passage if he pleases, that I may not be accused of corrupting your family, for I can safely swear that at Wimpole I always took poetry from him—that

\* *I.e.*, the picture of Seneca dying in the bath by Luca Giordano.

I might read it myself—and turned the young lawyer to the prose side of the library: but to the purpose. We likewise remembered Harleys by the names of Nathaniel—though Sunday was three weeks our minister said his name was Bartholomew—then we proceed to Thomas, who having been once confined intends never to stand still again—Foleys, Lord, Auditor, Pro[thonotary], and Major, to the last of whom I wish as good an estate as the first has.

“As I just now spoke of poetry, Your Lordship will have heard that at St. John’s some days since I was attacked with the old hydrophobia, but that is not all; the infection spread, Caesar got it, as in the height of the distemper himself has confessed to you, it presently ran through all our College—I send you a specimen of it herein enclosed—and Apollo knows where the distemper will end; my repeated wishes are that the infection of verse may be kept from your family as that of prose eloquence from the Finches.

“I know not from whence I should date my letter, for I left Wimpole yesterday and am but just entered into my own palace, so that really my person is at London and my thought at the place I love better, but in every place where I am, and in every thought I can employ, I assure myself with great satisfaction that you believe me your servant, and that I love even my Lord Harley better for being my Lord of Oxford’s son.” (I. 51.)

#### THE SAME to LORD HARLEY.

1719, Nov. 21[–Dec. 2]. Westminster.—“I write to you because I will always keep my word with you, but what to say to you in an epistolary style, God knows, since for four months together I had the opportunity of talking with you eight hours every day, and in two days’ time find I have a hundred things yet untalked.

“I am just come to town, and have had a kind admittance into my own castle, where I shall keep quiet possession resolved not to stir out these ten days, for I leave a lie at my door in the mouth of a female servant, who may as well give it to all inquisitive persons as any male porter.

“I have found more business here than might reasonably be expected, some pictures to be removed, and some books added to the library, in which matter your *Delphini Editiones*, however easily disposed in your ocean of literature, in my small rivulet of knowledge give me no small confusion of thought and occasion of dubitancy. Now the Devil is in’t if this is not handsomely expressed, and if these books are not rightly placed—N.B. it is not my fault, but Drift’s.

“I would change this style, and use the best of which I am master to assure my Lady of my most profound respect, and most sensible gratitude, and my dear little Lady of my love and friendship. If I take the liberty in a letter writ to Your Lordship to desire my remembrance may be made agree-



able to Mr. Wanley and Mr. Garwood, it is, that possibly, when you receive this, they may have the honour of being with you, and as to yourself, I protest to you that I know no words sufficient to express my meaning when I would tell you how much I am your servant."

*Postscript.*—"I met Mr. Twibull at Buntingford, and was obliged to him, as I am always to those who belong to you. Drift will not make up my letter, except I say, in his name, that he is entirely your servant; adieu, my dear Lord."  
*Unsigned.* (I. 53.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1719, Nov. 26[-Dec. 7].—"I thank you most heartily, my dear Lord, for your letter, and in return to it can only tell you that I am in my own house as far removed from all that is doing at London as if I were still at Wimpole; it is denied that I am in town to everybody that enquires, and it will be found by all *refiners* that I am gone from Cambridgeshire, which will make an agreeable confusion in chronology, and a fine distress for *Scriblerus*. I have only seen Brown, the surgeon, to whom I have made an *auricular confession*, and from him have received *extreme unction*, and applied it, which may soften the obduracy of my ear, and make it capable of receiving the impression of ten thousand lies which will be poured into it as soon as I shall take my seat at the Smyrna, or walk in the Court of Request as other gentlemen do.

"You may claim my company by the strongest ties imaginable, your friendship and my own inclination, but I hope you will lay your claim in here at London, the sooner the better. My great respects must always be given to my Lady, and my tenderest regards to the little one.

"N.B.—This blot was not made by me, but by Drift, and so I conclude."

*Postscript.*—"Ralpho [his horse] returns with the higgler, glad enough, I suppose." (I. 55.)

#### J[OHN] NEWCOME to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, Nov. 27[-Dec. 8]. St. John's [College, Cambridge].—"It is my sincere opinion that nothing can be more honourable to your reputation, nor more serviceable to your interest in the whole University than the promoting our new Chapel, which is so much wanted. I was willing to keep so good a project warm, and to lay hold of the happy encouragement that is by your means afforded us. 'Tis pity the scheme should be too big to be executed, or too long delayed, whilst we have so many friends in being.

"I presume a new Chapel, much wider and longer, might be made magnificent and convenient in the first Court for about ten thousand pounds. But turning the river out of its course, pulling down a side or two of the third Court, etc.,

could not be done under thirty or forty thousand pounds, which seems a sum impracticable.

"We have some hopes that Mr. Gibbs will survey the ground and calculate the expense, but if the project cools, it dies abortive.

"And now, in obedience to your beloved commands I have thought of a person whose singular skill in the Roman tongue might recommend him to Caesar and Calphurnia; his good morals and great sincerity to Mr. Prior's friendship; his skill in arithmetic and geometry to any young gentleman's instruction; and his good nature and principles, as well as graceful person, to any honest gentleman's conversation and respect. 'Tis Mr. Parnham of our House, not two years Master of Arts, nor in orders."

*Postscript.*—"But oh! the postscript! beware of the postscript. My Lord of London is a great patron; Lord Oxford and Mr. Prior have the greatest interest. This is one of the Bishop's *mollia tempora*. Your humble servant was once (1708) heartily recommended to the Earl of Oxford by Dr. Gower, when he endeavoured to go to Rochester; he would now gladly be placed near the great town. Dr. Mangey is (I am persuaded) your friend and mine; he knows my case." (VII. 115.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1719, Nov. 28[-Dec. 9].—"Having wished you, my Lady and the Chara Infantula, all health and happiness, I may e'en close my letter, the rest being only to tell you I have received the venison, made a pie with the side—which is very good—and reserved the haunch for Monday *pour être bien mortifié*. I hope well from my Surgeon Brown, who begins to think that my *acroamatica* were impeded by cereal, congregated, cold particles; that is, in a more vulgar style that I hear much better since he has poured oil into my ears. I have not one word of news, God be thanked, and Ralpho knows as much of the town he came from, him [*sic*] as I do, whom he left in it. Adieu, my dear Lord."

*Postscript.*—"I am just going to take a piece of the pie, and drink your health *more solito*. Adrian and all mine are yours." *Unsigned.* (I. 56.)

#### THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719, Dec. 2[-13]. Bretby.—"I received yours of the 28th instant by the last post, which (like an ill tenant) puts me in mind of an old arrear; I mean the letter I received from you at Scarborough, and which I had then answered, but that those waters fly so very much to the head, that I was not in a condition to write to Tibullus. As for your vexations, a man of your sense and penetration cannot expect to be free from them, which makes me think that (in many respects) 'tis a happiness to be born with a callous mind



for a thinking man will always find fresh fodder for the spleen, except he could divest himself from himself, which is impossible. *Naturam expellas, furca licet, usque recurrit*. If you are unfortunate yourself, do but think how many are much more so, and would be very glad to change conditions with Mr. Prior, were it only to have his acute parts and inexhaustible vein of poetry. To lay aside Plato and Tully only to admire the perfections of a young lady is a most gallant compliment; and no doubt but she deserves it, at least she will be sure to think so, for I never yet knew any one of that sex that was wanting in a good opinion of herself, and next to beauty, and the pleasure it brings them, they love flattery. I have not heard from Alcide this half-year, and having now no amusement (for that correspondence was no more) I have given up myself entirely to the conversation of the dead, who, I think, are much better company than any of our living country esquires, noise and nonsense having always been my aversion. My health is rather better than worse, but my unfortunate want of hearing will never be better; and as I know there can be no equivalent for the loss of so very useful a sense, so it makes me very frequently wish myself out of a corrupt world." (VII. 116.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR TO LORD HARLEY.

1719, Dec. 5[-16]. Westminster.—“The enclosed vote and my correspondent in Parliamentary affairs, Mr. John Hollingshed, inform me that there is a vacancy at Bishops Castle; the warrant for a successor is issued out in great haste, and the design of its being so is—I presume—to secure the election to one of the Whig party. How far you will concern yourself in this affair, I am not to enquire, but I esteem it my duty always to write to you of whatever I think may concern you, considering especially that the Auditor (Harley) is not yet come to town.

“Auditor Foley did me the favour to see me to-day, and is, as usually, your servant.

“Morley and Shelton, two philosophers of very different geniuses and studies, dined yesterday with me, unhappily enough for me that treated them both with exceeding great humanity, for falling immediately in love with each other, neither of them took any further [notice] of my person or hospitality. Morley, finding that Shelton knew one Mr. Williamson, who had a son in the East Indies who might do some service to Morley’s son, desired Shelton to present him to Williamson; Shelton said he would with all his heart. Here I unhappily subjoined that this very Williamson was the person who had sent Lady Harriet the antelopes. ‘Is it so?’ says Morley to me, ‘then pray, Sir, hold you your tongue, for I am as well acquainted with the antelopes as you or any man, and I will only take this honest gentleman (Mr. Shelton, dear Mr. Shelton) to bring me acquainted with this ’tother

honest gentleman, Mr. Williamson'; after this it was in vain for me to urge that I knew Mr. Williamson, that I had sat with him at the Custom House, seen him with the Earl of Oxford and Lord Harley; *Niente per Dio!* I am to have nothing to do in the friendship of this new triumvirate, and they are to see each other on Tuesday at a tavern in the City without me.

"For domestic news you have a pipe of Madeira in your cellar; for parochial, there were two bills put up last Sunday at St. Margaret's Church, one for Mr. London lying very weak, t'other for Mrs. Cornwallis troubled in mind; for national, the Bill of Peerage will—everybody says—be thrown out. Adieu, my Lord, when you give my great respect to what Margaret Tudor was\*, pray add that I cannot form a wish more favourable to yourself and friends than that Margaret Harley may be what Harriet is." (I. 58.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1719, Dec. 15[–26]. Westminster.—"I did not answer yours of the 10th by the last post, because I had obeyed your commands but imperfectly. I have spoken to Bobus concerning the pictures, I shall see them in a day or two—if I will—I find there is no price set upon them, and that the matter is to be referred to me, of which I thought fit to advise you before I give any judgment, for I would not have you give too much for them, and on the other side I know you design an indulgence to the widow of a man whom you loved.

"Bob [Freind] has writ the prose inscription for the lamp, and we had a friendly squabble last night about the verse.† He says my last of the four is harsh, *i.e.*, he can't stuff so much excellent sense—as I told him—into two stanzas of sapphic; well, the last verse is made softer, the four are turned otherwise; Gibbs shall have the whole *debito tempore*, and all is well, to the great satisfaction of friend Dick, who sat by last night while we drank your health—if he pledged it is not a question—and said sneeringly he would not for fifty pounds have had an animosity arise between the greatest Latin scholar and the best poet in the whole world, both of them being his most particular friends.

"That philosopher has a nephew a Demi of Maudleine and a divine, who would rather pray, it seems, near Candish Square than anywhere else. Mr. Garwood will judge if what he desires be reasonable. Dick has told you himself he has laid your Madeira into your cellar; it is incomparably good; I have ordered the payment and will account upon it to Your Lordship.

\* "What Margaret Tudor was, is Harriet Harley now." From Prior's "Verses spoke to the Lady Henrietta-Cavendish Holles Harley in the Library St. John's College, Cambridge."

† See *Matthew Prior. Dialogues of the Dead and other Works in Prose and Verse*, ed. A. R. Waller, M.A. (Camb. Univ. Press, 1907), p. 146.



"However careful I may seem of managing your purse, I have put you to the expense of a guinea; Southern, my old acquaintance, having asked my assistance in getting him off with some tickets for his *Spartan Dame*, I took one for you, though—as I told him—you were not in town, and he is to make his compliment to you for your favour when you come.

"As to my printed phiz. Vertue promises very fair; he has had a great deal of business; he would have it perfectly well executed; Adrian solicits him hard on the subject; Adrian sends you some copies of the verses enclosed, and uncircumcised, in which notion he perfectly agrees with Mr. Wanley, and adds that the whole is always more beautiful when the letter stands in the middle of the frame; he longs for your future commands. I am with great truth and respect Lady Harriett's servant, and Peggy's *de tout mon cœur* Where is the Earl of Oxford? Adieu, my dear Lord."

*Postscript*.—"A hue and cry for John Morley, of Essex, who parted some time since from his friends at London, supposed to be a little whimsical. Dare I after this add my respects to the Duchess of Buckingham and let Her Grace know from what I knew on Sunday that Lord Normanby is well?" *Unsigned*. (I. 60.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1719,] Dec. 16[-27]. Wednesday.—"I return your papers, my dear Lord, *bona fide*, and my thanks for Camden and South *imo corde*. The latter I am very deep in, and very fond of; for what can better employ a man indisposed, and consequently out of humour, than a good deal of morality mixed with some ill nature? I hope my cold is going off; give my great respects always to my Lady, and claim that entire friendship from me to which you have so just a right; adieu." *Unsigned*. (I. 135.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1719, Dec. 19[-30]. "Vertue has brought me the proof of the portrait, which I and all that see it think to be mighty well done; he has really surpassed anything that I ever saw of his graving. I will send it by the higgler, and a future account of it in a post or two.

"I have seen the two pictures at Dr. Friend's, one is of a good hand, Flemish—I think one of the Van Halst [Van der Helst]—but it is only a portrait of a soldier to the waist, not quite a half-length; the other is a small piece of a Madonna and a *Christo Infantulo* [*sic*]—I believe it to be of Carlo Maratte [*sic*], but by no means his best manner. I hinted to you that the new made friendship between Shelton, Williamson and Morley was signed, and that I was left out of this triple alliance; it has proved so in effect, for last night,

I received a blind letter from Morley, and therein enclosed two warrants for does, one to Shelton and t'other to Williamson; so far all was well, but while I had the honour to distribute this venison, what was I to eat? mutton.

"I went to Dover Street last night upon a better account than to expostulate this grand affair with Morley. I had not the honour of seeing my Lady nor could be so unreasonable as to desire it, when I heard she was to go away at four this morning: but I received to-day a note from the delinquent Morley, in which he has got the omission as to the doe rectified; for which, however noted in jest, I most seriously thank Your Lordship and my Lady, who is, I hope, safe arrived at Wimpole, and will, I believe, esteem me always her faithful servant. I hope little Lady is well, her cousin Dupp[lin]s are so; Lord and Lady Kenoule [Kinnoul] are on their road from Scotland, to make some very short stay in Yorkshire before they come hither." *Unsigned.* (I. 62.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1719-20].—"Dick Shelton and I drink your health, he in pure wine, mine allayed with water and toast. I send your lamp; pray send me all the news, rip-raff, *Postboys*, *Flying Post*, Bangor or Bentley, etc. Service to Ladies great and little. I hope to see you to-morrow." *Unsigned.* (I. 129.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1719-20, Jan. 2[-13].—"Wishing you and my Lady and the little Margaret all the happiness of this and many new years, and thanking you for yours of the 31st December, I proceed to business. Christian has showed me your seal; it is very fine; if the angels are heraldic or heathen, Mr. Wanley and he [*sic*] must agree, and so she [*sic*] prayed me to tell you; Adrian engages to put the impressions up so as that they shall not be spoiled in the carriage.

"I am of your opinion as to the staring letters at the bottom of the print; I think that and other virtuoso or connoisseur affairs had better remain *in statu quo* till you come to London; when that will be is the question.

"The *Spartan*, or, as they call it here, the *Smarting*, *Dame* has just done Tom S[outhern]'s business, and both he and the town are satisfied it has been acted, and are not troubled that it is laid aside.

"Your partiality to *Solomon* and *Alma* is very delightful to me, for that my Lord Harley loves the author is better than any other sort of merit.

"I can neither get Tonson nor Barber near me, they will neither send out my books, nor make up accounts. Dick Shelton is dining with me, I leave writing to drink to our good and dear friends at Wimpole. God for ever bless you, adieu." (I. 72.)



## JONATHAN SWIFT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719-20, Jan. 25[-Feb. 5.] Dublin.—“I have been long pursued with one or two disorders, which, though not very painful, are so incommodious that they quite disconcert me, and among other effects make me so lazy and listless that I can hardly mind the affairs of my friends, much less my own.

“Since I begun this letter I have been so pursued with a giddy head that I could not finish it. I had yours of the 10th of last month with your verses on my sister Harriet enclosed. I have more obligations to her than you, and yet never gave her any verses, because it is not in my power to say as you *carmina possumus donare*. I begun some when I was in England, but it being not quite six years, I could never finish them since. No thanks to you for your good verses with such an advantage, when your Muse was your subject, and was present. Send her over here to St. Patrick’s, and you shall see *me quoque vatem*. What do you tell me of a plenipotentiary? all that is a parenthesis. The Muses found you at St. John’s, and there they meet you again. If you write no better verses than your enemies do prose, ’tis a pity but you were a plenipotentiary again. I wish your subscribers in this kingdom could as well answer your complaints as you have done theirs; but I find them much backwarder in acquitting themselves of their second payment than their first. But it is the disease of the country; first they shew vanity and good will, and secondly poverty. *Ut Gallorum subita sunt ingenia*. But my ill health is a good deal in fault; though all methods of advertisements and solicitations of friends have been employed. Two remedies I shall apply; one is a little more time, and t’other that if they will not pay their second subscription, their first shall be disposed of to others, who come at the tenth hour of the day. And in the meantime I will take care of the most convenient season to return you what we have already mustered up. As to myself, I have not yet health enough to go to England for more; I have been a month subject to a deafness, and it is with hearing as it is with riches; and a philosopher would have it though he despises it, only to have it in his power to make use of it when he pleases. I extremely long for Lord Oxford’s picture, which he promised me a hundred times. His Lordship is poor, but has rich friends, and may give me his, if ever he performed one promise he made in his life. I beg you will no further solicit him than by reading this to him, and desire his answer: but Kneller or Dahl shall be the painters.

“You are to understand that the French pistole you sent me from Paris above six years ago to drink with your cousin is now safe in my cabinet with my other rarities; and that I never spoke to him in my life but once, in the castle of Dublin. I have upon second thoughts blotted out his name as you see, because he is a person in office, but very obnoxious, I suppose

chiefly for being related to you, and durst never drink a bottle of wine with me; and so that pistole and meeting are reserved to other junctures. I hear he is well and is a very honest gentleman.

"I had a letter t'other day from Mr. Auditor Harley upon a most important affair of recommending a singing man to my cathedral, which (if you see him) you will please to say, I will answer soon. I wish he had spent a line or two to tell me of the health of the family, it would have been more like a Nathaniel."

*Postscript.*—"You are bound to present my most humble service particularly to your two favorites, and my two brothers my Lord Harley and Lord Bathurst." (VII. 119.)

E[LIZABETH Countess of] SANDWICH to MATTHEW PRIOR.

[1719-20,] Feb. 28[-March 10].—"What Solomon with all his wisdom and all the graces you have adorned him with could not do, the first sight of your sweet face performed in a moment; all sullenness vanished, I immediately changed places, put myself in the wrong and you in the right, and am impatient to thank you for the agreeable surprise you gave me to-day. I admire the painter, though I don't see his colours, the attitude, and the lively expression of the figure, which is lost in black and white\*; but above all the near resemblance to the original, and I find by all this there remains more kindness in my heart for him than I was aware of. I had rather the world were mad than dull; good for anything I am sure it cannot be. I imagine the grand dance in the *Rehearsal* marching to Exchange Alley, law and divinity taking vast pains to cheat, and in the end be cheated also.

"I admire the present taste in pleasure. What can be a more suitable entertainment for the unbended hours of the great than the politeness, the wit, and dignity that reigns in masquerades? And yet for all these temptations I am perfectly easy in my solitude, and want only more *Almas* more *Solomons*, and more *Damons*, to make it a life of pleasure as well as happiness. Well, but now I reflect that after talking so much and so impertinently to you (the last man upon earth one should take that sort of freedom with), 'tis fit I should take my place in the foolish world, but wherever my fantastical stars shall throw me, I beg you to believe that I am, with a constant esteem, your, etc." (VII. 122.)

DE LA MANLEY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719-20, March 19[-30].—"I have deferred till your coming to town to return my most humble thanks for the honour of your letter, and for Lord Harley and Lady Harriett's bounty.

"I have received several marks of your favour, and had not been thus late in my thanks, if I durst have intruded myself before; but as I often begged my acknowledgments

\* Prior had sent her an engraving by Vertue of his portrait by Richardson.



might be made by those persons that recommended my interest, so I hope there has been so much justice done me, that I do not stand in your esteem either as one insensible of benefits or ungrateful.

“Through Lord Chamberlain’s wise management a play I had designed for the town is deferred till the next season. To make me some amends they have promised me to revive *Lucius* for my benefit ; and gracious Mrs. Oldfield has agreed to speak that admirable epilogue you honoured me with, which must ever claim my most particular acknowledgments. But that lady, being something diffident of her performance, as much reason, however, as she can have for the contrary, enquired how she might be instructed by you, and said that rather than lose that advantage she would wait on you herself. Next Tuesday the play is to be rehearsed ; I should be glad to know your sentiments, and be able to carry her your commands.” (VII. 127.)

#### THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719-20, March 19[-30].—“I am to return you my thanks for the very acceptable present of your picture and poetry, and at the same time congratulate your felicity in being blessed with the friendship of the finest gentleman of the age ; and no man of your understanding can, or ought to repent that he has been unfortunate once in his life, when it convinces him that he has really such a friend in the world as the Lord Harley. In prosperity we are apt to be blind, and very often hug the flatterer instead of the friend. But adversity quickly flings us back upon ourselves again, and sets everything in its true light, but, perhaps, with no more satisfaction than a looking-glass to a fine lady just after the small-pox. It’s true that nothing could shake the friends of Cato ; they continued faithful to him to the very last, in spite of adversity ; and Cato himself expressed the sense he had of that happiness. But he was a Roman, and we are degenerated Britons. What we call a great man (I mean wealthy) here among us, is (generally speaking) a patron to pimps, buffoons, parasites and sharpers, while men of parts and learning may starve or beg their bread. Just like our great ladies, who take more care of their monkeys, lap-dogs, squirrels and parrots, than of their children or relations ; which puts me in mind of Caesar, who, when he saw some great ladies at Rome hugging lap-dogs and monkeys in their arms, pleasantly asked a bystander if those ladies were past child-bearing. I once had the impudence to ask a fine lady the same question, and upon my word, Mat, she never forgave me. I have put your picture into a frame and placed it where it ought to be, next to my old friend Mr. Dryden’s, who once sent me his picture with such a present as you now favour me with, and I put a value upon it, which upon my word I should not have done had it been a fulsome dedication to myself, and which some

of our senators are grown so fond of, that, if a poet out of modesty forbears to abuse and expose his patron with flattery, he immediately becomes his enemy; for no adulations can be too gross for these idols, who, puffed up with windy titles and glaring equipage, think themselves something more than the rest of mankind, when, indeed, they only make themselves less by it. How often have I seen that worthless ill-natured pigmy Buckingham strut, look big, and fancy himself a giant, because that poor poet Mr. Dryden (while he lived) was pleased to carry His Grace upon his shoulders, and yet common porters in the streets were much better paid! Another of these vain boasters (as they tell me) has put this motto upon his coach: *Nec minor invideo*. Is this done to show the world that he understands Latin, or to put us in mind that His Lordship's grandfather was no less than the common hangman of Ireland?

*Postscript*.—"My humble service to my old acquaintance Dick Sheldon, and pray let him know that, as soon as venison comes in season, my park at Wing will be at his service." (VII. 87.)

#### JONATHAN SWIFT to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1719[-20], March 24[-April 4]. Dublin.—"The person who delivers you this is the son of Sir Theobald Butler; the father is one of the most eminent lawyers among us, and hath an appeal before the House of Lords to be heard on the 6th of April. His adversary is one Lady Pendergras [*sic*: properly Prendergast], sister of Cadogan, and the greatest widow Blacacre now in Christendom. I desire the favour of you to speak to some lords of your acquaintance to attend the hearing, because it is of very great consequence to Sir Theobald's fortune, and he is very confident of the justice of his cause. He is one of my flock upon the Deanery, a gentleman universally beloved, and therefore I could not refuse him this good office." (VII. 89.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LADY MARGARET-CAVENDISH HARLEY.

1720, March 29[-April 9]. Wimpole.—

"My noble, lovely, little Peggy  
Let this my first epistle beg ye,  
At dawn of morn and close of even  
To lift your heart and hands to Heaven.  
In double beauty say your prayer,  
Our Father first, then *notre Père*,  
And, dearest child, along the day,  
In everything you do or say  
Obey and please my Lord and Lady,  
So God shall love, and angels aid ye.  
If to these precepts you attend,  
No second letter need I send:  
And so I rest your constant friend." (I. 64.)



## MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1720,] June 4[-15]. Saturday. Down.—“I hope you got some victuals at Cheston to recompense the oddness of your entertainment at Down; but you were pleased with John’s cookery, and that is the best service he can do his master. I am here, and continue to stay till your return out of Buckinghamshire; if you have any commands for Drift, who brings you this letter, he is ready to receive them. I am much in solitude and calculations, and in every state of life, my dearest Lord Harley, yours entirely.”

*Postscript.*—“My very true respects to Lady Harriette and friendship to my little Lady are never to be forgotten.”  
*Unsigned.* (I. 103.)

## RICHARDSON PACK to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720, June 9[-20]. St. James’s Street.—“The gentleman who will deliver this letter to you hath a good deal of merit in his profession, which is painting, and I should be extremely pleased if he might be allowed to employ his skill in drawing a picture, which I shall never view without recalling to my mind a thousand agreeable entertainments I have received in reading the works of the best poet in our nation. Should I find that I have credit enough with you to obtain this favour, I shall have the boldness to ask another, by desiring you to communicate the same request from me to Mr. Congreve and Mr. Pope (whom I have not the honour personally to be acquainted with) that I may have an opportunity of placing their pictures where I shall their poems, in the best room in my house.” (VII. 128.)

## MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1720, June 16[-27]. Westminster.—“According to your order I direct to you at Bath, though according to the rules of correspondence I should not write till I had heard from you: I am less angry with you on that account than otherwise I should have been, since friend Morley assures me that Your Lordship and Lady Harriette are well: I hope—to use Sir Humphrey Polesworth’s\* style—you will shortly be repairing: our little Lady Peggy is well: and here my epistle might end in the Ciceronian manner, *valetis, valemus omnes, bene est*; for I have nothing to add but that I am going to dine with John [Duke] of Bucks at a sort of *convivium poeticum*, for Pope and Gay are the other two guests. I have Gay’s works and Milton’s as well for Lady Harriette as yourself, and in my consummate prudence I have judged it better to keep these books together with Gyles Jacob till I see you, than to send them rambling round the country after you. I invited the *virtuosi* t’other day, Gibbs, Wanley, Wooten [Wootton] and Christian†; the two first could not come,

\* Cf. Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.) *Harley Letters and Papers*, iii. 554.

† Cf. p. 477, *supra*, and Nichols’ *Lit. Anecd.*, ii. 248.

and the two last could not be got away till midnight ; dirty Dibben, of Dorsetshire, and the Archdeacon of Bath were of the company, as well to bless the meat as to drink great share of the claret ; Morley assisted in tea. It was a conversation about five o'clock, a disputation towards seven, and a bear-garden about ten. We drank your healths over and over, as well in our civil as bacchanalian hours. My wishes for all happiness to you are constant and my friendship inviolable." *Unsigned.* (I. 65.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, June 18[-29]. Saturday morning.—“It is with great pleasure that I hear from Mr. Thomas of your health, and beginning your progress : *I pede fausto* and be happy in every thing : I am this moment going with friend Bingley to Chessun and Down. How do you like my preamble which I send you ? I hope I may one day do for you what I have therein done for my patron Dorset : adieu, my dear Lord ; I am ever and entire yours.”

*Postscript.*—“Let Morley, John, of Halstead know that I forgive him at this distance, but hate him when he vexes me.” *Unsigned.* (I. 67.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, July 2 [-13]. Westminster.—“Wherever this letter meets you, it brings you my best wishes for your health, and my astonishment that I have not heard from you. I would not have anybody, not even yourself know, how uneasy I have been and am upon your silence : pray write. I have been at Down, surveyed the estate, and done everything—as to taking a rent-roll, discoursing my tenant, &c.—that Morley calls wisdom. It is impossible to tell you how beautiful a situation Down is, and how fine the wood may be made ; but for the house, as all the cross unmathematical devils upon earth first put it together, all the thought and contrivance of man cannot make a window to be looked out of, or a door to be shut, in case it were made otherwise habitable : so sooner or later I foresee *destruit domum* ; but of this, as the divines say, at another opportunity.

“I hope you have seen Welbeck and other houses of your own so strong and lasting that you may not have these sort of considerations, and upon this account you would do well to write a word to me, for I really rejoice as much in what you possess as in what may be called particularly mine.

“News from hence you expect none ; the town is a desert, and the world is crammed into Change Alley. All your friends desire most heartily to be remembered to you : Roffen. [Atterbury] and Bob [Freind] are referred from the Chancery to the Common Law, where they may spend as much money as will build a college before they are certain where it shall stand. Adieu, my dear Lord, I am ever yours.”



*Postscript.*—"Squire Morley is in health, I hope, and by travel and experience knows a strong brick house from one built with rotten loam. Gyles or George Jacob brought me to-day two *exemplaires* of his two volumes of Poets Dramatic and Poets Epic, for which I have in your name, as you ordered, given him eight guineas: he dedicates one volume to John [Duke] of Bucks, but John has not been *Maecenatissimus* to him." *Unsigned.* (I. 73.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1720, July [9-20]. Westminster.—"Not having heard from you, I thought I was very angry with you, and had writ a letter to tell you so, when I received yours from Aywood. That killed all my resentment, and convinced me that we most easily forgive where we love most truly. I hope this will find you at the Bath in health, with Lady Harriette in health likewise, for I have really no greater satisfaction in life than in desiring all happiness to you both. I hope my Lord of Oxford's gout will at least have produced one good effect in keeping him safe from any other distemper. John [Duke] of Bucks, whom I this day saw, has always the same heart and good breeding, but is *valde mutatus* as to his health, but this is to you only, for no man makes his compliment that even thinks of anything of this kind to him. As to Down, it is really fine; to make it habitable will be the question. *Deus providebit*, to which I shall add all human means by commensuration, hortification and edification, but nothing more than projection upon paper till I shall have seen you, which I very much desire to do.

"As to the pecuniary, I have five hundred which you may command at a minute's advice; I disposed of the rest, not having heard from you, but can retrieve it in a little time upon your ordering me so to do. *Vive et vale*, I am ever and inviolably yours."

*Postscript.*—"Dick sends his respects." *Unsigned.* (I. 75.)

#### [W]ILLIAM EDMUNDSON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720, July 15[-26]. [St. John's College, Cambridge].—"Last week Mr. [John] James came down to take a view of the ground for the Theatre and King's College, and was desired to pay a visit to our Master, but his business would not allow it. I could wish a plan was drawn, and proper application made to those persons from whom we have expectances; for if the project drop, after so much has been said about it, it will be a very difficult matter to bring it to bear again.

"The Dean of the Arches [John Bettsworth] supped with me last Saturday; he has a great zeal for the College, and has promised to use his best endeavours with all his friends in our behalf, whenever we go about it. Dr. Needham, I think, is now in town; can you prevail with him to address

my Lord Orford, who is a St. John's man, and declines apace? Upon which account an immediate application seems necessary; and this is not his case alone; which makes it reasonable to be as expeditious as possible; but I [am] aware that this need not be said to Mr. Prior, who has the cause so much at heart, and no doubt has considered how it may best be advanced. I heartily wish us all success in our solicitations for the old House, whose interest I shall always be ambitious to promote.

*Postscript.*—"As to the sizar's place, if you are not at liberty to give it to Boughton, I shall put any other person into it that you shall be pleased to recommend, and take the very best care that I can both to improve his learning and secure his morals." (VII. 129.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR TO LORD HARLEY.

1720, July 21[-August 1]. Westminster.—"I last night received yours of the 17th from Aywood, and immediately obeyed your commands, having Sir Robert Child's note for five hundred pounds; so you may use it as you please; the remaining sum upon a little warning I shall be able to secure, for I need not say that it is with equal justice as pleasure that I desire to serve you in everything.

"I have not seen the face of Morley since my last to you. I am going to dine with the Caesarians. N.B. I always write in a morning. I am to be with Tom Harley, but in the old way of incertitude as to the fixed *quando*. All the world is paradox; Bingley exclaims against me for thinking of building anything at Down, and then talks of a saloon of thirty feet upon thirty, and an ante-chamber and bed-chamber.

"I long to see you, and for that reason have purchased a companion for Ralpho.

"You must give my great respects to Lady Harriette, and if she has any commands before her coming to town, I desire to be honoured with them: you must also continue to believe me for ever yours."

*Postscript.*—"Richard and Adrian are honoured with your remembrance; we drink and wish your health. Adieu.

"I am heartily glad to hear Lord Oxford is better."  
*Unsigned.* (I. 68.)

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1720, July 29[-August 9]. Westminster.—"I began to feel a kind of desire to be angry with you for not writing when yours of the 27th quite appeased me, and I think I love you better than ever I did. Lady Harriette's being well has given me so perfect satisfaction on both your accounts, that I intend to issue out a general pardon to all who have injured me except Morley, whose delightful face I have not seen since the first morning he came to town.



"My Lord Oxford will not be offended at me, if I wish heartily that his indisposition may terminate in a formed gout, and that I had rather have him sometimes in pain than always lame.

"Lord Bathurst's proceedings with the prose man is admirable; 'tis a picture. His Lordship having chid me that I never saw him, and desiring me to ride over to Riskings, I did so on Monday, and when I came thither I found he was gone to Cirencester the Friday before: good again. I think this may be added to the piece. The remnant shall be ready; you have only to order it.

"And now I come to the best part of my letter, which is, that I paid my little Lady a visit to-day; she is in admirable health and humour, and desires her duty may be remembered to Papa and Mamma. Mrs. Walton charges me with her compliments to you both, and if I add my own, you will believe me, more than words can say, yours."

*Postscript*.—"N.B. Not one word of Down. 'Tis all reserved *in petto* till I see you." *Unsigned*. (I. 70.)

#### C[ALEB] PARNHAM to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720, August 5[-16]. Benington.—"Be pleased to accept a grateful acknowledgment of your favours, with which you distinguished me at a time when I was a perfect stranger, and for that reason could entertain no hopes of them.

"Your interest and kind offices have placed me in the midst of those pleasures with which Benington abounds, and everything confirms (what you formerly said in one of your letters to Cambridge) that this family, whoever knows, must love. My business here is to teach the young gentleman mathematics, and I make no doubt of giving such an account of him as will turn to my credit."

*Postscript*.—"Mr. Newcome is in good health and presents his service." (VII. 130.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1720,] August 9 [-20]. Ryskings.—"I am at Riskings with Batty; we drink to your health, moderation: I have no news from London but that we expect the Earl of Oxford here on Wednesday, and from hence he will then convey me to that sink of iniquity and sea coal; from whence—if my own wishes were to be obtained—I would be separated for ever. I hope you are well and pleased: I need not say that wherever I am, I will always love and serve you."

*Postscript*.—"Kind service to Major." (I. 116.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1720, August ?] Saturday, 11 o'clock.—"Pray, my, Lord send me a parcel of news Anglican and Gallican of all sorts and the five volumes of the *Bibliothèque Angloise*—I think you

call it—for which I will be accountable. If you come this way before two, I shall be at home ; if not, I will wait on you at dinner, to receive Lady Harriette's commands, upon a supposition that your resolution of going on Monday holds, though I hope it does not."

*Postscript.*—"My six volumes of Léonard's *Collection of Treaties*. A water colour picture. Item, a rug coat due a year since. Item, six sets of the drawings of the lamp." *Unsigned*. (I. 154.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1720, Sept. ?] Saturday morning.—"I have invited the virtuosi Gibbes, Wooton, Bridgeman, and Dayl [Dahl] to sit an hour with me this evening. I am glad always to hear from you, but particularly when I was just sending John to desire you to crown our feast with your presence. I intended to go no further to-day than to my Duchess of Shrewsbury ; if you come our way, I shall be at home till one, if not, I hope to see you at seven in Duke Street."

*Postscript.*—"If you have any *nouvelles*—you know this is the day—pray read this letter in the enclosed journal." *Unsigned*. (I. 173.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, Sept. 2[-13]. Cue Green, near Richmond.—"You see, my dear Lord, by the place whence I date my letter, that I am with my nearest relation, very kindly received, and I may add, every meal remembering with great respect Lady Harriette, Your Lordship and little Peggy. I have been very graciously received this morning by la Principessa ; before I came from London I purchased the little heads I showed you, I presume to your satisfaction, and at least not to your ruin, for Madam Maintenon's head is purchased for less than five guineas. N.B. It may be an original but could be her maiden head.

"I am going from hence to visit Duke Dorset, and thence I shall be able to take my measures as to Mr. Cossens' meeting me at Down, and returning with me to Wimpole, for I find already a great hankering that way.

"I thank you for my water-colour and *Bibliothèque Angloise*, a *non est inventus* is, I suppose, put upon my *Collection of Treaties* : *sic visum est superis*. Pray write to me, and believe that I wish nothing more passionately than the welfare, honour and happiness of Lord Harley and his family, and that I am ever yours." (I. 77.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, Sept. 10[-21]. Westminster.—"I have Your Lordship's of the 7th, for which and a thousand other things I return you thanks. I am in with Gibbs and the *virtuosi*,



one of whom is to give me a meeting in few days at Down, for plan, measure, &c., and in few days from thence I hope to send over for Mr. Cossens, *ad opus inceptum et continuandum*.

"Yesterday the world was in a panic fear; the South Sea ebbed hourly by fifty and sixty down to five hundred; but the apprehension vanished as insensibly as it came on; the stock rose again to above six hundred; the Alley rung with huzzas and things go on *sicut olim*.

"Friend Dick is swimming in another gulf, that of Carolina. Adrian and all here are very zealously and truly yours. I need not add that I am most sincerely Lady Harriett's and, my Lord, your most obedient servant.

"Service to dear friend and honoured Peggy." (I. 80.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1720, Sept. 13[-24]. Westminster.—"Yesterday John Morley, Esquire, entered my palace, and immediately made his exit; the Lord knows where he has been buying and selling; with him I shall settle one part of our pecuniary affair, and for the other part Your Lordship and myself will do it, when you come to town.

"I shall want five hundred, for I must pay that sum the 14th of October: if you can give order for it, I shall leave my direction with Drift as to the disposal of it here, that the thoughts of the mammon of unrighteousness may not decompose my mind at Wimpole. *A propos* to my coming I shall have a *virtuoso grand jardinier* to meet me at Down in four or five days; the precise time himself does not know; and I must wait it; from thence I shall be able to take just measures for Mr. Cossens' coming over to me, and my returning to Wimpole with him, for which I very much long.

"Gibbs has built me a house, I will bring it over with me; as soon as I shall have finished this letter, I am to go to sup with Dhayl [Dahl], Wooten [Wootton] and Gibbs above-mentioned, to talk of buildings, pictures and—may be, towards the close—of politics or religion; but the chief design of our meeting is to drink to my Lord Harley's health, whose servant I am always. My great respects to Lady Harriette, and friendship to her Peggiety [*sic*] are never to be omitted.

"If you have any commands that you would have me execute before I leave London, send them to me by next post. Adrian is your servant, I should not otherwise be his friend. Adieu, my dear Lord, adieu.

"Lewis is in town; he says, he shall hardly be able to wait on you this season at Wimpole." *Unsigned*. (I. 82.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, Sept. 15[-26]. Westminster.—"I always esteemed you a real friend, but had never so much reason as now to praise you for a constant correspondent: I have yours of the 12th, for which I return you—as for all—my thanks.

"I long to be at Cambridge—that is right—or within six miles of it—that is true—: a man may love his mother, but had rather live with his friend.

"After this preamble, I cannot answer to the kindness of your question, 'when will you come?' till towards the latter end of next week; I shall then be able to quit this abominable town, my *operator hortorum et sylvarum* will then meet me at Down, and Mr. Cossens will set us right, and bring me to you. I will bring all you command with me; we are all yours.

"South Sea falls, notwithstanding which the merchants are insolent and the Ministry despicable in the city.

"Gibbs and my *operator* above-mentioned sup with me, and I shall wish all health, and happiness to dear Lord Harley, Lady Harriette and my lovely Peggy, within half an hour after I tell them that I am their servant.

"Surly Dick and supple Adrian are yours. Pray write to me; adieu. Morley, I presume, tells you he is in town, and that is as perfect an account as I can give you of him." *Unsigned.* (I. 84.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, Sept. 17[-28]. Westminster.—"I write to you, my dear Lord, that I may keep touch with the most exact correspondent in England: pray mind that you have that character ascertained under my hand.

"I have so far settled matters with my *virtuosi* that I shall see Down, and bring Gibbs over with me to Wimpole within eight days from this in which I write. We shall fix it so far that the next post I shall beg your calasch to meet us at Buntingford, and tell the very hour when I thank you as to the pecuniaries, which render my coming more certain and easy.

"Sturbridge fair, my God!

*O quis me gelidis sub montibus Æmi Sistat! &c.*

"I send you a copy of verses written by young Moore, the son of Arthur. I am with true respect to Lady Harriette, and friendship to yourself, ever and ever yours. Adieu.

"I need not trouble Mr. Cossens till I shall have spoken with him at Wimpole." (I. 86.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, Sept. 22[-Oct. 3]. 2, afternoon. Westminster.—"I did not write to you by last post, my dear Lord, for everything was in such confusion, as to the pecuniaries in Change Alley, and South Sea, that I did not know what to say; but the confusion still remains, and I must be longer silent—I find—if I stay till I know what to write on that subject: all is floating, all falling, the directors are curst, the top adventurers broke, four goldsmiths walked off, Walpool



and Townsend sent for, that they may settle matters; *sed adhuc sine successu*: and every man with a face as long as a Godolphin's; *vogue la galère*; I must fare like the rest.

"Pask, you will have known, is dead: I have written a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, which he will, I presume, communicate to the University.

"I leave all this chaos and complaint to-morrow morning, and calesch it with Gibbs—taking Down in our way—so that we will be at Buntingford on Monday morning. You will please therefore to send your calesch to Buntingford on Sunday evening, that on Monday morning we may find it there, discharge our London equipage, and come over to Wimpole, where I long to be, whatever becomes of South Sea stock or Cambridge politics.

"I hope the Cardinal is still with you and will be so some time after Monday.

"Mist's simple story has raised a thousand impertinent questions as to the truth of it.

"As to the *unmoored* verses, I sent you the best I had. Life, pleasure and satisfaction to Lord Harley, Lady Harriette, little Peggy; grace to Stratford; amen; adieu, till Monday.

"Dick and Adrian salute you, we are going to drink to all your healths, for, *nota bene*, I always write my letters before dinner." *Unsigned*. (I. 79.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1720,] Sept. 22[-Oct. 3].—"When a man writes at noon, 'tis ten to one but he is forced to contradict himself at night; this is, therefore, to desire that Your Lordship would send your calesche to Buntingford on Saturday night, so as to bring us over on Sunday, and let us stick our knives in your beef at dinner, for we shall come not to *pray hare* [*sic*] but to *dine hare* [*sic*]. Gibbs' affairs are the reason of this change in our great designs, and I am heartily glad that I shall have an opportunity one day sooner of telling you that I am every day and all the day yours." *Unsigned*. (I. 147.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, [Sept. 27-Oct. 8]. Tuesday morning. [Down].—"We could come the last night no further than Hockerell, so lay at my Dame Games': just arrived at Down, eight in the morning, very well, and going to breakfast, regret the leaving Wimpole. This is the best account I can give Your Lordship of myself since I left you; sincerest duty and respect to Lady Harriette, *mille compliments à la petite ange*."

*Postscript*.—"Mr. Bridgeman adds his duty and respects to you and Wimpole. We have talked of nothing but canals, parades and vistas from Wimpole to this place." *Unsigned*. (I. 146.)

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720, Oct. 15 [-26]. Saturday. Cambridge.—“I thank you for sending my letter, for remembering me, for everything. As to my affair here, the divisions multiply so fast, that I think all will end in the Whig interest prevailing. I will tell you the whole matter on Monday, which I long mightily for; the Vice-Chancellor after many *estocades* against me has produced a letter from the Chancellor that the University choosing me at this time will do a thing that will be a reflection and prejudice to them: I have taken this occasion to get off, for that I never intend to do anything but what should be for their interest, but *que faire?* I think there is an end of my matter, and shall drink on Monday night to the tranquillity of Cambridge and the honour of Oxford: my only satisfaction is that these wise and honourable men have not been able to involve you in this labyrinth, from which I step out with great ease into the plainer paths about Wimpole and Down. A pike you shall have on Monday, and good roast beef, but for wine there is not one drop in the town but what is sour or port; upon this you may use your own discretion, *praemonitus, praemunitus*. To-morrow, you know, is *pray here*, on Monday *dine here*. Service to dear school-fellow, respect and love where due, an eternal friendship to Lord Harley: adieu.”

*Postscript*.—“Saturday, noon. We this moment sit to table and have already drank your health.” *Unsigned*. (I. 88.)

## THE SAME to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1720.]—“I have more than ten times set pen to paper to write to the Earl of Oxford and have as often desisted; the reason was, I presume, that I found I had nothing to say to him; I still heard from Lord Harley that you were well, and from the Auditor that you did not intend to trouble us, having a strange taste of liking your own paternal seat, fine woods, good books and what company you please better than Westminster, Change Alley, mistaken politics, and the conversation of pickpockets and stockjobbers. I tell you plainly for your comfort, you are not likely to be disturbed in your solitude. . . . we shall sooner send your Ma[gna] Charta men down to their res[pective] homes, than have any pressing occasion for them here; so pray enjoy [your] *otium cum dignitate*, as you have had enough of the *negocium non sine periculo*: while others build their fortunes on that basis whereon a scaffold was to be erected for the Earl of Oxford.

“All this while I have a great hankering towards the cider country, and hope to wait on my friend Tom Harley this summer to taste of the Scudamorian grape, as Philips called it; but I have absolutely given up my free will to Lord Harley, and am to take my progresses with him, like Horace’s friend.



“*Nil habeo quod agam, et non sum piger, usque sequar te.*

“The truth on’t is I love him mightily, but that is no merit on my side, for everybody does, that knows him ; nay, ’tis rather the effect of vanity, for everybody sees he loves me. Among all the favours which you could do me, if you were again Treasurer, and in power, I should thank you [more] sincerely for none, than your [letting] him know my sentiments [on] [tha]t subject, for being perfectly [sensi]ble of his friendship, I am less able to speak of it properly to himself.

“For public strokes I refer you to Messieurs Buckley and Mist ; I am just now told that the Duc de la Force is coming over to congratulate the King and Prince upon the late reconciliation, and that Mr. Law will send his son on this occasion to [see] England.”

“Dear Dick is as ever yours, and is endeavouring to get you some Madeira ; he and my friend Adrian join in their good wishes for your health ; this is all the service we can do you.

“I must give my great respects to Lady Oxford, and to every feminine Harley in Herefordshire, as likewise my kind service and friendship.” (I. 121.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1720[-1], Dec. 29 [-Jan. 9]. Westminster.—“The continuation of my journal stands thus ; we have laid out squares, rounds and diagonals, and planted quincunxes at Down. *Chacun a sa marotte*, and that farm will turn my brain. We found some remnants of old claret there. Whose health did we drink ? All at or belonging to Wimpole. We are just come to London, and I find myself and all my family, that is, four people and a dog, well : I likewise find a collar of brawn from Wimpole, though I had my share of two of [its] predecessors while I was there ; *quid retribuam pro tot tantisque beneficiis* ? Why, nothing but my thanks, my best wishes to Lady Harriette, and her beloved daughter, and the repetition of being ever the friend and servant to the master of the family ; adieu.

“My kind love to Mr. Thomas.” *Unsigned.* (I. 92.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1720-1,] New Year’s Eve, Westminster.—“Health, happiness and friendship to you and Lady Harriette—*ma chère ange* not excepted—this year, henceforth, and for ever ; the like may be said to every man under your roof, or any way appertaining to you. I have by way of epistle, not being able to perform personal visits, given Lady Harriette’s compliments to the Duchess of Buckingham and Lady Morpeth ; I have sent by Drift your little commission to Aschough. Drift had like to fight with him for a receipt of the packet, without which he scrupled giving it to him, but Aschough

promises by next Tuesday to obey the content of your commands, so that war is amicably composed, and I hope you will have your orders obeyed, and your Almanac new bound.

"Pray read these London Journals which I send you, and of which everybody here is so fond as to imagine very great men to have a share in composing them. Comical! my dear Lord; the nation is robbed, and the quarrel now is about the spoil. I shall continue to send you these Journals, for Drift assures me they are very well writ; he will have me say too that he wishes Your Lordship and Lady Harriette a good new year, and I take his orders in this affair, because I think they come from the bottom of his heart. Dick Shelton accosted me this morning; when I asked him why [he] had not writ oftener to us, he replied that writing was nonsense, and before a good deal of company he told me that I looked very well, and that my boil had done me good. I did but touch upon South Sea, and he asked me what I could expect better from a conjunction of scoundrels at Court with sharpers in the City; so, you see, whatever may change, Dick is *semper idem*.

"Adieu, my dear Lord, pray write to me and believe that the pleasure of my life is to be yours ever." *Unsigned.* (I. 123.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1720-1, Jan. 3[-14]. Westminster.—"You will easily believe, my dear Lord, that I received your letter as a very grateful new year's gift, since it told me you are so near coming to London; till I see you, therefore, I will not trouble you with any particulars from this great Bedlam, but reserve all till I shall have the honour of your visit, and you may be sure to find me at home *propter rationes medicinales*. Tudway, paragraph by paragraph, is, I own, a good scene; shawms and hautboys with dulcimers and Jews' trumps must need make an agreeable melody, and if tuned to the notes I hear daily of 'damn the directors, hang up Aisleby, break Janson and Lambert on the wheel—as in their countries they would have been served'—&c., would make an excellent grand chorus. I have some pamphlets, almanacs, &c., which I don't send, since you will receive them here.

"My duty to my excellent Lady and love to little Lady are never to be omitted, nor ever can be sufficiently expressed; to yourself I have only to say that I am ever and ever yours.

"Service to Mr. Thomas, if alive after the doctorial battle. Dick dines with me and Adrian; we are all three drinking your health, and wishing this and many happy years to all the Wimpole family. Francis [Bishop] of Chester is well, and likes the epitaph of *his grave was his ground*." *Unsigned.* (I. 95.)

#### GILES JACOB to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720[-1], Jan. 6[-17]. Golden Wheatsheaf in the Old Bailly.—  
"I herewith send you a collection of Poems, written by



the author of the *Lives of the Poets*. I have presumed to dedicate them to you, Sir, as the least I could do in return for those great favours I have received from your hands, and which I shall always acknowledge with the greatest gratitude. I hope my presumption is not inexcusable. Where Mr. Prior is concerned I am sure of an indulgent usage; and I desire the few errors of the press, particularly a literal one in the Dedication, may not be imputed to my negligence, but that of the printer, as it ought.

“After an industrious attempt to write the lives of you gentlemen who excel in the noblest productions of the sublimest art, it will be the less admired that I should also attempt to imitate you in spirit; though I am sufficiently sensible of my own deficiencies, and that there is no more comparison between my performances and yours than there is between a weeping spring and a rapid stream; but considering I (with some modesty) inform the world they are my last of this kind (in my *Farewell to Poetry*), I hope the readers will be the less severe in their remarks and observations. I heartily wish you a speedy recovery from your present illness, and that you may have many happy new years of health and prosperity.”

*Postscript.*—“My poem entitled *Human Happiness* is the performance I have mentioned I had by me, in manuscript, in my *Lives of the Poets*. I have chose to be my own messenger to enquire of your health; and I shall do myself the honour to wait upon you at a proper time.” (VII. 117.)

#### JOHN DENNIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720-1, Jan. 10[-21].—“I had the honour sometime since to send you some proposals for the printing a book of Letters by subscription, but having forgot whether I sent the two first sheets of the book or not, I send them now.

“I have likewise sent you a translation of the Seventh Satire of the Second Book of Horace. My friend who translated it desires to have your opinion of it, whom he esteems one of the best judges in England of these matters. My friend’s translation caused me to enter into the nature of the Horatian satire, and to consider the opinions of the commentators concerning the three ancient remaining satirists, who in my humble opinion have been all in the wrong, as has likewise Mr.—

“So soon as these thoughts are in writing, I should be inclined to send them to you, if I thought it would be agreeable. I hope to wait on you in a few days, and then I shall be able to come to a resolution.” (VII. 132.)

#### THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720[-1], Jan 25 [-Feb. 5].—“I have received the favour of yours of the 14th instant, and I was very glad to hear

before it came to my hands, that Mr. Prior (for I must ever wish him well) had declined coming into the Senate at this time of day, when an honest man is so far from being able to serve his country, that I cannot but fancy he must be something out of countenance to find himself in the company of so many knaves. If my memory fails me not, there is in Æsop, the fable of a Fowler who taking poor Columbo [*sic*] in his nets among the crows, put him to death, with this severe reprimand before execution: 'what had you to do among them?' If Fabritius, Paulus Æmilius, Mutius Scaevola, and the rest of the old Romans were now in being, can you think they would care to have places in the Senate? No, they would humbly beg leave of the House to return to their Sabine farms and the ploughtail again. Such men are not fit to be employed in this age, and for the same reason that Fabritius gave to Pyrrhus why he would not be his Prime Minister. 'Sir,' said he, 'this can never be for your service, or advantage, for they who now honour and admire you, when they have had the experience of me, will rather choose to be governed by me than you.' Should true patriots be let into the Senate in the room of those who are not so, what a strange change and *fracas* might not that make? I have sometimes laughed (for who can be always a Heraclitus?) to see young men, and some of them of good parts and principles, so mighty fond of being Senators, that they had rather be thought knaves and fools themselves, than not sit among those that really are so. It puts me in mind of some of our vain modern coquettes, who cannot forbear running into any new fashion, though it does not become them half so well as the old.

"As for the MS. you have favoured me with, I think it entertaining enough, but I cannot say it has that spirit and vivacity, which shine through Mr. Prior's other writings, particularly his curious *Maid*, which was lately sent me as yours, and from a friend of yours. When faction is prevalent, and prejudice runs high, I cannot but think it an ill time for an honest poet to write, or print what he writes, since he is sure to suffer by the malice and partiality of faction and parties; which makes me glad to hear that you are now amusing yourself in making fish-ponds, and cutting vistas through your woods, which I take to be a much better employment than burning a man's fingers when he may keep them out of the fire." (VII. 118.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1720-1, Jan. 28[-Feb. 8]. Saturday evening.—"I this moment receive the enclosed [missing] which comes from the Lords and must needs be very agreeable to the Commons; this is but the *Primitiae iniquitatis*. I hope to see you on Monday, and am every day yours.

"Thank you for nouvelles, &c. Goodnight." *Unsigned*, (I. 96.)



## Dr. THOMAS TUDWAY to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720-1. Jan. 29[-Feb. 9]. [Cambridge.]—"My last to my Lord [Oxford] related to Bently's performance, in which in one particular, I was misled, viz., that Bently had mistaken his adversary, and fallen foul on Dr. Colebatch; whereas, that varlet did—not mistake him, but—knowingly and wittingly take an opportunity to fall foul on the Doctor with the most scurrilous and abusive language Bently himself, that master of ribaldry, could invent. The Doctor has vindicated himself in a short paragraph or two, in the *Postboy* of Thursday last, which, I make no question, you have seen, and has taken therein an occasion to declare Dr. [Conyers] Middleton is the worthy author of that excellent performance. This, he says, Bently knew full well, but was not willing the world should think Dr. Middleton able to write a piece of so much learning, and thereupon casts a slight upon him and calls him the musical Conyers. The world will soon see him exposed and set off in colours befitting him; in the meantime, he is like to have the mortification to have his book censured here, by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, as an infamous libel. This, the Vice-Chancellor told me himself, was his design, as soon as he could get a competent number of the Heads together. We have lost our friend and old acquaintance Dr. Otway, who died on Friday last, after a sickness of three or four days. He fell into a kind of torpor and lethargic fit, caused by a voracious stomach and indulging himself in eating. We took forty or fifty ounces of blood from him, but it was so thick, and without serum, that it was perfectly stagnated. This loss of our friend suspends all, as *un-à-propos* and *contretemps* at present."

*Postscript*.—"Be pleased to make my most dutiful respects and service acceptable to my good Lord and Lady and little incomparable Lady." (VII. 133.)

## CHARLES GILDON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720[-1], Feb. 15[-26]. Bull Head Court, Jewin Street, Aldersgate Street.—"It is now a week since I presumed to trouble you with a manuscript tragedy and a letter to beg your mediation and recommendation of it to my Lord Harley and his Lady, that is, provided it met with your own approbation, which I flatter myself it would do, because it moves the passions in so eminent a degree, which is the chief excellence in that way of writing, and so allowed to be by all ages till the present, when we have had a sort of grammatical critics arise who have put the diction or language upon a foot with it, nay, who have made the diction, though scarce taken notice of by Aristotle, the chief mark and characteristic of a good or bad tragedy, and such a sort of diction, which, though correct enough in itself, is yet by its uniformity scarce tolerable in this way of writing, if we may give any credit to Horace, Boileau, and even to the nature of things; for tragedy, consisting of the

representation of different passions, must of necessity vary its style according to the nature of each passion which it brings on the stage. But this is a subject of too large an extent for a letter, and considering the knowledge and judgment of the person I write to, wholly superfluous. I must confess that there may be some bold metaphors of Mr. Lee's which I have retained in this alteration, and which I choose rather to do than to deviate too far from the genius and spirit of my author, but I hope they are not many nor so great but that the excellence of the passions may sufficiently atone for them. It was by this quality alone that Otway fixed his immortal reputation with all but the verbal critics, and I think I may say that after Otway the tragedy under our consideration claims the next place in that particular; but I forget myself. If this play wants an apology to such a judge as Mr. Pryor, I am sure it deserves none. If it does not, it will sufficiently recommend itself. I therefore only once more beg, that, if you approve on't, you would recommend it to my Lord and Lady Harley's perusal and patronage."

*Postscript.*—"I would have waited on you myself, but that I have been long confined to my chamber by blindness and lameness and a very infirm health." (VII. 121.)

#### THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720[-1], March 1[-12].—"Your entertaining an unfortunate deaf man in his retirement with elegant poetry is really very obliging; but I am so ill a judge, that I doubt 'tis thrown away upon me, and your favours of this kind no better placed, than if you had presented a drawing-room fop with an accurate edition of Virgil or Horace, when the poor creature hardly knows his Horn-book. I look upon the poem you have now sent me to be a brilliant of the finest and the clearest water (as the jewellers call it); and I do believe that the poets of the next age will be as fond of imitating Mr. Prior, as he can be of rivalling Spenser. Most poets only shine in the dark, but you justly claim that privilege while living, nor has the world denied it you. The young lady in your poem is very nicely complimented, if not flattered, and indeed it ought to be so, for they are charming creatures to look at, and so is a serpent with fine scales upon its back, till it hisses and stings a man. I am now (as I may tell a friend) under the displeasure of a rattle-snake, upon the account of some poetry she lately had from me, and of which I here enclosed send you a true copy. My crying sin is what I have put in the margin of the poem: hum a gigg: the meaning of which is this. A certain duke when he courted this lady two or three years ago, told her among other fine compliments, that he would hum her gigg, which was taken so heinously that fool and Garter were both rejected, and my playing the fool with a fool, is now taken as ill. All I have to say for this is the old Italian sentence:—

Fortuna me tormentò, spero [*sic*] me contentò.



"I am concerned to hear of your losses in that national gulf of destruction, the South Sea; but had it been worse, I look upon your good fortune in the world to exceed your bad, since it is not every poet's talent to be honest and faithful to his patron. And how few poets in the world have ever found an Oxford, or a Harley, for a patron? I hope you and your learned patron will live to see white days, and should I live to see a time come when I may have interest enough at Court to serve Mr. Prior, I shall then say with the poet:—

'Quod optanti Divum promittere nemo  
Auderet, volvenda dies, en attulit ultro.' "

*Enclosing verses To a lady in the country.* (VII. 124.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1720-1, March 16[-27]. Westminster.—"You may take it for granted that it is always with great pleasure that I hear from Wimpole when the master of it is there, and with greater that Inglis assures me that in a week I shall be released from all fundamental contracts here, and free to change situation of place, and enrol myself of the equestrian order. I am glad Bridgeman has begun so well, he says he will make it the finest and noblest thing in England. The garden side I find he has a mind to be at; he does not open yet, but I think it is rather enlarging than much altering.

"The enclosed [missing] contains last night's work in the House of Commons; the matter was stoutly battled, but numbers overcame. Hanmer spoke angelically, and Hutchinson reflectingly.

"This the right copy of John [Duke] of Bucks' *Epitome*, at least as I had it from Pope; various copies run about, and everybody comments on it *pro libitu*; Franco objects against it being put up.

"Bob's [Freind] cause is put off till Saturday sennight; it is warmly solicited on both sides.

"I had written thus far when I issued forth, and had the honour to dine with Lady Harriette. Her Ladyship and dear Peggy are very well.

"Hence I proceeded to Mr. Wooten's where I met him, Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Bridgeman; these three, and they expect Sir James [Thornhill] to be of the same opinion and design, set out on Saturday morning towards Wimpole. I shall hear from thence how long you intend to stay there, and from what you concert I shall be able to determine my coming towards you, as I have already said, within eight or at farthest ten days. I and the above-mentioned gentlemen drink your health, and so does Adrian at home.

"Service to sedate and determined Master Morley, if with you." *Unsigned.* (I. 98.)

JOHN DENNIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720-1, March 17[-28].—"I have been severely handled by a violent cold ever since I waited on you last,"

"Mr Watts sent me word yesterday that my book would be finished next week. I therefore desire, Sir, that, if you have had an opportunity to dispose of any of the six receipts which I had the honour to send you some time since, you would have the goodness to let me know it; and that, if such an opportunity has been wanting, you would have the goodness to return the receipts."

*Postscript.*—"I lodge behind the 'Ship' tavern at Charing Cross, and anything directed to be left for me at the bar of that tavern will come to my hands." (VII. 135.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR TO LORD HARLEY.

1720-1, March 18[-29]. Saturday night, 11 o'clock.—"I believe you have your *virtuosi* by you while you receive this letter; as they were packed up in one coach, they must necessarily have come together, or else—if it were possible—Gibbs would have come about three hours after the rest. Sir James [Thornhill], I presume, has rather been speculating in the chapel he is to paint, than praying in the neighbouring church, and friend Bridgeman's devotion has consisted chiefly in contriving how the diagonal may take Waddon steeple exactly in the middle; of Wooton I have little to say till I become a horseman, which may be now, I think, in few days; he shall then paint me upon Ralpho, and when any other hand can copy it as well as he has done my King Charles, I shall think him less a master than I do now.

"I can send you no news; old Craggs is gone after young Craggs; he had the sauciness to take opium in great quantity, because one of his betters had done so a fortnight before, as Cadogan bought up the vintage of Tokao because the Elector of Bavaria did so some years ago: *Dii boni in quae tempora nos reservastis?*

"Every man says and writes what he will; one kills Portman Seymour, who is not sick; another puts up Edward Lord Harley for burgess of Leim'ster, which by the by is yet better than the blunder of that beast of Queen's who in his preface to Tully *De Divinatione* calls you Thomas. Of all dunces the greatest is a mere scholar, and of all mere scholars the most stupid is a critic.

"How do you like Jack Ketch's letter in the *London Journal*? Pray write to me, for I shall now be able to square my motions by your direction, as I always desire to do; for one is easily guided by those whom one loves. All here are well; Adrian, while he makes up this letter, drinks your health with me; the bellman that takes the letter goes by; the mutton chops are just upon the table; so good night." *Unsigned.* (I. 100.)

#### JOHN DENNIS TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

1720-1, March 23[-April 3].—"I had the honour this day to receive a very obliging letter from you, with four half-



guineas enclosed. You may depend upon it, Sir, that I shall not be so much wanting to myself as to omit inserting the catalogue of your noble friends in my list. I return you ten thousand thanks for all your favours." (VII. 136.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1720-1], March 24[-April 4.] 8 at night, Friday.—“I this afternoon—Friday—receive the favour of your letter, and by it am not very perfectly acquainted with your motions; I shall conform myself to Mr. Bridgeman’s convenience, and be at Down on Monday night, where I will wait his coming. I write you no news; the Emperor would send Knight\* home, if the States or Brabant may be prevailed with: I shall wait on Lady Harriette to-morrow, and write to you again to-morrow night. Mr. Shelton, Adrian and I drink your health, which I wish for ever; adieu.” *Unsigned*. (I. 152.)

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1721, Lady Day, Westminster.—“By Mr. Bridgeman’s letter to me I find he will have executed your orders by Monday; as I would always do what is most convenient to you, I have appointed to meet him on Wednesday afternoon at Down, and will accordingly set out hence on Wednesday morning. Bob Friend’s cause comes on next Tuesday; Franco grows worse every day; Lord Cooper moved yesterday an address to the King to order the imports and exports of custom for six years past to be laid before the Lords; Bathurst seconded it extremely well and brave, and both descanted upon that part of the Speech which said our trade was in so flourishing a condition. I thank you for all favours, I am pretty well. I hear Sir James [Thornhill] has made a ballet; it is fine to have an universal genius; adieu.”

*Postscript*.—“Drift will not let me be quiet till I have added his great thanks to you for remembering him.” *Unsigned*. (I. 102.)

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1721.] Lady Day, 10 at night.—“This letter, my Lord, only confirms what I wrote in the morning, that I would meet Mr. Bridgeman at Down on Wednesday, with this only change of circumstance that Lady Harriette tells me she sends away the coach on Monday, and is kind enough to ask me if her so doing will be of any use to me: it will be so, and of the same use to you, if I come in it to Down on Monday, and it comes to you on Tuesday morning, or, as it may be convenient to the coachman, on Monday night. Lady Harriette does not write to you, having written so lately that nothing occurs since. I have only to add that I write this from Dover Street, that my great and little Lady are well and that I am ever with great truth yours.” *Unsigned*. (I. 150.)

\*The Treasurer of the South Sea Company, then absconding in the Austrian Netherlands. See Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* VII. 709.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1721, March 27-April 7]. Monday afternoon, Down Hall.—  
 “I am just arrived here after a delightful morning and five hours’ easy driving. I only wanted the master of the coach with me to have made the journey perfectly pleasant: I shall expect the *operator* Bridgeman here on Wednesday, that is, in case you have no commands for him, for I am not in haste. I know not directly when your journey is determined to London, so can only wish you a good voyage thither. I will tranquillize here some days, and measure ground and build houses upon paper with Drift. Ever yours.

“All at Dover Street are well.” *Unsigned.* (I. 149.)

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1721]. Easter Eve.—“I beg Your Lordship to excuse my not waiting on you to-day at dinner: I have a cold and sort of spring ague. English has given me a drink for three or four days, and confines me a prisoner to his dose. Pray send me all the Anglicans and Gallicans you can spare: wishes for all your healths.

“Ever yours and a merry Easter to you.” *Unsigned.* (I. 140.)

## HUGH STANHOPE to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1721, April 6[-17].—“When I waited on you yesterday, about a subscription for *Memoirs of the Life, &c.*, of the late E[arl] Stanhope, you were pleased to say, that you wished I would undertake to write a Life that would recompense my pains, and gain me more credit. This, Sir, may pass with some people for a kind expression, but to me, it carries the air of a French compliment. Can any man expect to gain more credit and advantage than from writing the Life of one who was universally known for his uncorrupt loyalty and fidelity to his king, his untainted zeal for the real good and welfare of his country, and his known abhorrence of bribery and corruption? And that the E[arl] Stanhope was such, is what his very enemies acknowledge. I am very sensible, that to write the Life of one of those unhappy lords, who justly forfeited their heads for being concerned in the late Rebellion, would be very agreeable to the taste of many, and meet with great encouragement, especially from those who were employed by some of the late Ministry to pave a way for bringing in the Pretender. I beg leave to observe, that to reflect on a person deceased, though obliquely, is very unbecoming the character of a gentleman; and they who now cast aspersions on the Earl Stanhope, would not dare to say half so much to his face, had he been living.” (VII. 138.)

## JOHN DENNIS to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1721, April 11[-22]. Charing Cross.—“I was so unfortunate on Sunday night as to have a visit from a writer of half-penny



doggrel, who lodges near Pye Corner, some of which doggrel he has lately had the folly and the impudence to dedicate to you, and to brag of your approbation of it. This scribbler told me that you and Mr. Congreve were mortally affronted at a letter writ to the late Duke of Buckingham and printed in the book about to be published. As I had a little indignation to find myself accused of affronting gentlemen to whom I am obliged and whom I have always esteemed, by way of requital for this news I turned the rascal ignominiously out of doors.

“Sir, as the book is now ready I desire that you would send to the bookseller for it, and then upon reading that letter you will find that no man in England has reason to take anything ill which is in that letter but that vile scribbler himself; but being a very insignificant wretch, he is willing to father his resentment upon you and Mr. Congreve, and, to gratify his own wretched malice, embroil me with you and him. (VII. 139.)

#### MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1721,] May 2[-13]. Tuesday.—“I am better as to my cold, and hope to have the honour of receiving your person and commands to-morrow. I am obliged to wait on my cousin to-day, to help to settle her affairs, which are—bad enough; I return your *nouvelles*. If you please to send me the *Revenge*\* and any other stray papers, you will oblige me in small things as you always do in the greatest; adieu.” *Unsigned*. (I. 136.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1721, May 3-14]. Wednesday morning.—“I have sent my excuses to Mr. Caesar, who invited me to dine with him to-day; indeed I am not well enough to go further than my cousin’s to something between a dinner and supper, and cards; admirable!

“Pray send me some old *nouvelles*, of any sort, and I hope you will see me to-morrow: I am every day yours.” *Unsigned*. (I. 137.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1721.] Sunday morning, 10 o’clock. Down.—“I receive and answer yours, my dear Lord, the same minute. I have no greater pleasure than to hear you are well, and can receive no greater honour than Lady Harriette’s compliment. I have always told you what would be the effect of our northern policy, and am sorry to be found so true a prophet, but more of this when I see you; you do not say anything of going to Wimpole; I begin to fancy you love the town as much as you say I do the country. Indeed I plead guilty to the accusation, and if you were not in London I should not envy

\*Young’s Tragedy.

my Lord Mayor all the honour the Guild can give him, but rather converse with Wilborow, the brickmaker, than with His Lordship and his brethren at that end of the town, or with most of the politicians in the Court of Request. I am so employed that the day seems short, and so much in love with Down that I think I shall pardon my countryman Morley for being the innocent cause of turning my brain, but this shall be left as soon as I have set my matters in a little way of going on, and my affections will soon turn to Wimpole when I hear my Lord Harley is tending that way. I am ever with true respect Lady Harriette's and your servant."

*Postscript*.—"Dick Shelton is with me, and we jointly drank your health, Lady Harriette's, little Lady's, Morley the Squire's, &c., with the miller last night after we had paid our workmen. Adieu, my Lord; pray let me hear from you. Adrian is proud to be remembered by you; he is at work for you; he hates country affairs." *Unsigned*. (I. 119.)

GILES JACOB to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1721, May 18[-29].—"Having since my *Lives of the Poets* wrote and finished a book in my profession, entitled a *Treatise of Laws or a General Introduction to the Common, Civil, and Canon Law*, &c., containing thirty-five sheets in octavo, above one hundred and thirty Latin maxims in the Common Law, and the like number of heads in the Civil Law, &c., from Justinian, &c., which book, if I myself can pretend to judge of my own productions (either by my labour or otherwise), is the best I ever wrote, and so completed as to be useful to all gentlemen and noblemen; I should take it as the most generous friendship, the kindest service, and greatest addition to your former favours, if you would please, Sir, at this time (when I have been forced to leave the town for my health, and have very lately felt other misfortunes) to think of some person for me for a patron, to whom it might be acceptable by way of dedication. I have some thoughts of my Lord Harley and the Duke of Dorset, but want your advice and assistance for my guidance in this affair. If you think you can recommend me to some patron fit for my undertaking, I will send you one of the parts printed, especially that treating of the Civil Law and Laws of Nations, which, perhaps, (though you are well acquainted with our laws in general), you may best judge of, and by reason of its great equity find greatest satisfaction in. I beg the favour of your answer as soon as conveniently you can, for that the proprietors are impatient to see the event of my labours, and the whole will be printed this week or the beginning of the next at farthest; and I intend you a present of one of my books. I have lately fallen out with Mr. Dennis, on account of his inserting among his Letters a dedication to the Duke of Buckingham, designed for my *Lives of the Poets*, reflecting on the memory of Cowley, which you and Mr. Congreve both disapproved; but



he says they are all fools as pretend to find fault with it. I was imposed upon by Mr. Stanhope, and ask your pardon; I shall not for the future presume to send to you on such an errand."

*Postscript.*—"I have been very ill for above a fortnight of a pleurisy, but I thank God I am now upon recovery. I lodge at Mrs. Carpenter's in Rowford's Buildings, near the Church, Islington." (VII. 140.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

1721, June 8[-19]. Down.—"I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 5th, which was the most welcome thing Drift could bring me. I hope you had a pleasant journey into Buckinghamshire, for I would have all your ways pleasurable, and all your life agreeable. I desire my respects always to be given to Lady Harriette, I would add likewise to Lord and Lady Cheney—in case this finds you at their house—for I would have all your and Lady Harriette's friends know that I love them for being such.

"Hélas! notre petit chat est mort! we are here to-morrow and gone to-day [*sic*]: if Your Lordship and D. Sh—— have no greater losses to sympathise in than the death of your coach-horses ye are not much to be pitied; I know no advice to give His Grace in this behalf, not having had the honour of conversing much with him since the 500 pounds' bill, but I may tell you that the best way to save your future *dragons* is to make your journey to Wimpole two days, and take Down for your half-way house, which I hope may be effected in eighteen months, for I have already lopped the tree that is to make the plank that is to saw the timber, that is to floor the room where I hope you will be within the time aforesaid. Your *O rus! quando te aspiciam?* is admirable before you had been two days in the town; you may laugh at my solitude as much as you please, but I like it infinitely, and shall do more so when the noise of the axes and hammers to the tune of five pound a week grows less tumultuous; but Down in itself considered I love more than Tully did his Tusculum, or Horace his Sabine field, nor would quit it for anything, but to be with you or to serve you. As you have been kind enough to ask Drift for my address, pray make use of it, remembering that to hear from those one loves is (next to seeing them) the greatest satisfaction; adieu." *Unsigned.* (I. 105.)

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1721, June 14[-25]. Down.—"I have yours, my dear Lord, of yesterday, and hope this will find you and Lady Harriette safe returned to Dover Street, after the pleasure of a fine journey, and no coach-horses lost; I repeat to you that Down, being your halfway house to Wimpole, will save your cattle, and be the best inn you can sup at, for which reason I am

now planting salating, and setting my eggs under the miller's hen; the kitchen-garden this year, the apartment of three rooms the next, and what then? Why, what Mons. Fouquet said to the late Queen of France when she asked him what he was building at Vaux. 'Only a stable, Madam,' he replied, 'where your horses may bait in your way to Fontainebleau, and if I add a pavilion, 'tis because there are none but thatched houses in the village.' Lady Harriette may apply this piece of history, but pray let us carry the parallel no further, for Fouquet was removed above two hundred mile from his house, and lay in prison above twenty years in Pignerol, commenting upon the Ecclesiastes. I have done that already, you know, in verse, and Morley himself was never so unreasonable as to ask for another volume of *Solomon*. However, he may expect the second part of the *Ballad of Down*. Wherever that noble youth of Essex is he may understand that I am making a stile at the end of Great Hilly Field, where the cattle got in, and did a power of wrong, to be sure, and putting brushwood under the old gate, where they plaguy pigs crept into the pease-close. I would stay here a little longer, as well for the *utile* as the *dulce*; for, since we have begun, we must not neglect, and *redime te captum quam queas minimo* is as good sense in domestic affairs as in war; in the meantime your paragraph of the South Sea makes my heart ache a little, and poor Lawton's death gives me another real trouble, but *que faire?* I will be vexed at nothing while I enjoy your friendship, and I will live no longer than I will strive to deserve it: I have tired you with a long letter, though I had nothing to say to you, when I begun it, but that I am your servant; adieu.

"Drift is working for you, and begs his great respects may be given to you or else he will not fold or superscribe my epistle. Pray write to me on Saturday; *vive et vale*." *Unsigned*. (I. 107.)

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1721, June 22[July 3]. Down.—"Friend Richard, being called from me by his loyalty to his King's and other great affairs, charges himself very readily with this affectionate letter, which is only to tell you I constantly wish health and happiness to you and my Lady, with dear remembrance always of little Peggy. Your last deserves my thanks, and the King of Sweden's [reli]gion therein mentioned demands my admiration: pray think on Mons. Jo[u]rdain in the *Citizen turned Gentleman*, that was to marry his daughter to the great Turk and be himself made a Mamamuchi; he was afraid he had not portion enough to give her, in order to procure so great an alliance. I will wait on you as soon as I have settled the affairs of this week and given some necessary orders as to the next, if you will write a word to me on Saturday night, and believe me to be ever and entirely yours."



*Postscript.*—"I have a great deal to say to my friend and countryman Morley about sinking a well and splashing a quickset, by which discourse I may happen to prove that I am not so ignorant of country affairs as some people may imagine. Once more, my dear Lord, adieu." *Unsigned.* (I. 110.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to LORD HARLEY.

[1721,] June 25[-July 6]. Down.—"Master Richard did well in giving you my letter, and you did better in answering it; if you and yours are well, my Alma is satisfied. I have sunk a well, which answers to my wish, and will water my garden deliciously. I will be with you at furthest on Tuesday night, for I have much to ask and much to *spéculer* concerning the presidentship, which, I think, must unavoidably lead further. I wish to God Lord Oxford may be well enough to come to London; I have much to say to you upon that head. Bridgeman writes me word that he is to go to Wimple to-morrow morning, and will call at Down on Wednesday; but that is nothing. I shall leave my opinion of matters with his deputy Adams, and come away—as I said—so as to see you on Tuesday evening, no coach coming by to-morrow that can take me up nearer than Harlow; adieu." *Unsigned.* (I. 118.)

CHARLES GILDON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1721, July 21[-August 1]. Bull Head Court, Jewin Street.—"'Tis now above a fortnight since I ordered three of my books to be left at my Lord Harley's, one directed to my Lord, another to my Lady, and a third to you. That they were delivered to one of my Lord's servants I am certain, but whether they were by him delivered according to their directions I am tempted to doubt, because in all this time I have not had the happiness to hear that they were so. From hence I take the occasion of troubling you with a request which I have to make to you. These two last terms my old acquaintance Sam Briscoe called upon me, and among other things informed me that he had in his trouble met with no act of generosity but from Mr. Prior, who had given him five guineas for a set of Tom Brown's works, and had prevailed with my Lord Harley to give him five more for another set. He further informed me that one Mr. Jacups, a new author, told him that Mr. Prior had made a collection for him to pay his debts. These generous [actio]ns to these two makes me hope that I likewise shall find the good effect of your beneficent temper, having every way, I think, as reasonable a claim to it, as the two persons I have mentioned, and by this a stronger, that I am in years, blind and lame, and of a very infirm health. I am endeavouring to get a collection made for me to enable me to remove from this out-of-the-way place to one more proper for my condition, and to provide against

the attacks of necessity by setting up a lecture which will be sufficient to supply my wants. Being sensible that to engage my Lord Harley in this collection there is nothing wanting but your mediation, that is what now I most earnestly beg at your hands, for though my Lady Duchess's present was extremely handsome, yet my anticipations upon it were so large that I had but little left of it as soon as received, and therefore I have been obliged to have recourse to the method I now mention. In which I must once more beg your earnest and speedy assistance, and the favour shall always be acknowledged." (VII. 144.)

CHARLES GILDON to MATTHEW PRIOR.

1721, July 27[-August 7]. Bull Head Court, Jewin Street.—“I understand that you and my Lord's family are all moving out of town next Saturday. I am the more surprised because I have not had one line from you about the present I sent you, or my subsequent letter to you, which is a treatment that I have not met with from any one but Mr. Prior; for though I have written to the greatest men in England both ecclesiastical and temporal, yet not one of them ever thought me unworthy of a civil answer, but I suppose that it is not Mr. Prior's way. As a gentleman, as I may say I am both by birth and education, and I think without much vanity, I may say a scholar, I thought I had a right to an answer from another gentleman, but it seems I was mistaken, which confirms the opinion of a very intimate friend of mine, who told me that I had so long locked myself up from the world, that I had forgot the world. And yet I hope that my mistaking Mr. Prior will not be a very strong proof of his assertion, because upon my sending one of my books to one of the greatest persons in England, he not only sent me twenty guineas, but likewise ordered his chaplain to send me a very obliging answer.

“I have much more to say to you upon this head, but shall defer till you return to town. I shall trouble you with no more at present.” (VII. 146.)

MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1721, August 31[-Sept. 11]. Wimpole.—“Since at this distance all by which I can show my respect to you is daily to wish your health and to pray for the perfect establishment of it, I imagine I have held as continual a correspondence with you as if I had writ every post to tell you so; besides that as well at London as in the country I have had the happiness of being near my Lord Harley, and the additional one of hearing from you by his letters without your being troubled with mine, which is no small advantage to both of us; in this conduct I have kept what the French call *un silence respectueux*, which some in English would translate *an excuse for laziness*; and possibly upon another



impeachment that silence might be found criminal (*vide* Parker's speech, Sacheveril's trial). But now, as Sir Philip [Yorke] used to say to brother B . . . . , one word, good Sir, to the business, that of the day, I mean, which is joy and happiness to Lord Harley and Lady Harriette, and to the Earl of Oxford on their account; and if I do not express myself very perfectly, I desire Your Lordship to make it out for me, for the sentiments I feel on this occasion are pretty like those that you yourself have, only that the title of a father has—I know not how—by general consent claimed a place nearer than that of a friend: so I will just yield the point to Your Lordship, but to no man else alive. I return Your Lordship my humblest thanks for having mentioned me to your dear and beautiful correspondent Peggy: I never saw an angel, though I have read much of them. but, I fancy, she is very like one. She has no wings, indeed, but she has legs that carry her so lightly that it is a question if she flies, or no; and now I will talk of no mortal people but those here, Serjeant Commins, Squire Morley and my school-fellow Robin Harley, who all give your [*sic*] duty and respect to Your Lordship as I do mine to all where you are; the rest I reserve till I see you at London, where I hope your health will permit you to go this autumn. I shall then break out *viva voce*, and in one week discharge myself of what I have laid up for a year, though the most important thing I shall ever have to say is to assure Your Lordship of my being with inviolable zeal and esteem, &c." (I. 112.)

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JOURNAL &C., MEMOIRS, &C., RELATING TO THE TREATY OF RYSWICK.

"1696, Sept. 5[-15.]—The King went to Clèves to pay the Elector of Brandebourg a visit; the Elector met him at Skinkenskense [Schenkenschanz]; from thence to Clèves, the Elector and the King went in one coach, the Electoral Prince and the Duke of Zell in another; these two last had doubtless very agreeable discourse, for one of them is seven years old and the other seventy-two.

"The King played at cards that afternoon with the Electress in her apartment, and with the Duke of Zell, who had an ordinary chair; Mr. C[ressett] sat in the like chair (as to teach the King and see his hand), and the Princess stood all the while, which was about five hours. The King supped in the same apartment with the Electress, the Electoral Prince, the Princess, the Duke of Zell; the Elector in his own apartment with some of the men.

"The King and Elector could not eat together, because the King could not let the Elector have an armed chair, and the Elector could not be treated with less in his own regence. The King's family and the strangers were all treated very

greatly at several tables, according to their quality, in the great hall; the meat was good, the wine (all but the Rhenish) bad, and so liberally filled that people were drunk before the desert; but if the guests lost their understanding, at least they had no occasion for it, for everybody found a servant and a flambeau to convoy them to the gate of the castle, and there a coach to carry them to their own lodging; the same coaches waited for them in the morning."

"Sunday, the 16th. [N.S.]—The King and Elector heard different sermons for the same reason that obliged them to eat at different tables. After sermon they went together in the same calash to see the park, and that part of it which they call the Starembourg, from which hill one sees one of the largest prospects in Europe.

"We dined in the same manner as we supped the night before; at four afternoon the Elector conducted the King back in the same manner as he went to receive him.

"The Elector allowed two ducats to each man of His Majesty's guards and two ducatoons to every man's servant there, but few took it.

"The King gave to several of the Electress's women five rings of good value from 500 to 150 pounds, and 2,500 pounds amongst the servants.

"In coming home there happened a quarrel between Lord P[ortland] and Mr. K[eppel]. P[ortland] was in one of the Duke of Zell's coaches and K[eppel] in one of the King's. K[eppel] overtook P[ortland] and kept the way quite to Deering [Dieren], where P[ortland], getting out of the coach, threatened to beat the coachman, and said he was an impertinent puppy; the fellow excused himself upon the orders he had received, upon which Portland said that he who gave those orders was an impertinent puppy, or words to that effect; the matter was complained of to the King on both sides, but we heard no more of it; it was whispered that K[eppel] was in disgrace, because he went next day to his own house at Zutphen; but he came back the next, and was as much in favour as ever."

"Wednesday, the 19th. [N.S.]—Mr. Blathwayt told me that he had represented to the King what the Duke of Sh[rewsbury] had written in my behalf, that I might be thought of as Secretary to the Embassy when the peace should be made; the King was pleased to answer that he was of my Lord P[ortland]'s opinion as to my being proper for that employment, and that my pretensions were just and reasonable, which I hearing from Mr. Blathwayt desired Mr. C[ressett] to thank the King for this honour he intended me, and came from Loo (Thursday, the 20th)."

"Saturday the 22nd. [N.S.]—I came to The Hague and heard that my Lord V[illiers] was gone to Loo." (XVI. 1-2.)

"Dec. 12[-22].—His Majesty named the Right Honourable the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Viscount Villiers, and Sir



Joseph Williamson his Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of a General Peace."

"1697, Feb. 4. [N.S.]—The mediation was required of Mons. Lilieroet [the Swedish Envoy] by Count Kaunitz in the name of the Congress."

"[Feb.] 10. [N.S.]—Cailleres [Callières] dictated to the Mediator the preliminaries in presence of Mr. Dyckvelt."

"[Feb.] 14. [N.S.]—The form of passports was agreed on, and the contredéclaration adjusted which Count Kaunitz dictated to the Mediator [Feb.] 16."

"At the same time Lilienroett made his declaration concerning Luxembourg and Strasbourg for Cailleres' justification."

"[Feb.] 25. [N.S.]—The form of the *pleinpouvoirs* communicated to the Ministers by the Mediator."

"March 5. [N.S.]—My Lord Villiers gave an account of a discourse between him and the Mediator to this effect:—

"[L]ord [V]illiers.—'It was thought there might be some difficulty in the business of the passports, in regard of His Majesty's titles, and accordingly I spoke to the Mediator to take care that they might receive no prejudice in that or any other Act in the Treaty. I told him that the French would never be suffered to make any distinction between His Majesty and the rest of the Allies, and that His Majesty would treat France in every point as France treated His Majesty. Upon this the Mediator has spoken to Mons. Cailleres, who has consented to give the Ministers of His Majesty blank passes, as to the Ministers of the rest of the Allies; he likewise said, he thought it reasonable that every packet-boat should have a pass for the vessel, her equipage, and for the letters she carries, merchandises and passengers excepted, but to this he could not consent without an order from his Court, which he would write for; by this agreement the packet (as a courier) may be stopped to see if she has no passengers and merchandises on board, but is not to be detained above an hour at most, nor led out of her way.

'The Mediator in discourse with Mons. Cailleres mentioned a pass for my Lord Pembroke and Sir Joseph Williamson, but that was not found practicable according to the article in the Preliminaries about owning His Majesty, so that a good convoy is thought the best expedient in this affair.

'The Mediator has spoken to Mons. Cailleres of the business of Lorraine, but as yet cannot get it upon better terms than France has already offered it. In speaking of this business the Mediator assured Mons. Cailleres that the Allies would never hearken to an equivalent for Strasbourg.

'The French except against the Emperor's bearing the title of Landgrave of Alsatia in his *pleinpouvoirs*, and say that His Imperial Majesty has never used it in any Act since the Peace of Westphalia; this will be easily known and easily adjusted by a declaration from the Mediator that the taking

a title by any Prince shall not prejudice the pretension that another can have to it.' ”

[Memorandum.]—“ I went for England, Jan. 23rd. N.S., and returned March 17. I took leave of the King on Sunday, March 10, at Kensington, from which day my new privy seal as Secretary of the Embassy commences.”

“ 1697, April 3rd. N.S.—Count Kaunitz informed the Ministers at the Congress at the desire of Mons. Lilienroett, that the French had agreed to the points following :—

‘ 1. That all ceremonies should be abolished.

‘ 2. To the act of the Mediator: that the taking of a title by one Prince should no way prejudice the claim of any other Prince to it.

‘ 3. To the passports: that every Minister should have free and secure correspondence with his Master, in order to which blank passports are to be given to each party, the packet-boat to and from England is to be looked upon as a courier; but the merchandises and passengers, which are on board, are not free; if any party desires a passport to go to any other place than the residence of his own Master, it is left to the liberty of the other party to grant or refuse it.

‘ 4. To the *pleinpouvoirs*, which are to be upon the same foot as that of Nimègue.

“ The Pensioner [Heinsius] told the Allies that *ad interim* and provisionally they might meet the Mediator in the Congress-room, the table removed.” (XVI. 3-5.)

“ Journal of what was done at the first meeting at Ryswick.”

“ 1697, Thursday, May 9th. [N.S.]—The Ministers being assembled at 4 [o’clock] afternoon, the Mediator showed his own *pleinpouvoirs* and each Minister did the like; the Mediator went for some time to the other side, and returning showed the Ministers of the Allies the *pleinpouvoirs* of the French Ministers; which being read, it appeared that they had power to treat with the Emperor, King of Spain, and States General, and with all that are in alliance with them; the Mediator went to his own apartment; the *pleinpouvoirs* of the several Ministers were brought to him by the Secretaries, and two copies collationed, one of them signed and sealed by the respective Ministers (whose they were), were left in the Mediator’s hand. The Mediator, returning to the Ministers of the Allies, informed them that the French desired (for the present) only to see the *pleinpouvoirs* of the Emperor, King of Spain and the States.

“ The Mediator gave the Spanish Ministers the French Ministers’ answer to the reunions made in the Catholic provinces since the Treaty of Nimègue.

“ The Mediator read an Act which was to save any Princes being prejudiced by another’s assuming any title.



“The Congress adjourned till Saturday, the 11th, at 10 o'clock in the morning.”

“Saturday, May 11th. [N.S.] In the Congress at Ryswick.—

“The Mediator gave the Imperialists, Spaniards and Dutch Ministers the copy of the French *pleinpouvoirs*.

“It was resolved that the Congress should for the future meet at Ryswick on Wednesday morning and Saturday afternoon.

“The Brandebourg Minister did from the beginning make some exceptions against his Master's not being particularly named in the French *pleinpouvoirs*, but only generally mentioned under the name of ally.”

“May 14th [N.S.]—The Mediator paid my Lord Pembroke the first visit, in His Lordship's apartment in my Lord Villiers' house.” (XVI. 7-8.)

“Wednesday, May the 15th. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

“The Mediator showed his new *pleinpouvoirs* signed in the name of the young King by the Queen his grandmother, and the rest of the Regents, and gave to each of the Allies an authentic copy signed Lilieroot and sealed with his arms.

“The Mediator gave in these three propositions:—

‘Propositions de L'Ambassadeur Médiateur.

‘1. De convenir d'un Règlement de Police; et il propose celui de Nimègue avec quelques additions, dont la copie est icy joint.

‘2. De concerter du tems et de la manière de faire connoissance, et d'entrer en commerce avec Messrs. les Ambassadeurs de France sans que personne en puisse être préjudicié.

‘3. De préparer les Propositions de Paix pour la première Conférence, s'il est possible.

“[As] to the first: the Mediator gave in the regulations made at Nimègue with some explications upon them.

“[As] to the second: the Emperor's Ministers and the French could not agree about the manner of their first meeting; the Imperialists proposed the great hall for the place, and that the French should be there some little time before the Imperialists entered. The French would not consent to enter any otherwise than each party from his respective apartment, and at the same time. Mr. Zeiler [*sic. i.e.,* Seilern] proposed an expedient, which was that the French should be in the Mediator's apartment, and upon notice given by the Mediator of their being there, the Imperialists should enter; the French would not accept of this expedient, and so the intended interview was laid aside.

“As to the third: the Allies said they would prepare their *Postulata* as soon as possible.”

“Saturday, May the 18th. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

“The Emperor's Ministers showed the project of what they demanded in the name of the Emperor and Empire.

The Ministers of the several German Princes asked a copy of it, and that they might have time till the next Congress-day to consider of the several points contained in it, in order to their assenting to them."

"Wednesday, May the 22nd. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

"The Imperial Ministers had a conference with those of the other Princes of Germany some time before the Congress began, and instead of receiving their answers to the project given to them on Saturday, they produced a more ample form of their demands, and required the Ministers to give their opinion of it immediately. The Ministers excused themselves from doing it, there being some points in the project which required their further consideration, especially in points relating to religion; but there being one Article by which it was specified that every Prince might give in his demand particularly, the Imperialists thought they might give it into the Mediator's hand; which accordingly they did, but desired him not to give it to the French without receiving their demands at the same time.

"The Spaniards gave in their demands in general terms with the same condition. The Ministers of Cologne and Liége gave in their demands (of which they gave us a copy).

"Mons. Lillieret went to the French, and coming back told the Imperialists that he had required that the French should give in their demands at the same time that they received those of the Imperialists, and that as to this point the French said that they stick to the declaration which Mons. Cailliere made in the Preliminaries.

"The Imperialists desired some time to consider of this answer before the Mediator should give in their Project." (XVI. 8-11.)

"Saturday, May 25th. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

"The Mediator acquainted the Congress that the French grew impatient that the Allies did not give in their pretensions; that he promised that they should soon do it; he therefore desired the Allies to make all convenient haste in the dispatch of their *Postulata*.

"The Mediator desired to know if the Allies were agreed to his regulations; they desired that they might have a copy of them and time to consider of it."

"Wednesday the 29th May. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

"The Mediator informed the Allies that he had given all the *Postulata* which he had already received from these Ministers into the hands of those of France, and that they had told him they would consider of those *Postulata*, and give their answer in some time. It was said that the Imperialists had made some alterations in those *Postulata* which they had given in before, particularly that in the 3rd Article *post*



*Pacem Monasteriensem* was changed to *post Pacem Westphalicam*.

"The Mediator told us that he had spoken to the French Ministers concerning our passports, and acquainted them that he had received notice from France by the Swedish Minister there, that Mons. Pomponne had said that the King his Master approved of the method which Mons. Lilieroot had proposed for the passports for the packet, and that it was by some mistake that they were not dispatched before now. The French said that the account they had from Mons. Pontchartrain was very contrary to this, but that they hoped by Friday's post they might have instructions in the thing.

"Everybody in effect agreed to the ceremonial, and so it was looked upon as an Act made by the Mediator which already only wanted its formal part. Some time was spent between the Mediator and the French, to try if means might be found for the Imperialists and the French to visit; but the Mediator not being able as yet to make them agree in the point, they will not yet see each other."

"Saturday the 1st of June. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

"The Mediator gave the Allies a paper from the French, which contained a previous question of which they desired to be informed before they answered to the *Postulata* of the Imperialists and Spaniards. Count Kaunitz and Don Quiros told the Mediator that the Allies would consider of that paper.

"Monday following being appointed for the general fast, it was agreed on by all parties that the Congress should meet on Tuesday at 5 [o'clock] afternoon."

"Tuesday the 4th June. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

"The Imperialists and Spaniards read to the Allies the answer which each of them had formed to the paper they had received from the French on Saturday. It was not at first approved of, as not entirely owning their consent to the Preliminaries, but after some small alterations made in it, it was agreed on.

"Count Kaunitz, Don Quiros and Mons. Dyckvelt carried it to the Mediator, to be by him handed to the French. The Mediator brought word back that he had delivered the answer, and that the French desired time till Saturday to reply to it; the Mediator added that the French in discourse with him had said they thought that as well the Allies on one side as themselves on the other were obliged to keep in the main to the Preliminaries.

"The Mediator delivered to the Allies the copies he had signed and sealed of the Act for the regulation of the ceremonial."

"Saturday the 8th June. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

“The Mediator received from the French and gave to the Allies the answer which the French made to the paper they had received from the Imperialists the Tuesday before; of which the Secretaries, who were called in for that purpose, took copies.”

“Tuesday the 11th.—The English Embassy had a conference with the Pensioner [Heinsius] at his own house; Sir Joseph Williamson assisted, this being the first time he had acted.

“We had news that Ath was taken the 5th.” (XVI. 11-15.)

“Wednesday, June the 12th. [N.S.] At the Congress at Ryswick.—

“The Mediator informed the Allies that he had been yesterday with the French Ambassadors, and had proposed to them the breaking off this way of treaty by writing, and proposed that of his own acting *viva voce* as the most proper for gaining time; that the French desired time to consider of this proposal till this morning; and that he had received their answer in this House this morning; which was, that they consented to it; he added that they did it with great difficulty, and gave him to understand at the same time, that they thought that both parties were equally obliged not to exceed the Preliminaries.

“As to the Spanish demands the French said that their proposals was [*sic*] plainly the Peace of the Pyrenees; upon that the Mediator replied that it was not to be wondered at, for that the Allies had promised the Spaniards the performance of that Treaty, but the French still insisted that they would keep to that of Nimègue, as they had said in the Preliminaries. The French said that the German *Postulata* went beyond what they could think of agreeing to; that there were expressions in them disrespectful; they instanced in *Reservatio Gallica* which, said they, was little better than *Fides Punica*.

“The Mediator next acquainted the Allies, that he had proposed to the French the going upon the heads *articulatim*, and that they had told him in particular that they had consented to it. He therefore required the Allies’ consent, which was given; and the Mediator went back and brought word that the French gave likewise their formal consent to this method.

“The Mediator took the opportunity of the Allies being there assembled together to notify to them the death of the King his Master; he said he took that way to avoid any dispute that might arise from his notifying it to one party sooner than to another, and that though the matter was for him [*sic. i.e., foreign*] to anything which was contained in the Regulation, the form of this notification was consonant to that Act, and that was the reason of his following it. Sir Joseph Williamson assisted for the first time at the Congress.

“We received the same day the passport for our packets; and having considered of it, and found it not exactly according



to what the French had promised to the Mediator, we returned it the next day, 13th, to Mr. Dyckvelt, who gave it back again to the French Ambassador, who agreed that it was deficient and promised to write again concerning it into France." (XVI. 16-18.)

"The 15th [N.S.] June. At Ryswick.—

"The Imperialists and Spaniards gave the first Article of their *Postulata* to the Mediator, who handed it to the French; they excepted at present against the word *Christianissimus* being written in short *Xmus* in the Imperialists' Article, who said that this contained only the sense of what they would say, and was not in form as they intended it should be when they came to sign. In the meantime they caused it to be altered, and gave it back again. The Imperialists in some private conferences they had with the Mediator negotiated an interview between them and the French to be had at Ryswick in the Mediator's chambers at other times than those of the public meeting. The Spaniards endeavoured the like interview; the French consented to see the Imperialists as they proposed in the Mediator's apartment, in the manner as they did at Nimègue, as often and at what time the Imperialists pleased, provided that, upon notification from the French of their arrival, Count Kaunitz and Count Stratmann, the two first of the Imperial Embassy, would give them the first visit, as to those who came last; and on their part they offered in the same manner to make the first visit to Mons. Zeiler [*sic. i.e.*, Seilern], the 3rd of the Imperial Embassy, he arriving since them; the Imperialists took this *ad referendum*.

"As to the seeing the Spaniards, the French made a difficulty of their coming into the Mediator's apartment from the same side as the Imperialists, it being the right hand of the House and consequently the best apartment, and only yielded to the Allies upon the account of the Imperialists being there."

"The 17th [N.S.] June, 5 [o'clock] afternoon.—The Imperial Embassy had a conference with us at my Lord Pembroke's house; they told us that they did not think it proper to make any further advance towards this interview without first advising with us, it being a respect which they owed to His Majesty. We said that this previous notification to the two parties seeing each other was destroying the Regulation which had already been agreed to, and that a notification made now would be more remarkable as to us, since we could not have the like from the Allies, having already received their visits. Mons. Zeiler asked us if we had any reason to object against the Imperialists seeing the French, provided it was done without notification or ceremony; we replied that we could say nothing to that, since it was a freedom allowed in the Regulation to the private discretion of each party, and that we would wait upon their Excellencies to-morrow with a more positive answer; accordingly they named 5 [o'clock] afternoon."

“ 18th [N.S.] June, 4 [o'clock] afternoon.—We met at my Lord Pembroke's. Mr. Prior read to us the Project together with the Great Article [expressly abrogating the alliance between Louis XIV. and James II.] in a separate paper; some small alterations were made in the wording the Project, and we went with it to the Pensioner, and left it in his hand; we likewise told him, our resolution was to give the Imperialists for answer what we had represented to them the day before, that the first Article of the Regulation was to be stuck to, and for the rest it was left to their liberty.”

“ June the 19th. [N.S.] At Ryswick.—

“ Count Kaunitz acquainted the English Embassy, that he had told the Mediator in the name of the Imperial Embassy that they could not admit of any expedient in order to their seeing the French which might contradict the first Article of the Regulation, to which they had agreed.

“ The Imperial Embassy retired into the Mediator's apartment, and received from His Excellency there an Article which the French had drawn up, and which they would consent to instead of that first Article which they had received from the Imperialists, from which this differed. The Imperialists took it, but did not read it at the Congress, which was in a manner taking it, as their phrase expresses it, *ad referendum*.

“ The first article of the Spanish *Postulata* was agreed to by the French; it was *verbatim* the same as the first of the Treaty of Nimègue.

“ My Lord Villiers in a private conference with Mons. Boreel urged all imaginable arguments for their and our not receding in the least from the Great Article.”

“ The 21st [N.S.] of June.—This morning Mons. Dyckvelt had a conference with the English Embassy; being in the afternoon to see the French, he had a copy of the Project of Peace and the Great Article given to him. He the next day returned the French's answer to the substance of the Great Article which he had mentioned *viva voce* to them; which was that the King their Master could no way consent to have a Prince named in that manner with whom he had been in so long and so strict an alliance; that, for the rest, they were ready to consent to the doing the thing in as ample and formal terms as could be thought of.” (XVI. 15-23.)

“ June the 25th. [N.S.]—We had a conference with the Pensioner, Mons. Dyckvelt and Mons. Haren concerning what the Dutch Ministers were to say in the business of England to the French; it was agreed that they should tell them that our Project was made and sent to His Majesty for his approbation, and that as soon as it came back they should receive it.”

“ June the 28th. [N.S.] At Ryswick.—

“ Mons. Dyckvelt told us at our coming that Mons. Boreel had been prevented by a fever from seeing the French the day before, and consequently that what he had charged him



with concerning our affair was not yet done. The Mediator told the Imperialists, as from the French, that the objection the Imperialists had made to the first Article should be no hindrance to the Treaty, but that those objections were improper as yet, for that as well the French's explaining themselves as to their having or not having allies, as likewise that of who might be contained in the amnesty was to be specified at the end of the Treaty; that they had no ally now, but might have before the signing the peace, and that they might likewise ask an amnesty then for some persons, though there was no occasion for their asking it now; the other alterations in this Article the French consented to. The Mediator told the Spaniard that the French had said they had as yet no answer concerning the Spanish reunions.

"The Mediator told us in his own apartment that he thought himself obliged to inform us of what had passed between the Imperialists and the French, that he would not omit telling us anything wherein we might possibly be concerned, as, may be, we might think ourselves, in [the] explanation which the Imperialists had asked from the French of the word *confoederatos* and of the answer the French had given them: we said we were not apprehensive of any danger herein, but we desired him to insert into his protocol that they had said they had no ally.

"The Mediator acquainted all the Allies that the French had complained of the slowness of the Treaty, this being the 15th meeting, and yet things so little advanced: the Mediator said he was of the same opinion, and desired the Allies to think of some quicker method of negotiating; they answered that they expected that these methods should be proposed by the French, since it was only they that were the reason of our being in this way of treaty as we are.

"In the afternoon at my Lord Pembroke's house Mons. Bosen and Mons. Smetteau[Schmettau]\* came to us to desire our good offices to the Imperialists that they might insert in their demands the settlement of the Protestant religion in Germany according to the Treaty of Westphalia; they gave us a copy of the memorial which they had given to the Mediator on that subject." (XVI. 30-32.)

"Saturday the 29th [N.S.] June.—We had a conference with the Pensioner, Mons. Dyckvelt and Mons. Haren, Mons. Boreel being sick; we told them we had received a Project from His Majesty with his order to give it in without the Secret Article.† We therefore desired the Dutch to press *viva voce*, and to the utmost of their power, the naming King James, and absolutely to reject the proposition which the French might make in favour of the rebels."

"The same day. At Ryswick.—

\*The Saxon and Prussian Plenipotentiaries.

† *I.e.*, the substance of the Great Article without express mention of King James.

“The Imperialists proposed to us that, since the French had not answered the demands they made in their *Postulata*, and looked upon the second method they had proposed of treating by article as tedious, of which opinion themselves were likewise, that therefore it should be proposed to the French to give an entire project of what they would agree to. The Imperialists therefore desired the Congress to depute some Minister to the Mediator to acquaint him with their design; the Spaniards opposed this way of proceeding as what might derogate from what was already settled, as if it left a power too unlimited to the French of proposing what they pleased; the rest of the Allies consented to the thing, but proposed that the Mediator might be sent for. Whilst this was arguing, the Imperialists went from the Congress of their own accord to propose the thing to the Mediator. The Allies were surprised at this their proceeding, but desired Count Caunitz at his return to dictate to the Congress what he had said to the Mediator; which he did as followeth:—

“ ‘Qu’il avoit proposé au Médiateur de proposer aux François de donner un projet qui contient toute la paix : tous les articles étendus, et point en termes généraux’; he added likewise to the Mediator:—‘Qu’il avoit communiqué cette proposition à tous les Alliés qui en étoient tous d’accord, excepté les Espagnols, qui parleroient pour eux mêmes; que, comme le Médiateur avoit répondu là-dessus que la France pourra parler seulement de la Paix de Nimègue, il avoit répondu, que par là ils se départeroient des Préliminaires qui renferment les deux Paix, que ce seroit plutôt pour rompre les deux Paix, que pour l’avancer.’ ”

“Sunday, June 30th. [N.S.]—At my Lord Pembroke’s it was agreed that these words should be added to the 7th article (in the middle):—‘Except only such places as were taken by the French from the English during the peace which preceded this war’.” (XVI. 34–36.)

“Sunday the 30th [N.S.] June, and Monday the 1st [N.S.] July.—Count Kaunitz and Count Straatman went separately to Delft in two coaches and six horses each, and visited the three French Ambassadors each at his own house. The three French Ambassadors returned these visits on Monday likewise separately, and after that paid a visit to Mons. Seiler[n], the 3rd of the Imperial Embassy, as being arrived here after the French. The Project of Peace was given in by Mr. Prior to Mons. Dyckvelt in Latin, the Article of Orange inserted in it.”

“Tuesday the 2nd [N.S.] July.—The Spanish Ambassador went separately to Delft to visit the French, and Mons. Seiler[n] returned the visit they had given him the day before.”

“Wednesday the 3rd [N.S.] July. At Ryswick.—The Mediator acquainted us that as to what he had proposed to the French on Saturday from the Imperialists, the French had



answered that they were very willing to give in a Project as the Imperialists desired, but that being at present in treaty with the *Quatre Puissances*, the Emperor and the Empire, the Kings and the States, they could not give in such a Project till they were assured all these parties had agreed about it, but that the Spaniards had not as yet consented to it; they added that the Treaty of Nimègue would be the object of the Treaty they designed to form, but insinuated withal that something more might be obtained if the Allies showed by their manner of negotiating that they were sincerely intent upon a peace. In answer to this the Allies told the Mediator that they would take the thing into consideration; then the Mediator went into his own apartment, and the Spaniards, having been with him, returned and acquainted the Congress that they had told him that they would consider of the whole business of the Project, that they would not consent to anything that might deroge from the Preliminaries in the Project when it should be made." (XVI. 34-39.)

"Saturday the 6th [N.S. July]. At Ryswick.—Nothing was done, the French alleging that they could not give in their Project till the Spaniards were agreed with the rest of the Allies."

"July the 8th [N.S.].—Mons. Bosen, Ambassador from Saxe, notified to the several Ministers of the Allies that the Elector, his Master, was chosen King of Poland; the English Embassy visited him severally the next day to congratulate this new honour to the Elector."

"Wednesday the 10th [N.S.] of July. At Ryswick.—The Mediator told us that, considering the French might have had an answer from their Court concerning the Project, he had asked them if they had anything to say to the Allies, and that they still excused themselves upon the Spaniards not having given their consent; that he had desired them, therefore, to act as if the Spaniards had consented, and that effectual means should be used to the obtaining it, provided that their first *Postulata* should not be prejudiced, and that the Preliminaries should be assured; the French said that they had already made their reflections upon the first, and that as to the latter it was already agreed on, and they looked on it as *une chose dite et faite*; the conclusion was that the French promised to give in their Project on Saturday.

"The Mediator acquainted the Congress that Baron Stein, joined in commission with Mons. Schrottenberg from the Circle of Franconia, had notified to him his desire of being received into the Congress, which was accordingly consented to." (XVI. 41-42.)

"Saturday the 13th [N.S. July]. At Ryswick.—The French told the Mediator that they intended to give in their Project with all the speed they could; they did not think it could be done by Wednesday, but they would at least endeavour it."

"Tuesday the 16th [N.S. July].—Mons. Plessen notified to the Ambassadors here that the Princess was brought to bed the 28th past at Copenhagen of a son, who was baptized the same day by the name of Christian."

"Wednesday the 17th [N.S. July]. At Ryswick.—The French promised absolutely to give in their Project on Saturday entire, if possible, at least to the greatest part of the Allies; the Dutch gave in their pretensions to the French."

"Thursday the 18th [N.S. July].—Mr. Prior gave in a copy of the Project of Peace to the Mediator, adding that as to the private article the Dutch Embassy were in negotiation with the French, and that as to what related to the French *réfugiés* the English Embassy would act conjointly with the Ministers of the other Protestant Princes, which was the reason that nothing relating to these two articles was found in the Project; as for the rest it was entire, and in the language that it was given in to the French. The Mediator said he was very much obliged to their Excellencies for this communication, which he should make the best use he could on for His Majesty's interest and their service, that he was satisfied with the reason of its not going through his hand, but that he had already by express order from his Master insisted upon His Majesty's title and interest in all conferences he had had with the French, and that he should always continue to do so, which he enjoined Mr. Prior very expressly to signify to their Excellencies." (XVI. 47–48.)

"Friday the 19th [N.S. July].—According to the substance of a letter which Mr. Prior received from Mr. Blathwayt, dated the 17th, the Lords Ambassadors had a conference with the Pensioner at his own house at four, afternoon, after which they likewise conferred with the Imperial Embassy at six; the substance of this conference was that according to the desire of the Imperial Embassy the Lords Ambassadors had written to His Majesty to know the substance of what had passed between the Earl of Portland and the Marshal de Boufflers in Flanders, and that His Majesty returned for answer, that he ordered the Earl of Portland in His Majesty's name to declare that, since France had taken pains to make the world think that His Majesty was not really designed to make the peace, he should think himself obliged to justify himself in that point to all the world, and that he desired nothing more than a peace, provided it might be just, honourable and such a one as might last, and that he took this occasion to know the reality of the King of France's designs on the same subject; that the rest of the discourse was occasional, and several things were mentioned in it that related particularly to His Majesty; in answer to what my Lord Portland had said the Marshal de Boufflers in a second conference said that he had order from the King his Master to declare that that Prince was glad to find that His Majesty was so well inclined towards the peace, that he was very sincere in his intentions, and had given



such orders to his Ambassadors at Delft on this subject as would evidence what he (the Marshal de Boufflers) then said."

"Saturday the 20th [N.S. July]. At Ryswick.—The French gave in their project to the Mediator, and said that if an explanation of any article might be required or the sense of it to be treated on, they were ready to contribute to it; and that, if any objection might be raised to any particular phrase or expression in it, they were willing to alter it; they added that it might be declared that they came with a design of making the peace, and that they hoped the Allies on their side would contribute all they could to the same end."

"Wednesday the 24th [N.S. July]. At Ryswick.—The Mediator said to the English Embassy that, though they were not immediately concerned in the Project, he thought himself obliged to communicate to them what was done; he added that he desired their opinion upon it; he said that the French had pressed him the last conference-day to fix the last of August as the utmost time that their Master should think himself obliged to stand to as to the performance of the articles of the Project, that he (the Mediator) was afraid he should scarce have credit enough with them to make them any longer defer the sitting this time, though the Imperialists very earnestly desired it. The English Embassy said that they thought it was not time now for France to pretend to act thus with the Allies, and desired him to continue to use his interest that they should still defer this peremptory way of proceeding.

"N.B.—The French had fixed the time in the beginning of the Project, which they first gave to the Mediator, which they altered upon his desiring it.

"The Imperialists having acquainted the Mediator with the method in which they resolved to answer the French, which was to receive or to make their exception against every article as it lay, the Mediator likewise informed the English Embassy that he had communicated this resolution of the Imperialists to the French." (XVI. 50–53.)

"Saturday the 27th [N.S. July]. At Ryswick.—The Mediator told the Allies that he had imparted to the French the method that the Imperialists were resolved to take in the answer they intended to make to the French Project, and that thereupon the French desired them to make all possible haste, and reiterated their intent of making a sure and a speedy peace. The Mediator gave the Allies Baron Schonbourn's [*sic. i.e.,* Schönborn's] powers; Count Kaunitz received them in the name of the Congress, and gave them to Mons. Norff, who read them."

"Monday the 29th [N.S.] July.—The French having desired Mons. Dyckvelt to get an explanation of the 4th and 6th articles of our Project, Mr. Prior drew it up upon what the Embassy thought proper the day before at a conference at my Lord Pembroke's, and gave it to my Lord Pembroke,

and his Excellency gave it to Mons. Dyckvelt ; it was as followeth :—

‘ 4 Art.’

‘ Il est convenu qu’une satisfaction et réparation entière sera faite de part et d’autre pour les dommages et injures que les sujets des susnommés Seigrs. Rois se sont donnés ou causés les uns aux autres avant la déclaration de la présente guerre. (Cf. pp. 545 et seq., *infra*.)

‘ Eclaircissement.’

‘ 1683. Le 14<sup>me</sup> d’Aoust les François habitants de Canada envahirent le territoire de la Compagnie de la Baye de Hudson dans l’Amérique Septentrionale au Port de Nelson par ordre de Mons. de la Barre, Gouverneur de Canada, brûlèrent leurs maisons, se saisirent de leurs biens et emmenèrent avec eux prisonniers le Gouverneur de la Compagnie et autres.

‘ 1684. Les François firent encore un tentative sur le Port de Nelson avec deux navires sous le commandement de Mons. d’Olmond, et firent des dommages considérables.

‘ 1685. Les François à leur retour vers Canada se saisirent d’un navire appartenant à la dite Compagnie, lequel ils mené [*sic*] avec eux en Canada.

‘ 1686. Les François sous le commandement de Mons. de Troyes prirent et démolirent trois de leurs factoreries, à sçavoir, les forts d’Albanie, de Rupert, et celui dans la Rivière de Moose ; prirent trois navires appartenants à la Compagnie, comme aussi quelques milliés [*sic*] de pelteries.

‘ 1687. Mons. d’Iberville prit dans l’Isle de Stretton dans la Baye de Hudson la chaloupe nommé la *Hayes* avec toute sa cargaison.

‘ 1688. Les François se saisirent de trois navires, le *Churchill*, le *Young* et le *Husband*, et firent prisonniers divers Anglois de la dite Compagnie.

‘ Les sujets du Roy l’Angleterre furent aussi incommodés



dans leur commerce par les François dans la Rivière de Gambia et autres adjacentes dans l'Afrique dans les années 1687 et 1688.

'1689. Les François de Canada surprirent la ville de Schenecstedy à 5 lieues d'Albanie, en firent prisonniers les habitants, brûlèrent la ville après l'avoir saccagée.

'6 Art.'

'Tous les François habitants et demeurants dans les Royaumes ou Domaines de Sa Majesté le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, et tous autres sujets de Sa dite Majesté qui ont des terres, ou autres biens en fond dans les Royaumes et Domaines de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, auront et percevront sans aucun trouble ou empêchement les fruits et revenues des dites terres et autres biens ; et tous ceux d'entre eux qui sont ou qui ont été emprisonnés ou retenus de quelque manière que ce soit, pendant cette guerre, auront liberté entière de revenir dans les Royaumes de Sa Majesté Britannique.' "

'Sous le nom de François sont compris les Protestants Réfugiés dans le Royaume de Sa Majesté Britannique ; sous le nom des autres sujets de Sa Majesté nous comprenons tous ceux d'entre eux qui avoient des biens en France.

'Sous le nom d'emprisonnés ou retenus, nous comprenons les François sujets de Sa Majesté qui ont été pris par mer ou par terre, et nommément quelques uns qui, gagnant leurs vies par la pêche sur les côtes d'Angleterre y ont été enlevés, et sont détenus présentement ou aux Galères, ou emprisonnés ailleurs.' " (XVI. 53-57.)

"Tuesday the 30th [N.S. July].—The Imperial Embassy desired a conference with the English, which they had this afternoon at my Lord Pembroke[’s] ; the subject of it was to desire an account of what passed at the conference which the Earl of Portland had last Friday with the Marshal de Boufflers ; my Lords Ambassadors told them that it was concerning His Majesty’s particular affairs, as to which France was in a fair way of giving him satisfaction ; that His Majesty therefore desired the Allies to dispatch as much as possible their resolution towards concluding the negotiation one way or other."

"Wednesday, the 31st [N.S. July]. At Ryswick. The Mediator told the Allies that he had entertained the French upon the Project, and the remarks that the Allies designed to make upon it ; that the French desired that they would make haste in giving these remarks in, which they were ready to receive, and they said they did not [wish] to prescribe them any time for it, but that they wished it might be done by the Saturday. Mons. Smeteau [Schmettau], Ambassador from

Brandenbourg, represented that the French having no *plein-pouvoirs* to treat with their Master, they could not go on in the negotiation; they therefore entreated the Allies to repeat their good offices to the Mediator to the end that he might persuade the French to procure the *plein-pouvoirs* desired."

"Thursday the 1st [N.S.] of August.—The English Embassy were at the Pensioner's with that Minister, the Dutch Ambassadors Dyckvelt and Haren, to consult of what means would be properest to advance the negotiation; it was agreed that it should be represented to the Imperial Embassy how absolute a necessity there was of dispatching this business, and to desire them to get their remarks ready for Saturday, as likewise to omit inserting anything in them that there was not a probability of obtaining. My Lord Pembroke and Mons. Dyckvelt were desired to visit the Imperialists on this subject, which accordingly they did the next day."

"Friday the 2nd [N.S. August].—The Imperialists assured them that they would do their endeavour that their remarks should accordingly be ready."

"Saturday the 3rd [N.S. August]. At Ryswick.—The Imperialists told the Mediator that the Ministers of the other Princes of the Empire had given in their remarks upon the French Project only the day before, which was the reason that they could not be ready with theirs, but that they would prepare it with all possible speed.

"The same day the Earl of Albemarle and my Lord Villiers went to Breda to meet the King there at night; the latter being sent for by His Majesty to give him an account of the state of the negotiation here."

"Sunday the 4th [N.S. August].—The Earl of Portland came hither from Breda; the design of his journey was to tell the Allies, and more particularly the Imperialists and Spaniards, what had been the result of those conferences which His Lordship had lately in Flanders with the Marshal de Boufflers; he likewise told them that His Majesty was of opinion that it was for the interest of the Low Countries that an equivalent should be taken for Luxembourg." (XVI. 57–60.)

"Monday the 5th [N.S. August].—My Lord Villiers returned to The Hague."

"Wednesday the 7th [N.S. August]. At Ryswick.—The Mediator told us that the day before he had communicated to the French the Imperialists' remarks upon that Project, and had been with them that morning to receive their answer to it, that they had said that it was too long for them to make their reflexions upon so soon, but that they would do it by the next Congress day, though in looking over it they said they had found many particulars to object against, which they would digest and give in on Saturday.

"The Mediator offered a *plein-pouvoir* from the Bishop of Hildesheim, but he not being in the Grand Alliance, this Minister was not admitted. The Allies spoke again to the



Mediator to use his interest with the French Embassy to procure a particular *pleinpouvoir*, whereby they might treat with the Elector of Brandenburg."

"Thursday the 8th [N.S. August].—"The Imperial Ministers had an audience of us at the Earl of Pembroke's this morning to acquaint us with what the Earl of Portland had by His Majesty's command told them of what passed with Boufflers:—

'That the King was of a mind to accept of an equivalent for Luxembourg; that he would *appuyer* it towards the King of Spain.

'That this change of mind had astonished them, they could not but represent with desire to have it transmitted by us to the King, etc;

'That the four Electors of the Rhine were undone if Luxembourg rested in the French hands; that the Elector of Brandenburg desired them everywhere to name his Master, as one that would be concerned in it;

'That their votes could never be free in the Diets, in the election of an Emperor;

'That the right of protection of the archiepiscopal church of Trèves belongs to the Duchy of Luxembourg, and when it comes to be vacant, as this is an old man, the Church will be in awe of who ever has Luxembourg;

'That Luxembourg is of the patrimony of the House of Austria (the Emperor bears the title); is of the body of the Empire (four or five Emperors were of that House); that it has a treaty of indignity [*sic*] with the King of Bohemia, which shows it is of the Empire.

'That this Duchy, as also that of Brabant, together with the Marquisate of Saint Empire and several of the Spanish provinces, are in the feudality of the Empire, as the Pays d'Alost in Flanders, and La Flandrie Impériale, are of the feudality of the Empire.

'That therefore the King of Spain is not solely the lord of it whose will and consent is to govern this matter; that it cannot be alienated without the consent of the Emperor and Empire, and the Emperor is resolved never to make a peace without its restitution.

'To all this, that the King had said to Count Caunitz, that if the Emperor stood as stiffly upon Strasbourg as he would do on Luxembourg, he doubted not but they should have both.

'That the Pensioner had heretofore said that, if France would restore all taken in the Spanish Netherlands, together with the County d'Artois, nay, and part of Picardy, it could not be an equivalent for Luxembourg." (XVI. 60-63.)

"Saturday the 10th [N.S.] August.—Mons. Bosen and Baron Steinberg were with the English Embassy in the name of the Electors and Princes of the Empire upon the same subject as the Imperialists were on Thursday; they gave

my Lord Pembroke the copy of a paper which they had given to the Spanish Embassy, and which they desired might be transmitted to the King when the English Embassy wrote to His Majesty."

"Saturday the 10th [N.S. August]. At Ryswick.—The Mediator told the Allies that the French said they were ready to enter into the way of treating by conference, or into any other which should be judged most necessary to bring the business of the peace to a conclusion, and they desired that the Allies will contribute to the like dispatch.

"The Pensioner's plenipotentiary's powers were read and he, though not present, was esteemed to be for the future a Minister of the Congress."

"Monday the 12th [N.S. August].—Mr. Prior gave the Imperial Embassy a copy of the English Project of Peace, giving them at the same time to understand their reason why the Separate Article was not therein inserted. Count Kaunitz returned the compliment of the Imperial Embassy, and said they were mightily obliged to their Excellencies the English Ambassadors for this communication."

"Tuesday the 13th [N.S. August].—My Lord Villiers gave Mr. Prior the remarks which the French had made upon our treaty as they were written in the Pensioner's own hand ; these remarks are copied and joined to the Project ; and the original was sent back to the Pensioner."

"Wednesday the 14th [N.S. August]. At Ryswick.—The Pensioner assisted for the first time at Ryswick ; the Mediator told the Allies that the Imperialists and the French had agreed to enter into conference, in order to their hastening the negotiation, and that they had chosen Friday for their first meeting in that way. Mons. Vehlen[s] *pleinpouvoirs* were read, and he accordingly owned as Ambassador from the Elector Palatin." (XVI. 63–67.)

"Thursday, August 15th [N.S.].—Being with the States' Ambassadors to give in our answer to the French Ambassadors' remarks on our Project as to the point of a treaty of commerce, and that it had been desired or proposed by the French and not by us ; after much speech had with the Ambassadors as to that circumstance, and of the reasons we had, that it should appear that it was of their proposing to have a treaty of commerce and not of ours, the Pensioner said we ought to put in our protocol, that *lorsqu'eux [sic] les Ambassadeurs des Etats avoient donné nostre Project à ceux de France, ceux-cy, ayant leu le project, avoient demandé, si l'on ne voudroit pas faire un traité de commerce : les Ambassadeurs de Hollande répondoient qu'ils ne croient pas que nous fussions présentement prest, mais qu'il seroit mieux de le renvoyer à des commissaires, à quoy les Ambassadeurs de France ont consenti.*"

"Saturday the 17th [N.S. August].—The Mediator told the Allies he had nothing to lay before them but what had passed



the day before between the Imperialists and the French, and between the Spaniards and the French that morning, which, he supposed, the parties had given them an account of; we were informed that the Imperialists had gone through their whole Project without agreeing any article except that of Phillipsburg; the Spaniards agreed the affair of their contributions, and seem to come nearer to an accommodation; they did not see the French because of the dispute about place; the Mediator and the Dutch Embassy went between the two parties."

"Tuesday the 20th [N.S.] of August.—Mr. Prior received from Mr. Blathwayt His Majesty's pleasure concerning the remarks the [French] had made upon the Project, which was in general an approbation of an answer their Excellencies had given; and their Excellencies from these orders commanded Mr. Prior to draw up a memorial in favour of the French Protestants to be given to the Pensioner, as likewise the draft of an article.

"The Earl of Pembroke marked that the Pensioner said—'On dresserá un article pour ouvrir le cours de la justice aux particuliers réciproquement, de laquelle (justice) la guerre a interrompu le cours.'" (XVI. 70-73.)

"Wednesday the 21st [N.S.] of August.—Mr. Prior delivered to the Lord Pembroke the memorial about the French Protestants, the article just now mentioned, a deduction of His Majesty's rights to Hudson's Bay, a memorial of Duke Schonburg's losses and pretensions, and another of the Duchess of Hamilton's titles to the Duchy of Chastel Herault, which papers the Pensioner gave in to the French."

"Wednesday the 21st [N.S.] of August. At Ryswick.—The Mediator gave in a *pleinpouvoir* for Mons. Chantereyne, Plenipotentiary from Lorraine, who was accordingly admitted in the Congress; he told the Allies that for the greater dispatch of business the French desired that they might meet every day; it was agreed that we should meet the next day, and that we might then determine if we should continue to do so; we likewise resolved that the ordinary meetings should be continued, and that on Saturdays we should meet at three o'clock, afternoon, the days growing short. The Dutch Embassy retired into the great room with the English; they told us the objection which the French had made to our late answer, and delivered to us a paper containing the rights which the French pretend to have upon Hudson's Bay."

"Thursday the 22nd [N.S. August].—The Elector of Mayence gave us a *pleinpouvoir* for two deputies from Mayence. The Congress had news that Mr. Boreel died the night before."

"Saturday the 31st [N.S.] of August. At Ryswick.—The Mediator came into the chamber of the Allies, and made an harangue to this purpose: that he asked this audience to let them know that affairs were so ill that he did not see how

they could be concluded with credit ; that the height an[d] *opiniâtreté* of the French was the occasion of it ; but that others were not wholly blameless ; that he foresaw that the French would offer new conditions next day ; that therefore he desired their Excellencies to consider if there was anything to be done at present, provided it were not separately ; that as to his own part he had executed the orders of the King his Master, though may be not so well as another might have done, yet at least with as much zeal and fidelity ; he therefore desired them to take care that the mediation might suffer no affront ; upon which he hoped they would [make] a seasonable reflexion, nor he had no reason as yet to complain of anybody, but on the contrary was satisfied with each in particular.

“Hereupon the Imperial Embassy with those of the Empire and the rest of the Allies conferred together. Don Quiros said that the King his Master had entered into the war for the good of the Allies in general, and had more particular engagements with the Emperor ; that he would always give satisfaction to these obligations, but that the war have informed [*sic*] upon the Monarchy of Spain, so as to reduce them to receive the peace of Nimègue instead of that of the Pyrenees ; and France threatening them with the sieges of Oudenarde and Terragone, the Spaniard neither having forts nor force to hinder the kingdom from being put under contribution, he thought there was a necessity of closing with things as they were possible to be had, and that his signing the Treaty would not hinder the King his Master from continuing in his alliances. The Pensioner of Holland pursued : ‘it was true,’ he said, ‘that the affairs of England and Spain and Holland were brought so near a conclusion that he hoped to have perfected them as this morning, if those of the Emperor and Empire had been more advanced, and that for them he thought they might have had a reasonable time allowed to have come in ; that he had reasoned with the French to this end, but could get no other answer than that their orders were contrary to it, and that the next day they would let the Allies know the further orders from France ; that he, the Pensioner, had thereupon answered that they could not sign without procuring time for their Allies, and that in a negotiation so considerable they must have time enough to send not only one but many expresses ; that he could get no other answer from the French than the former ; that the Dutch Embassy had therefore left them with a resolution not to sign their treaty, which therefore they desired the Mediator should know.’ This Count Caunitz took upon him to do, desiring the Mediator to continue his good offices ; that all the Allies in general had a mind to a peace, and that the Imperialists desired the conclusion of it, provided it might be sure and reasonable.

“The Mediator began with the points in dispute between France and the Empire, viz. Strasbourg, Alsace and Lorraine.



Count Caunitz answered that the declaration he had made [was] concerning the Allies in general, that after these points they had nothing new to offer; but that, if the French would have been reasonable, they would have hearkened to what was offered the day before. The Mediator hereupon went to the French, returned, and told the Allies that those Ambassadors referred still to their orders, and that it was the King their Master that would answer to the consequences of them; that before the time was expired, they would sign with any of the Allies that should be ready; that the Mediator had said to them that there was no thought of bringing about anything of this kind, and that, since the French would not be treatable, he must take his leave of them, which he therefore did, protesting before God and man that it was in no way his fault that the negotiation was broke off. As he was going out of the room, Mons. Harley [*sic. i.e.*, Harlay], taking him by the hand and retaining him, said:—‘Aussy, Monsieur, nous ne nous couperons pas la gorge l’un à l’autre demain, si Messrs les Alliés se trouveront encore icy’; desiring the Mediator to oblige the Allies to another meeting, which he promised to use his endeavours to bring about, and effected, so that it was resolved on for the next day, three, afternoon.”

Sunday the 1st [N.S.] Sept.—“The Mediator, having been some time with the French, brought from them the new proposal; he excused his bringing it, and said that an equivalent for Strasbourg was contained in it. The Imperialists made some difficulty in the receiving it, and said that the reason why they consented to have it read was in deference to the Mediator, for that they would refuse nothing from his hand, for they agreed to have it read and returned back again to the French; which was accordingly done. The Mediator desired that the Congress might continue to meet on the ordinary days.” (XVI. 82–86.)

“Wednesday the 4th [N.S. Sept.]. At Ryswick.—The Mediator brought three *pleinpouvoirs*, one for Hetterman from the Elector Palatin, one for Plettersdorff from Prince Lewis of Baden and the third for the Baron Snolski from the King of Sweden as Prince of the Empire: this latter did not intend to assist at the Congress, but only at the deputation from the Empire when it met at The Hague. The Mediator desired we should continue our meeting ordinarily in case anything might happen.”

“Saturday the 7th [N.S. Sept.]. The Congress at Ryswick.—

“Baron Saffig[’s] *pleinpouvoir* was read, and he acknowledged Ambassador and Plenipotentiary from the Elector of Trèves.

“The Mediator told the Allies that, the time running on very fast towards the 20th, the French had desired that matters of less consequence might be adjusted in order to give them more time for settling the greater points in case they should come to any conclusion.”

"Tuesday the 10th [N.S. Sept.].—My Lord Villiers went from hence to Soesdyck to represent the state of our affairs to His Majesty. His Excellence had with him a short memorial concerning the points not yet adjusted, papers relating to Hudson's Bay, and those concerning our Russia trade."

"Wednesday the 11th [N.S. Sept.]. At Ryswick.—

"My Lord Pembroke was alone at the Congress, Lord Villiers being absent and Sir Joseph Williamson indisposed. His Lordship told Mr. Prior that nothing was done there, though they stayed till two o'clock."

"Friday the 13th [N.S. Sept.].—My Lord Villiers, returning from Soesdyck, brought His Majesty's opinion relating to the four points contained in the letter their Excellencies wrote to His Majesty, August the 30th.\*

"His Majesty agrees to it.

"His Majesty is satisfied that it should be so.

"The King consents to promise that she shall have whatever she has a legal claim to, but the treaty not to break off on this point.

"To be referred to the same Commissioners that are to decide the title of Hudson's Bay.

"The King consents to it.

"This is left to the judgment of the Ambassadors.

"1st. If the Irish prisoners taken on board French ships (of which the list was sent) may be exchanged for French taken on board English ships.

"2nd. If the right and title to the forts in Hudson's Bay is to be referred to Commissioners, the present possession being yielded to the French.

"3rd. How far His Majesty will engage his word without entering into an article as to a settlement to be made for the late King James' Queen.

"4th. What answer to be made as to the 150,000 *livres* in the case of the Commandant which the French require to be made good to them.

"My Lord Villiers asked His Majesty's opinion in relation to the following points:—

"If points of less consequence should be adjusted before the greater.

"In the preamble mention is usually made of the *plein-pouvoirs* on each side mutually exchanged: what sort of *plein-pouvoirs* from the French may be judged necessary?

\* Cf. p. 155, *supra*, and pp. 547-8, *infra*.



"We are to act conformably to the rest of the Allies, since the Empire will have finished their Treaty before this point will be handled.

"How we are to act in the guarantee of the Duke of Savoy's Treaty."

"Thursday the 12th [N.S. Sept.].—His Majesty saw the Czar at Utrecht in a public house, where he lay *incognito*, having first given audience to the Muscovitish Embassy." (XVI. 86–89)

"Saturday the 14th [N.S.] Sept. At Ryswick.—

"The Mediator desired the Allies to come again the next day, for that something might happen, though at present he had nothing to trouble them with."

"Sunday the 15th [N.S. Sept.]. At Ryswick.—

"The Mediator addressed himself to the Allies to ask their pardon that he had desired them to meet, having nothing to lay before them; he said he had been three hours in conference with the French, but could no way make them recede from their proposal of the first of this month; however, he desired the Allies to meet again the next day. The Imperialists desired him to let them know if anything might be done the next day, otherwise they desired to be excused from coming; they added that they would be sure to come as usual on the ordinary days, and the next day too, if they were advertised that anything might be done."

"Monday the 16th [N.S. Sept.]. At Ryswick.—

"The Spanish, Dutch and English only were there. The Spaniards made an end of their affair so as to be ready to sign with the rest of the Allies. We likewise adjusted the points remaining in dispute, which were chiefly that of Hudson's Bay, and that of the settlement upon Queen Mary. Mr. Prior was ordered to draw up an article to prefer the title of Hudson's Bay to the Commissioners. The point of the settlement was concluded, that the Mediator should pronounce the following dictature to the French, and give them a copy of it, having first inserted it into his own protocol.

"The Pensioner sent it the next day to Loo for His Majesty's approbation, my Lord Villiers having writ to my Lord Portland upon the same subject."

"16th [N.S.] Sept., 1697.

"It was urged by the Ambassadors that the pension to Queen Mary should be withdrawn, if it were found that any cabal or secret intrigue were carried on by her or the late King James. The French Ambassadors would not consent that this condition should be mentioned in the dictature, but they said *que cela étoit toujours*

"Memorandum :—

"Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy d'Angleterre ont déclaré que le Roy leur Maistre a promis, que la pension annuelle d'environ cinquante mille livres sterling, ou de telle somme quelle se trouvera établie par Acte du Parlement et scellée du grand seau d'Angleterre, en faveur de la Reine Marie d'Esté, sera payée à l'avenir confor-

*sous-entendu, et que nous aurions le pouvoir entre nos mains."*

mément au dit acte, et qu'ils consentent, que Mons. l'Ambassadeur Médiateur le fasse insérer dans son protocole, et en donne copie autentique a Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de France, en présence des quels, ainsi que de Messieurs les Ambassadeurs des Etats Généraux la dite déclaration a été faite."

"The Dutch are to meet to-morrow to adjust their own concerns and to regulate the proceeding of the whole affair in general."

"Tuesday, the 17th [N.S.] Sept., 1697.—Their Excellencies had a conference at the Earl of Pembroke's house. Mr. Prior read to them an article which he had drawn up for Commissioners to adjust the business of Hudson's Bay; they ordered him to get it transcribed, in order to their giving it to the Pensioner to adjust with the French; they looked over the Treaty as to the placing the articles, and commanded Mr. Prior to draw up a letter to His Majesty, which was accordingly sent away by an express that night."\* (XVI. 89-92.)

"Sept. the 20th [N.S.].—The English, Spanish and Dutch Embassy went about 12 at noon to Ryswick, where the French and the Mediator were already.

"My Lord Villiers gave Mr. Prior the *brouillon* of an Act by which the King of England promises the ratification of the Peace in its due time, as likewise of those to be made with the King of Spain and the States General as far as His Majesty's good offices may prevail. This Act was written fair and returned to their Excellencies.

"Lord Villiers gave Mr. Prior two articles in French, one for comprehending the Duke of Savoy in the Treaty, the other in favour of the Elector of Brandenburg, that a treaty made between the King of France and the old Elector, the 29th of June, 1679, should be included in our Treaty. These two articles were translated into Latin as they stand in the Treaty, No. 14 and 15.

"The next thing was concerting the Separate Article†, which was likewise translated from the copy in French received from the French Ambassadors into Latin as it stands.

"About 6, afternoon, the French sent us their articles as they had minuted them in their own language, each article in a loose sheet; the Earl of Pembroke compared them with the Latin, Mr. Prior reading the French; in the Article of Orange there appeared some difference, upon which their

\* Cf. p. 163, *supra*.

† Providing for the validity of the Treaty without the Emperor's assent, unless he should make peace with France within a specified time



Excellencies had recourse to the Pensioner, who went in again thereupon to the French, and about an hour and half after informed the English Embassy that he had adjusted that affair; in the article *Et quoniam* was only changed to *Et in quantum*, and the three last lines relating to the ministers of Orange were omitted: the articles being thus adjusted were writing [*sic*] over. The preface or preamble was the next thing in agitation. We had understood from the Pensioner that the French would acquiesce in our having the same preamble which the Spaniards had, *mutatis mutandis*. Mr. Prior therefore translated this preamble into Latin, but the French excepted against it. The reason they gave for their so doing was that it did not come close enough to the occasion; at the same time they sent us something which they called the model of a preamble; it was extremely dry and imperfect; we objected against it and returned it back to them, alleging that it did not mention the Mediator with sufficient respect, nor once named the late King of Sweden, under whom the negotiation began. About ten at night the French sent us another model, which their Excellencies accepted and Mr. Prior translated as it stands before the Treaty. About eleven the Dutch signed their Treaty of Peace and Commerce; the Spaniards signed theirs about an hour after; and about twelve the English went in order to the signing theirs. The place thought fit by the Mediator instead of the great room was a little chamber in the inner part of his own apartment; the three French Ambassadors sat on one side of an oval table, as the three English did on the other; the Mediator sat at the end of the table; the Dutch were present; the Pensioner and Mons. Dyckvelt sat on the English side, and Mons. Haren on the French side between them and the Mediator. The Earl of Pembroke delivered the Treaty in Latin to Mons. Harlay, who delivered it to my Lord in French. Mons. Harlay read the Latin aloud, my Lord Pembroke collationing it [the French] with the Latin; the same was done with the Secret Article, and they proceeded to the signing, we our part as it was in Latin, and they their part as it was in French, till, the copies being taken fair, both parties might sign the same instrument; this was done about three in the morning.

“As soon as the Treaty was signed, Mons. de Harlay made a compliment of the joy the French Embassy had to acknowledge His Majesty’s title in the manner they had done, and added, addressing himself to the English Embassy, that there was all the hope imaginable that the friendship between the Ambassadors themselves would be lasting, since it began on so happy an occasion as that of their signing a peace together. Lord Pembroke answered the compliment, and the Mediator, after having wished both parties joy, read the Dictature by which His Majesty promises that the Queen in France shall have whatever she

can have any legal pretension to by Act of Parliament, or under the Great Seal, the whole of which might amount, it was thought, to 50,000*l.* sterling per annum. The French desired that the Dictature might be inserted into the Mediator's protocol, and that they might likewise have a copy of it. Then Mons. de Callières penned, read and delivered to the Mediator a declaration that in case that part of the Treaty of Breda which the French took with them should be found to be in Latin, and not in French as they allege it was, they would withdraw this, which they had signed in French, and change it for one in Latin before the ratification.

"They parted, the English retaining the part of the Treaty which the French had signed minuted in their language, and the French retaining the part of the Treaty which the English had signed minuted in Latin; the like reciprocation was observed as to the Separate Article." (XVI. 94-99.)

"Mr. Prior embarked, the 20th, on a vessel he had hired on purpose for his transport into England; he landed the 23rd, afternoon, at Lastof, in Suffolk, and arrived, the 24th, afternoon, at Whitehall; he delivered the letter to Mr. Vernon, and left the copy of the Treaty in his hands; he paid his duty the same day to all the Justices then in town, each at his several house, viz., my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Orford and Lord Rumney, and the next morning to my Lord Sunderland, who came to town but the night before."

"Thursday the 26th [N.S. Sept.].—The Lords Justices met, they ordered a letter to be written to the Lords Ambassadors at The Hague and to be delivered to Mr. Prior, to whom they gave a present of two hundred guineas, and commanded the *Centurion* to bring him back to Holland. Accordingly Mr. Prior embarked the same night and arrived in Holland on Saturday the 28th."

"Saturday the 21st [N.S. Sept.]. At Ryswick.—

"The English, Spaniards and Dutch were there with the French and the Mediator in order to the signing the Treaty in form, of which they had signed the minutes the night before. Whilst the French were busy in writing their part of the Treaty fair, Mr. Swinford by my Lord Pembroke's order drew up a *mémoire* by which the French promised to give their part of the Treaty in Latin at the ratification, provided it was so practised at Breda, and promised likewise to release the French Protestants taken upon English ships, and the four ministers of Orange; this *mémoire* was entered into the protocol of the Mediator, and an authentic copy of it, signed by the Mediator, was given to their Excellencies. Mr. Swinford likewise drew up another *mémoire* on our part, that we should release the Irish taken on board French ships, which the Mediator entered into his protocol, and gave the French an authentic copy of it. (N.B.—The Mediator gave these copies the Wednesday following, i.e., the 25th.) The



Secretaries of both parties having collationed the Treaties in the presence of the Secretary of the Mediation, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the English signed separately, one after another in the same apartment in which they had signed the minutes the night before, the English about one o'clock in the morning, the Dutch being present. The Mediator signed first, and then gave the Latin Treaty to the English Ambassadors, who signed it in the second column, and gave it to the French, who signed it in the third; this order was observed *vice versa* with the French copy on our side; the Secretaries of both parties put the seals to the Treaties. The French Ambassadors in the meantime looked over the English *pleinpouvoirs*.

"The Mediator read the Dictature concerning Mary d'Este in France, and gave a copy of it to Mons. de Callière[s], after which they parted.

"N.B.—The English and French signed the Separate Article likewise, but only alternatively, as they had done the night before, each party taking one part of the instrument. That, therefore, which the French signed and delivered to us was in the French language, and that which we signed and delivered to them was in the Latin, but this Article was not signed on either side by the Mediator.

"Whilst the Treaties were this afternoon preparing on either part in order to their being signed, endeavours were made to bring the Imperialists to consent to a cessation of arms on the Rhine, which the French offered *sub spe rati*, and declared that they did not doubt but that their Master would consent to it. Don Quiros therefore wrote a *billet* to Count Kaunitz at The Hague upon this subject; Count Kaunitz insisted in his answer upon having the declaration positive, and though this answer did not positively reject the proposal, it was not full enough to have anything concluded upon it then.

"My Lord Villiers immediately on his return to The Hague went express to Loo and carried the Treaty to His Majesty." (XVI. 102–106.)

"Sunday the 22nd [N.S. Sept.].—The Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and Empire agreed to a cessation of arms with France; accordingly a courier was dispatched to Prince Lewis of Baden."

"Tuesday the 24th [N.S. Sept.].—My Lord Villiers returned from Loo; a duplicate of the Treaty having been dispatched for England with warrants for affixing the Broad Seal to an instrument of ratification in order to its being returned hither for His Majesty's signing."

"Wednesday the 25th [N.S. Sept.].—The Imperialists had a conference with the French about the equivalent for Strasbourg and the business of Lorraine.

"The Mediator gave us and the French authentic copies of the *mémoires* drawn up the Saturday before."

"Thursday the 26th [N.S. Sept.].—My Lord Villiers paid his first visit to the French at Delft with two coaches-and-six, my Lord Townsend, Mr. Asch, Mr. Onslow and other English gentlemen accompanying His Excellency."

"Saturday the 28th [N.S. Sept.].—Mr. Prior returned from England."

"Sunday the 29th [N.S. Sept.].—The French returned my Lord Villiers' visit; Mons. de Harlay, with two coaches-and-six was accompanied by Mons. Harlay, his kinsman, and other French gentlemen. Mons. de Crescy and Mons. de Callière[s] came together with two coaches-and-six; they visited my Lord Pembroke and Sir Joseph Williamson in the same order."

"Friday the 4th [N.S.] Oct.—My Lord Pembroke paid his visit to the French at Delft with two coaches-and-six, English gentlemen accompanying him. His Excellency presented Mr. Prior to the French Ambassadors."

"Tuesday the 8th [N.S.] Oct.—"Their Excellencies paid their visit to the Muscovite Embassy with six coaches and six horses; the visit was only ceremonial, concerning the general friendship which the two nations desired might be established. Mons. Lefort, the first of the Muscovite Embassy, insisted upon His Majesty's praises, and the great satisfaction had in the interview he had had with the King."

"The same night a copy of the Treaty with a form of ratification, and our *pleinpouvoirs* were sent to Loo, the whole fairly written out in order to its being signed with the Signet in case the instrument under the Broad Seal should not come time enough from England; this was done in conformity to His Majesty's orders, intimated to Mr. Prior in a letter from Mr. Blathwayt the 5th October."

"Wednesday the 9th [N.S. Oct.].—Their Excellencies agreed with the French that all fishery should be free in what seas soever notwithstanding the prescriptions in the 10th article."

"This Act, being thought by their Excellencies to be of no great use to us, was not exchanged; so this Act, though it was signed by their Excellencies, was kept in the hands of Mr. Prior." (XVI. 106–109.)

"Friday the 11th [N.S.] Oct. At Ryswick.—

"Their Excellencies went to Ryswick in order to exchange the ratifications, we having received that under the Signet the day before, and their Excellencies having this morning been in conference with the Pensioner and Ambassadors of the States in order to their proceeding conjointly in what regards France's ratifying with Spain before the Dutch or we exchanged our ratification. The French had their ratification ready engrossed with their Great Seal in a silver box in ample form; we collationed ours signed by the Signet with the Treaty as their Excellencies signed it the 20th September, and they made no objection as to the form of the ratification; their whole Treaty and ratification was perfect, except that in the eighth article relating to Hudson's Bay, the place,



*Londini*, and the spaces of time, *trium mensium* and *sex mensium*, was [*sic*] omitted; of this the Secretary was to speak to his superiors, and Mr. Prior did or should have mentioned it to his. The instruments, by consent of each party, were left in the Mediator's hand till we should receive ours under the Great Seal from England to exchange with them, and the ratification to be reckoned good and valid from this present day. The French had also the Separate Article engrossed and ratified and sealed in as ample form as the Treaty; they expected we should have the like to exchange with them, though their Excellencies at the signing of the Treaty were given to understand that this article was not to be ratified. Their Excellencies therefore commanded Mr. Prior to write to Mr. Blathwayt that the Separate Article under the Signet should be sent as soon as possible, and that he would dispatch a copy of it into England with a warrant that it should be ratified under the Great Seal.

"Before the ratifications were put into the Mediator's hand, the French produced the ratification which they will make with Spain, and they declared in the presence of the Mediator, the English and Dutch Embassy, that they were ready to exchange it with the Spaniards as soon as theirs came from Madrid, with which the Spaniards declared that they were satisfied.

"After our return from Ryswick, Mr. Prior received letters from England by a messenger, who informed him that the instrument under the Great Seal was come from England and sent forward to Loo." (XVI. 109-111.)

"Saturday the 12th [N.S. Oct.]. At Ryswick.—

"The French, having understood that the instrument under the Great Seal was come from England, informed the Lords Ambassadors by the Mediator that they made an exception against His Majesty's styling himself *Rex Franciæ*, and the Mediator then said that, if they had made this objection when they exchanged their instrument of ratification with ours under the Signet—After some arguing upon this point, they came to this conclusion, that they would be satisfied, provided we would declare that we would change it, if it were found to have been practised otherwise in the ratification of the Treaty of Breda and of other treaties made since. Their Excellencies were willing to oblige themselves to stand by the example of Breda, as they had done likewise in the point of the language, but did not think it proper to consent to the clause *and other treaties made since*, not knowing but that the style of *Rex Franciæ* might have been omitted in the Treaty made with France against Holland in 1672 or in the Treaty of Commerce in 1677, or in that of neutrality for America in 1686."

"Sunday the 13th [N.S. Oct.].—His Excellency Sir Joseph Williamson visited the Mediator upon this subject; the French were mighty impatient to have our ratification, alleging that

the courier that was to carry the Dutch ratification stayed for ours. It came to The Hague about eleven at night ; their Excellencies did not think fit to exchange it without coming to some *brevius* explication of what was huddled up on Saturday night."

"Monday the 14th [N.S. Oct.].—Mr. Prior was sent to the Mediator to let him know as well that the ratification was come as the reason why we would not so hastily exchange it ; the Mediator said he was going that day to Delft, and would try to find some expedient to compose this affair ; he did so, but without any [success].

"Their Excellencies having spoken with the Mediator, he drew an Act which bore date the 12th, that if the French agreed to it, it might be inserted in his protocol, and the ratifications might be exchanged.

"Extrait du Protocolle de la Médiation tenue au Château de Ryswick, le 2-12 d'Octobre, 1697.

"Sur la diversité qui se rencontre entre le premier Article du Traité de Paix, signé au Château de Ryswick le 20 de Septembre dernier, et le préambule de la ratification à l'égard des titres, Messieurs les Ambassadeurs Extraordinaires du Roy de La Grande Bretagne ont déclaré que cela s'est ainsi pratiqué à Breda, et qu'en cas que cela ne se trouve pas, ils promettent de fournir un autre Acte de Ratification conforme à celui du dit Traité de Breda.

N. Lilliroot." *Copy.*

"Mr. Prior went to Delft with the Secretary of the Mediation ; we found the French Embassy together at Mons. Harlay's, and told them that, if they approved of the foregoing Act, he was ready to change the ratification with them ; they answered they would stick to the Act as it had been agreed on Saturday night ; so Mr. Prior returned with our ratification." (XVI. 112-115.)

"Tuesday the 15th [N.S. Oct.].—Mr. Prior waited upon the Mediator by their Excellencies' order to desire him to procure a meeting for their Excellencies with the French ; which was agreed to be the next day at Ryswick ; the Mediator had in the meantime made the alterations following in the extract of his protocol of the 12th in order to bring the French to an agreement thereupon :—'Messieurs les Ambassadeurs Extraordinaires du Roy de La Grande Bretagne ont déclaré que cela s'est ainsi practiqué au Traité de Breda *et ailleurs*, et qu'en cas que cela ne se trouve pas, ils promettent de fournir un autre Acte de Ratification réformé en ce point et conforme avec les dits Traités, si Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy Très Chrétien n'aiment mieux se tenir à la déclaration de l'Ambassadeur Médiateur faite le 1-11 May, 1697.

"This expedient the Mediator proposed as from himself, but instead of an answer my Lord Pembroke received a letter from him, that the French would agree to the Act, provided it might be inserted in these terms :—



‘ Sur la diversité qui se rencontre entre le premier Article du Traité de Paix signé à Ryswyck le 20 Septembre dernier et le pouvoir aussi bien que le préambule de la ratification du dit Traité à l’égard de titres, Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy de La Grande Bretagne ont déclaré que cela s’est ainsi pratiqué au *Traité de Breda et dans tous les autres Traités de Paix*, et qu’en cas que cela ne se trouve pas ainsi, ils promettent de fournir *un autre pouvoir et un autre Acte de Ratification* réformé en ce point et conforme avec les dits Traités de Paix à moins que Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy Très Chrétien n’ayent mieux se tenir à la déclaration de Mons. L’Ambassadeur Médiateur faite le 1-11 May, 1697.’

“ This Act so formed appeared to their Excellencies more unreasonable than anything they yet had been offered ; it was observable likewise that it was written in the same hand as that in which we received the minutes of the French Treaty, the 20th of September, which upon occasion might have been made use of as a good argument to prove that the French [*sic*]\* from the point they thought themselves sure of, *i.e.*, that they would stick to the first agreement made on Saturday night. Their Excellencies therefore sent Mr. Prior to Ryswyck to return this last Act into the Mediator’s hand, and to tell him that they had a very great respect for anything that came from his hand, which was the reason that they would consent to that Act which His Excellency had communicated to them that morning by Mr. Prior, but that it was impossible for them to consent to that last which His Excellency had sent them. He blotted out the words *le pouvoir aussy bien que*, and added after *Breda et communément dans les ratifications des Traités de Paix*, but this was not consented to on the French part ; so Mr. Prior had for answer that their Excellencies and the States’ Ambassadors should have a conference with those of France the next day, which they accordingly had, and agreed to an Act in these words to be inserted into the protocol and to bear date the 12th, though it was agreed (as is said), *Wednesday the 16th.*†

“ According to, and in virtue of this agreement Mr. Prior went this afternoon to collation the Treaty ratified with that of the French ; which was done at the Mediator’s house, the Secretary of the Mediation being present ; but in the French instrument in the 8th article concerning Hudson’s Bay there was a blank left for *Londini* and another for the time of meeting, *trium mensium*, as for the time of finishing, *sex mensium* ; for which reason Mr. Prior left our instrument in the hands of the Mediator, and withdrew that under the Signet, the French Secretary returning [*sic*] to know the orders of his superiors herein, and returned [*sic*] to the Mediator’s house the next morning, where Mr. Prior went again to meet him.”

\* Supply *would not budge* or equivalent words.

† Here follows a blank space in which it was apparently intended to insert the revised Act.

"Thursday the 17th [N.S. Oct.].—The French Secretary said his superiors were of opinion that leaving the blank was in effect giving us a power to fill it up as we pleased, and that, since nothing more could be expected than that their instrument should conform to ours, he or I might fill it up: Mr. Prior, as their Excellencies had ordered him, said he did not think that either of us had that power, and that it was very dangerous for anybody in England to alter the least syllable in an instrument under the Great Seal, which we had a very new instance in about the changing the word *celsissimum* in the Brandebourg article into *serenissimum*, and that we conceived they were under the same restriction; but Mr. Prior proposed as from himself, that the Mediator would be pleased to enter it into his protocol, that this insertion was made in his presence, and that he would let Mr. Prior have an attested copy of the extract; to which the Mediator consenting the ratification was exchanged.

"We sent that of the French this afternoon to Loo; and an Act for the Peace to take place according to the times prescribed in the 10th Article, to begin from the day of the signing the Peace, was that evening signed on both sides."

"Friday the 18th [N.S.] Oct.—The original Act was sent to Sir William Trumbull with a copy of the extract of the protocol relating to the title, and a copy of each to Mr. Vernon." (XVI. 116–123.)

"Thursday the 24th [N.S.] Oct.—The Muscovite Embassy returned their Excellencies' visit, their Excellencies being together to receive them in my Lord Pembroke's house; they spoke by an interpreter, who repeated in Latin what they said, the Earl of Pembroke answered in English, Mr. Prior interpreting likewise in Latin; the compliments were on both sides the great readiness and willingness each nation was in to have a good correspondence and friendship with the other, which their Excellencies said they had particular order from His Majesty to cultivate, and to endeavour the reviving and renewing the old concord and customs between our subjects and theirs, that we should therefore appoint our Secretary to draw up a *mémoire* of what might be judged necessary on the occasion, which, they replied, their Secretary should be ready to receive."

"Friday the 25th [N.S. Oct.].—Accordingly Mr. Prior, by their Excellencies' order, drew up a memorial and carried it to their Muscovite Secretary."

"Thursday the 24th [N.S. Oct.].—Mr. Prior exchanged the Separate Article ratified under the Great Seal, and withdrew that under the Signet from the hand of the Mediator, in the same manner as he had done the ratification of the Treaty; the same day and the next, Friday the 25th, their Excellencies and the Dutch, at the desire of the Imperial and Palatine Ministers, had two long conferences with the French about the Palatinate, the French, contrary to what they formerly



promised, insisting to have that part of the country sequestered which they are to give up till *Madame's* pretensions shall be satisfied. The Mediator proposed that the Elector should be possessed of it immediately, and that a certain time should be set, after which those places should be sequestered, if they could not come to an agreement in the meantime. It is not to be wondered that nothing could be agreed on in this matter, Count Vehlen, the Elector Palatine's Ambassador, having accommodated this business underhand between the French King and his Master by their agents at Düsseldorf and Paris. The French had not then sent their memorial about the *réfugiés*. Their Excellencies spoke to them again of it; they said they would send it by the first; Mons. de Harlay said *qu'il y avoit parmi ces gens des marautes, mais qu'il y en eut aussi qui devoient être distingués.*"

"Monday the 28th [N.S. Oct.].—Their Excellencies had another conference, in which they interposed their best offices in favour of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the business of Rhinfels, but without any effect, the French insisting that the Prince of Rhinfels was dispossessed purely on their account. Their Excellencies insisted likewise in another conference held in the Grande Salle "

"Tuesday the 29th [N.S. Oct.].—That a clause should be added to the Cession of Strasburg, that the business of religion should remain as it is; but the French refused, alleging that there was no danger, but that the capitulation made with the town would always be observed. In the Mediator's chamber, in the presence of the English and Dutch Ambassadors, and of some of the Ministers of the Protestant Princes of the Empire, the Mediator proposed to the Imperialists that they should give a declaration that they meant and intended that the Peace of Westphalia should be established in all points ecclesiastical throughout all those places which France should give back; this proposition the Imperialists rejected with a great deal of heat, saying that the Emperor had given no occasion for any jealousy of this kind, and till he did, it was not proper for others to proceed in such a manner.

"The French proposed that in those reunions they should restore the Catholic religion should remain as it now is. The English and Dutch, in a conference held with the Mediator in his apartment, represented to him, as he did to the French, the unreasonableness of these proceedings as being contrary to what was agreed on in the Separate Article, but they insisted upon this point, without maintaining it with any reason, and most of the reunions being in the Elector of Palatine's country who should have defended it, their Excellencies could do nothing more in it."

"Wednesday the 30th [N.S. Oct.].—Mons. Smettau proposed that what the French asked concerning the reunions should be in a Separate Article with the Catholic Princes only, and that the Protestants should have the liberty of signing; the

Imperialists came out in order to give the Germans an account of the conference they had had with the French ; and the Dutch and English came away from Ryswick ; after which, on Thursday, the 31st, between one and two o'clock in the morning, the Imperialists and the Ministers of all the Roman Catholic Princes of the Empire and some of the Protestant Princes signed the Peace ; the other Protestants refused to sign, but had time allowed them to come in till the exchange of the ratifications, which is six weeks. The French declared that they shall all enjoy the Peace, but those that shall not sign in the time prescribed shall be looked upon as enemies to France, and that Brandenburg shall not have the benefit of the inclusive article in our Treaty.

"Some time before they signed, the Mediators withdrew, leaving a declaration in the hand of their secretary that, there being some things in this Peace contrary to that of Westphalia, whereof their Master was a guaranty, they could not consent to the signing it. This declaration was delivered in as soon as the parties had signed." (XVI. 123-129.)

"Des Prétensions de Sa MAJESTÉ BRITANNIQUE comme  
PRINCE D'ORANGE, SEIGNEUR D'ARLAYE."

"1. Que suivant et en exécution des Traitez de Nimègue et de Munster et autres, conclus avec Leurs Majestés Très Chrétienne et Catholique, Sa Majesté Britannique rentrera en la pleine jouissance et possession tant de sa Principauté d'Orange, droits indépendants et domaines y annexés, que des Terres et Seigneuries qui luy appartiennent en France, Flandres, Duché et Comté de Bourgogne, Pais de Charolois, et autres pais de la domination de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, aussi bien que de tous droits et actions, ainsi et au même état qu'elle en jouissoit avant les dits traitez ou a deu jouir suivant iceux. Et que pour mettre fin à tous troubles, procès et incidens, qui pour iceux pourroient survenir, Sa Majesté Britannique, comme aussi Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, délègueront des commissaires pour régler et liquider le tout souverainement et de plein[pouvoir].

"2. Que Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne fera restituer avec effet tout ce qui a été perçu dans la Principauté d'Orange déchargé, ou sursis en rentes, domaines et droits, depuis le Traité de Nimègue jusqu'au tems de la déclaration de la présente guerre ; ensemble de tous domaines, rentes, et droits des autres terres et seigneuries de Sa Majesté Britannique étant sous la domination de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne avec intérêts pour les nonjouissances.

"3. Et pour ce qui est des terres et domaines, dont Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne a joui et qui appartiennent à Sa Majesté Britannique, Sa dite Majesté Très Chrétienne en fera compte de même qu'en avoit usé auparavant Sa Majesté Catholique, suivant la vérification qui en sera faite par les dits commissaires, et sera aussi fait compte respectif des revenus



perceus de la Principauté d'Orange et du Marquisat de Bergues-op-Zoom et des charges payées et à payer.

“ 4. Toutes nouveautez établies et introduites dans la Principauté d'Orange, subsidies et autres charges sur le général, au préjudice, et depuis les susdits traitez, sont anéanties et abolies sans retour ni sans *[sic]* conséquence, et satisfaction et accordée *[sic]* en général, et que tous les corps et les particuliers seront restitués en tous leurs droits et biens, avec intérêts contre ceux qui les ont perceus, et indemnité comme de droit, s'il y échoit et, spécialement les Protestants, à la vérification et règle des dits commissaires; et les quatre ministres prisonniers depuis 12 années seront incessamment mis en liberté et réintègrent en leur premier état.

“ 5. Et d'autant que Sa Majesté Britannique a été empêchée de jouir des terres et droits qu'elle possède dans la Franche Comté, et droits en dépendans, comme il est spécifié par le Traité de Munster, il sera dit et stipulé par le nouveau Traité, que la prescription ni aucun laps de tems n'aura lieu, et qu'à cet égard, aussi bien que pour tous ses autres domaines et surtout pour la Principauté d'Orange, il sera expressément déclaré que tous édits, arrêts, déclarations, décrets, saisies, mainmises, adjudications, et autres actes, de quelle nature qu'ils soient, contraires aux susdits traitez, et intervenus depuis iceux, ou durante la minorité de Sa Majesté Britannique demeureront cassez et anéantis, en vertu du nouveau Traité sans aucun retour ni conséquence. Et comme tous les principaux domaines de Sa Majesté Britannique sont situez dans les Provinces Unies, où se trouve son véritable domicile, comme Prince d'Orange, que tous procez intentez, ou à intenter, seront renvoyez à la Cour de Holland, à l'exemple de ce que le Grand Conseil à Malines a jugé contre le Comté de la Solres; tout ce qui sera fait au contraire demeure nul et anéanti sauf pour les actions particuliers et hypothécaires sur quelques domaines singuliers, et alors on suivra l'ordre des juridictions, ou si bon semble à Sa Majesté Britannique ou à ses officiers de se servir en ce cas des anciens committimus.

“ 6. Et pour ce qui est des traitez particuliers, conclus entre Sa Majesté Britannique et Sa Majesté Catholique devant et en exécution du Traitez de Munster, seront aussi exécutés de bonne foy; et pour plus de validité d'iceux, à cause des assignations y exprimées, Sa Majesté Impériale en tant qu'à elle peut ou pourra toucher, ou à l'Empire, autorise iceux traitez; veut qu'ils ayent autant de force que si elle y avoit été présente, et y avoit consenti; et qu'en tout tems ils soient exécutez, nonobstant tous droits, réversion[s] et autres, quels qu'ils soient, présent[s] et à venir, que Sa dite Majesté Impériale tient pour deüement dénommez. sans qu'elle, ses hoirs, et ses successeurs y puissent déroger ni revenir sous quel prétexte que ce soit.

“ 6 *[sic.]* Que dans le Traité qui sera fait entre Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne et Sa Majesté Catholique il sera dit que les sus-

aits articles seront exécutez tout de même que s'ils y étoient insérez de mot à mot, et que tous les domaines et droits de Sa Majesté Britannique, situéz dans la Province de Luxembourg et autres, qui sont ou qui ont été sous la domination de Sa Majesté Catholique, seront restituéz à Sa dite Majesté Britannique avec toute indemnité pour les détériorations, et qu' à cet effet tous engagistes et décrétistes, ou autres possesseurs, les laisseront vuides et libres sans prétendre ni compensation ni remboursement de Sa dite Majesté Britannique. Tous actes, arrêts, et procédures, de quelle nature qu'ils soient, demeurent cassez et anéantis, aussi bien que tous ceux qui seront intervenus pendant la minorité de Sa dite Majesté Britannique sans aucun retour ni conséquence." (XVI. 262-267.)

" Résultat de la Conférence tenue entre LEURS EXCELLENCES MESSIEURS LES AMBASSADEURS EXTRAORDINAIRES DE FRANCE à Delft, et MESSIEURS LES AMBASSADEURS DES ETATS GÉNÉRAUX, le 9me Aoust, 1697.

" Les Ministres de France tombent d'accord sur les articles 1, 2, 3.

" 4. L'on s'informerá s'il y a quelque chose à la charge des Souverains, ce que l'on pourra examiner, ou si cela regarde seulement les particuliers lorsque l'on verra si l'on ne pourra pas ouvrir la justice à leurs plaintes.

" 5. Les Ministres François tombent d'accord sur cet article, mais à ce sujet on allègue qu'en Angleterre on a mis beaucoup des charges sur les François qu'on devroit redresser. 1. Qu'on ne peut pas porter en Angleterre des marchandises qu'avec des vaisseaux du pais du crus d'où sont les navires, 2. La défense de la laine de France. 3. Les droits que les Anglois exigent plus fort quand les marchandises ne sont pas portées par leurs propres vaisseaux. 4. Les droits qu'on paye pour les feus tout le long des côtes. 5. Sur cet article on demande aussi réciprocation dans les colonies, ou les François feront en tout la même chose.

" 6. 1. On demande que les Irlandois pris sur les vaisseaux François soient élargis. 2. Les prisonniers réfugiés sur les côtes ne pourront estre relâchés ; ils s'éclairciront pourtant là-dessus. 3. Les François demeurants en Angleterre jouissent de leurs biens en France, et n'ont pas besoin de cet article, mais s'ils sont réfugiés, on n'y pourra rien faire, si non qu'ils fussent sortis avant les édits, et qu'ils n'ont pas été réclamés, ou avec permission du Roy.

" 7. La France demeure d'accord sur cet article à la réserve qu'ils ne peuvent pas admettre l'exception y insérée à cause que le Fort de Hudson nommé cy-devant Bourbon, a appartenu au Roy de France, et qu'un déserteur l'a mis dans le pouvoir des Anglois, qui luy ont donné le nom de Nelson, après quoy les François l'ont repris en tems de paix, et les Anglois s'en sont rendu les maîtres durant cette guerre, et contre la capitulation faite ils ont retenu prisonnier le Commandant avec



150 mille livres de France ; et ainsi la France soutient que le dit fort doit être rendu, le Commandant relâché et dédommagé, et qu'en tems de paix on pourra examiner le droit de l'un et de l'autre soit par des arbitres ou des commissaires comme l'on le trouve à propos.

“ D'accord sur les Articles 8, 9, 10, 11.

“ 12. La France demande plus d'éclaircissement sur la période commençant—*Et quoniam*.

“ D'accord sur les Articles 13 et 14.

“ La France est d'accord qu'on renvoie l'examen du Traité de Commerce et du Traité de Neutralité après la Paix.

“ L'on demande encore l'exécution de l'acte ou contract de mariage de l'espouse du Roy Jacques.

“ Les Ambassadeurs des Etats Généraux des Pais-Bas, ayant exécuté tout ce qui est cy-dessus, ont répondu et déclaré qu'ils en feront rapport, et donneront part à leurs Excellences Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy d'Angleterre, afin d'être répondu par eux comme ils trouveront convenient.” (XVII., No. 16.)

“ Approved by His Majesty.

“ Approved by His Majesty.

“ It is His Majesty's pleasure that their Excellencies do pro-

“ Réponse aux remarques que MESSIEURS LES AMBASSADEURS DE FRANCE firent, le 9me d'Aoust, sur le Projet de Paix entre l'Angleterre et la France.

“ 4. Cet article regarde seulement les particuliers. On demande que les voyes ordinaires de la justice soyent ouvertes, afin que les droits, prétensions et actions de chacun puissent être vidées et déterminées ; et on croit qu'il est nécessaire de faire insérer un article dans le Traité pour cet effet.

“ 5. On attend que le commerce soit libre universellement par tous les royaumes et domaines des deux Seigneurs Rois en quelque pais du monde que ce soit, et les droits et impôts sur les marchandises estant déjà réglés par les loix de chaque nation, nous consentons d'en remettre la considération à un traité de commerce qui sera fait selon la proposition faite par les François.

“ 6. On demande que tous les François qui ont été habitants

ceed herein in the same manner as the States General, the Elector of Brandenburg and other Protestant Princes, observing the following particulars, viz., that as the Irish taken upon French ships shall be set at liberty, so it is expected that there be the like reciprocation of the French *réfugiez* taken at sea.

"Their Excellencies are to take care, as much as may be, that no handle be given to the French to ask the restitution of the Irish estates or return of Irishmen that are [or] shall be under confiscation or attainder, and in case such demand be made, not to admit of any expression or clause to that effect.

"It is His Majesty's pleasure that their Excellencies do endeavour to obtain from the French the present exception in the Project relating to Hudson's Bay, and if that be despaired of by their Excellencies, then in the stead of such exception, to propose and insist on a clause leaving all things relating to Hudson's Bay in the condition they shall be in at the signing of the Treaty, and referring all those matters in dispute to be determined by the Commissioners that shall be appointed for the Treaty of Commerce.

"His Majesty approves of this answer. (*Cf.* p. 534, *supra*.)

"His Majesty approves hereof, and that the consideration of the Treaty of Neutrality in America be likewise

ou demeurants dans les royaumes ou domaines du Roy de la Grande Bretagne soyent mis en liberté, et que tous les sujets naturels du dit Roy, possesseurs de terres et autres biens et fonds en France, soyent rétablis dans la jouissance de leurs terres et autres biens en fonds; comme aussi tous ceux de la nation Française qui estoient en Angleterre avant les édits, ou qui ont eu la permission de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne de se retirer de la France.

"N.B. Mons. le Pensionnaire sçait déjà que les Anglois agiront, en ce qui regarde les Protestants François en général, selon ce que feront les Estats Généraux et l'Electeur de Brandebourg, etc

"C'est la raison pour quoy on n'insiste pas plus particulièrement sur ce point dans cet article.

"7. Le Fort de Hudson appartenant véritablement aux Anglois, il est bien juste que la possession leur en demeure; l'affaire du Commandant est à présent devant le Conseil Privé du Roy, et sera jugée comme une affaire particulière selon ce qui est prescrit dans le 4<sup>me</sup> article.

"12. Dans l'article d'Orange *Et quoniam*, etc., Mons. le Pensionnaire y fera réponse.

"Un Traité de Commerce sera remis à des commissaires comme les François ont proposé.



referred to the same Commissioners.

“ His Majesty approves of this answer.”

“ Il n'est pas nécessaire de rien stipuler pour l'épouse du cy-devant Roy Jacques, ce Traité ne dérogeant point à ce qu'elle doit posséder par les loix d'Angleterre.  
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## HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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